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Plenary Papers



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Preface

The current volume contains the plenary papers of the XII Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies, held in Oulu, Finland in August 17–21, 2015. The congress did not have a specific theme, but the seven plenum papers represent all the traditional branches of Finno-Ugric scholarship: linguistics, culture and literature, archaeology, and cultural anthropology. In this volume, the papers are presented in alphabetical order. The volume is available in the Internet as well on the conference webpage.

The congress had approximately 380 participants from 21 countries, and altogether 276 presentations were given. The Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies, *Congressus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum*, has been organized every five years since 1960, and in Finland it has formerly been held in Helsinki, Turku, and Jyväskylä.

In accordance with other international congresses of today, the section papers are not published by the organizing institution, although this has been the practice in the previous Finno-Ugric congresses. In addition to the plenary sessions and sections, there were also 19 symposia in the congress, and many of them will produce their own publications. All abstracts are nevertheless published in the Book of Abstracts, available on the conference webpage.

Harri Mantila

President of XII Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies

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Language endangerment and endangered Uralic languages

Lyle Campbell and Bryn Hauk, with Panu Hallamaa

1 Introduction

The endangered languages crisis is one of the most important problems facing humanity today, posing moral, practical, and scientific issues of enormous proportions. With nearly half of the world's languages currently in danger of extinction, it is imperative that the field of linguistics answer this crisis with appropriate measures, which must include the proper documentation of the world's languages and, circumstances permitting, the establishment of language revitalization programs, developed at least in part on the basis of these documentary materials. In the course of the last two decades, linguistics as a field has made strides to answer this call on a global scale, treating language documentation and language revitalization as subdisciplines in their own right. On a local scale, however, the picture is often not as clear. Within Uralic linguistics, we must ask ourselves what are the unique issues regarding the documentation and revitalization of Uralic languages that must be addressed. In this paper, we evaluate the state of documentation and revitalization for the Uralic languages and offer suggestions for future research directions.¹

Although concern for language endangerment became prominent after 1992, Uralic scholars had made substantial strides in recording the Uralic languages from the early 19th century onward. As a result, documentation and archival materials exist for nearly all Uralic languages and major dialects. However, as languages across the globe are increasingly threatened with extinction, Uralicists once again have the opportunity to demonstrate leadership in further documentation of the many endangered Uralic languages to help safeguard linguistic diversity.

It is important to clarify here at the beginning what we mean by language documentation. Scholars do not always agree on how to define language documentation. Many follow Himmelmann's (1998, 2006) view. He contrasts

¹ We are grateful to Pekka Sammallahti and Ante Aikio for valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper, for answering numerous questions, and for helpful information. Any errors made in using information they gave us are fully our own, not theirs.

language description and language documentation, saying that language documentation “aims at the record of *the linguistic practices and traditions of a speech community*” (Himmelmann 1998: 9–10), and that “language documentation may be characterized as *radically expanded text collection*” (Himmelmann 1998: 2). Himmelmann (2006: 1) gives the definition, “a language documentation is a lasting, multipurpose record of a language,” elaborating that “language documentation as a field of linguistic inquiry and practice in its own right which is primarily concerned with the compilation and preservation of linguistic primary data and interfaces between primary data and various types of analyses based on these data.” Woodbury (2011: 159)’s similar definition is: “Language documentation is the creation, annotation, preservation and dissemination of transparent records of a language.” Similarly, the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project website says that language documentation “emphasises data collection methodologies, in two ways: first, in encouraging researchers to collect and record a wide range of linguistic phenomena in genuine communicative situations; and secondly, in its use of high quality sound and video recording to make sure that the results are the best possible record of the language.”²

With statements such as these, it is little wonder that so many, according to Himmelmann (2012: 187), have misinterpreted this approach to mean:

Documentary linguistics is all about technology and (digital) archiving.

Documentary linguistics is just concerned with (mindlessly) collecting heaps of data without any concern for analysis and structure.

Documentary linguistics is actually opposed to analysis.

On the other hand, other scholars follow the Boasian tradition, which holds that language documentation includes a grammar, a dictionary, and texts/recordings representing a large range of genres. Rehg (2007: 15) says language documentation “involves the development of high-quality grammatical materials and an extensive lexicon based on a full range of textual genres and registers, as well as audio and video recordings, all of which are fully annotated, of archival quality, and publicly accessible.” Rhodes et al. (2007: 3) list as necessary for adequate language documentation all of the following:

All the basic phonology

All the basic morphology

All the basic syntactic constructions

² <http://www.hrelp.org/documentation/> (accessed 18.10.2015)

A lexicon which (a) covers all the basic vocabulary and important areas of special expertise in the culture, and (b) provides at least glosses for all words/morphemes in the corpus

A full range of textual genres and registers.

Clearly opinions differ about the demarcation between language documentation and description or analysis, but as Himmelmann (2012) explains, in spite of misunderstandings, there is broad agreement but with differences of emphasis. Most agree that documentation can and probably should include a rich corpus of recordings, grammar, and dictionary, though some place greater emphasis on a large number of recording representing many genres and on the technology for recording and archiving, while other give more attention to the description, to the analysis which includes a grammar and dictionary.

In this paper, we subscribe to the view that has recently emerged that reconciles the two different views, that adequate language documentation has as its goal the creation, annotation, preservation and dissemination of transparent records of a language where that record is understood explicitly to include also language analysis and the production of a grammar and a dictionary, along with the rich corpus of recordings.

Here we report on the status of the endangered languages in the world based on research findings of the *Catalogue of Endangered Languages*. We compare the situation for Uralic languages with that of most of the rest of the world's endangered languages. We focus on new findings concerning the status of Uralic languages, on the implications of these findings for language typology and historical linguistics, and on what is now needed in the documentation and revitalization of these languages. We raise the questions of what further documentation is most urgently needed and of how best to deploy documentation of Uralic language materials for future researchers and language revitalization efforts.

2 Language endangerment

At the time we write, there are 3227 endangered languages in the world.³ Stated differently, 45% of the world's languages are in danger of extinction.⁴ There are

³ <http://www.endangeredlanguages.com> (accessed 23.9.2015).

⁴ Based on estimated total of 7,102 languages on <http://www.ethnologue.com/> (accessed 18.10.2015). Because Ethnologue and ELCat use different standards to classify languages and dialects, it is perhaps not completely accurate nor satisfying to calculate a percentage of living languages that are endangered based on Ethnologue's total. However, Ethnologue's figure of the

41 endangered Uralic languages, of which 18 are critically or severely endangered. These are some of the current findings of the *Catalogue of Endangered Languages* (ELCat), a joint endeavor to catalogue important information about endangered languages, undertaken by the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and Eastern Michigan University and supported by the National Science Foundation and the Henry Luce Foundation⁵. The goals of ELCat are:

1. To provide a definitive, authoritative, up-to-date resource on the endangered languages of the world.
2. To provide resources for communities whose languages are in danger.
3. To supply information missing in other sources.
4. To update and correct information.
5. To be accessible, updatable, sustainable.
6. To promote public awareness, foster support, increase resources, and inform the public and scholars alike.
7. To produce new knowledge.

The information database of ELCat was made accessible at <http://www.endangeredlanguages.com> through Google.org, where users can contribute suggestions and updates about the language data or provide materials, resources, and links about the languages.

Defining an “endangered language” is a complex and sometimes ambiguous issue. ELCat takes a principled approach to determining whether a language is endangered and therefore should be included in the catalogue, based on the following well-motivated criteria:

- Absolute number of speakers
- Intergenerational transmission: Do children learn the language? How old are the youngest speakers?
- Declining numbers of speakers
- Declining domains of language use
- Small or declining number of speakers relative to total ethnic population

The above factors also determine the vitality status assigned to languages in the catalogue (see Lee and Van Way in press). Additionally, ELCat includes

number of living languages in the world is the one commonly cited, and no more reliable source exists. The estimate is representative if not fully accurate, even if some of the languages in the Ethnologue and ELCat differ.

⁵ For a full list of funders, governing individuals, participating organizations, and partners associated with ELCat and the Endangered Languages Project website, see <http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/about/>.

recently extinct languages, assigned the vitality status of “dormant” or “awakening,” the latter category for languages where active revitalization efforts are taking place.

Since its beginning in 2011, ELCat has contributed several important findings to understanding of the global problem of language endangerment. Foremost, ELCat provides a more accurate way to determine the number of endangered languages. As mentioned, number in the catalogue today is 3227 endangered languages, meaning roughly 45% of the world’s languages are currently in danger of extinction. This supports the oft-cited claim that 50% of languages are endangered, but falls far short of the 90% worst-case scenario often mentioned. From ELCat we also know that some 457 languages have fewer than 10 speakers (14% of endangered languages, nearly 7% of all languages). Furthermore, 423 languages are “critically” endangered, and 800 are “critically” or “severely” endangered. Some 639 languages are already extinct or have no known native speakers – approximately 9% of known languages.⁶ Of these 639 extinct languages, 227 became extinct recently, since 1960 (35%); only 383 became extinct before 1960. This demonstrates concretely that the rate of language extinction has accelerated highly in recent times, as is frequently claimed.

Evidence from ELCat also allows us to correct some major claims about language endangerment. The frequently repeated claim that one language becomes extinct every two weeks is not supported. ELCat finds that on average only about one language every three months becomes extinct, or 4.3 languages per year.⁷ This updated estimated extinction rate is still exceedingly alarming. The list of recently extinct languages is sufficiently shocking for anyone, and the list of languages with fewer than 10 speakers, probably all of which will soon be extinct (if revitalization efforts do not succeed), confirms the on-going

⁶ These are extinct languages about which we have some information; it is generally assumed that a great many languages now extinct once existed, and the literature contains many names of putative former languages, but of which we know next to nothing.

⁷ At current rates of extinction, this means that 365.5 languages are expected to become extinct by the end of this century. That is only about 10% of the often-claimed 50% of all languages expected to disappear by then, i.e. only 5% of all languages. An expectation of 50% is 3551, half of the 7102 total languages listed by Ethnologue. However, in spite of this slower rate of extinction, this figure of 3551 languages making up the 50% predicted for loss by century’s end is not far off from the 3227 currently endangered languages, though ELCat makes no prediction about how soon or even whether these will become extinct – we hold hope for some revitalization programs. However, it should be kept in mind that these rates could increase dramatically as more languages become more critically endangered and then cease to be spoken.

crisis of accelerated language loss. The information in ELCat give a more precise picture about language endangerment.

Based on evidence from ELCat, the number of whole language families that have become extinct is better understood. All the languages of 100 families (including isolates) have become extinct, from the circa 420 language families – 24% of the linguistic diversity of the world (calculated in terms of language families) is lost. Twenty-eight of these 100 extinct language families became extinct since 1960 (28%). This also confirms the extensive, on-going loss of language diversity is highly accelerated in recent times.

For many languages the sources of information are out of date or are inaccurate. In spite of recent efforts, there remain many languages for which a great deal of crucial information is missing; namely, the age of the youngest speakers, the domains in which the languages are used, whether children are learning the language, and whether the number of speakers is declining. For 332 languages in ELCat, the number of speakers is just “unknown.” This amounts to 10% of the endangered languages (5% of all languages).⁸

Although recent efforts have brought us closer to answering critical questions about endangered languages and language endangerment in general, there remains substantial work to be done. The *Catalogue of Endangered Languages* encourages submissions from linguists and knowledgeable people in order to remain an up-to-date and increasingly more accurate resource on endangered language information.

3 Uralic languages

Language endangerment threatens linguistic diversity worldwide, and efforts to address this issue must include the documentation of these languages before they disappear and successful revitalization programs. However, language endangerment impacts different regions and language families unequally. Here we discuss the situation among Uralic languages, review the history of Uralic language documentation and its status in the present day, and summarize important accomplishments and limitations of Uralic language revitalization programs.

⁸ We assume that all or nearly all the languages for which no information on speaker numbers is currently available are endangered. If they were larger and spoken by many speakers, there would be some report about their speakers.

3.1 Endangerment among Uralic languages

All but three of the circa 44 Uralic languages are endangered – only the national languages Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian are currently safe. Stated differently, without intervention, in a few generations Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian will be the only remaining members of the Uralic language family. ELCat currently lists 41 Uralic languages as endangered. This includes 4 dormant languages, 9 severely endangered, 10 critically endangered, 8 endangered, 4 threatened, 5 vulnerable, and 1 at risk language (Moksha). There are 19 Uralic languages in ELCat that have fewer than 1000 speakers, and 9 Uralic languages have fewer than 100 (excluding dormant languages). Details concerning these languages are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Uralic Languages in the Catalogue of Endangered Languages (preferred source only).

Name	Code	Endangerment status*	Number of speakers*	Year of source*
Akkala Saami	sia	Critically endangered	1	2013
Enets, Forest	enf	Severely endangered	~10	2011
Enets, Tundra	enh	Critically endangered	~30	2007
Erzya	myv	Threatened	250,000	2007
Inari Saami	smn	Endangered	~300	2007
Ingrian	izh	Severely endangered	~130	2013
Kamas	xas	Dormant	0	2010
Karelian	krl	Threatened	63,000	2007
Khanty, Eastern	1ok	Severely endangered	~480	2010
Khanty, Northern	1of	Threatened	10,000	2000
Khanty, Southern	1og	Dormant	0	2000
Kildin Saami	sjd	Severely endangered	~300	2007
Komi-Permyak	koi	Vulnerable	110,000	2007
Kven Finnish	fkv	Severely endangered	1,500–10,000	2012
Livonian	liv	Dormant	0	2014
Livvi-Karelian	olo	Endangered	~27,000	2007
Ludian	lud	Critically endangered	300	2015
Lule Saami	smj	Endangered	1000–2000	2007
Mansi, Eastern	1nu	Severely endangered	<500	2000
Mansi, Northern	1nt	Endangered	3000	2000
Mansi, Western	1od	Dormant	0	2000
Mari, Eastern	mhr	Vulnerable	500,000	2007
Mari, Western	mrj	Vulnerable	<50,000	2007
Moksha	mdf	At risk	200,000	2010
Nenets, Forest	yrk-for	Endangered	1500	2007
Nenets, Tundra	yrk-tun	Endangered	20,000	2014

Name	Code	Endangerment status*	Number of speakers*	Year of source*
Nganasan	nio	Severely endangered	500	2000
North Saami	sme	Vulnerable	165,000	2007
Pite Saami	sje	Critically endangered	~42	2011
Selkup, Central	1op	Critically endangered	2	2015
Selkup, Northern	1oo	Endangered	<600	2005
Selkup, Southern	1or	Critically endangered	1	2015
Skolt Saami	sms	Critically endangered	~300	2007
South Saami	sma	Endangered	600	2015
Ter Saami	sjt	Severely endangered	30	2007
Udmurt	udm	Threatened	324,338	2014
Ume Saami	sju	Critically endangered	20	2007
Veps	vep	Severely endangered	3613	2013
Võro	vro	Vulnerable	~50,000	2007
Votic	vot	Critically endangered	11–13	2015
Yazva	kpv-yaz	Critically endangered	~200	2007

* According to the “preferred source” in ELCat as of October 2015. The preferred source is selected based on reliability and recency of information, among other factors, and it is the first source to appear for each language on www.endangeredlanguages.com. For the above languages, ELCat presents data from 4.5 sources on average. Only the preferred source is given in this table

Having information about language vitality is critical for allocating resources for language planning and revitalization. Unfortunately, for many Uralic languages the most recent reliable vitality information is more than a decade old, often much older, and we have very little information about changes in vitality. For example, Heinsoo (2004: 15) predicted for Votic, whose youngest speaker reportedly was born in 1935, that: “the language is destined to die out in ten years.” Today, 11 years later, published information does not immediately reveal whether this prediction is borne out. The most recent publication from experts on Votic list 11 proven, 2 unproven, and 5 semispeakers as of 2006 (Kuznetsova, Markus & Muslimov 2015).

The situation is often murkier for languages with more speakers (therefore often more difficult to count) or whose experts do not regularly include (updated) speaker numbers in their publications. Although a syntactician or a lexicographer, for instance, may not be the ideal person to collect demographic information, in many cases we cannot rely on official sources of demographic information (i.e., census reports, town registers in the Russian Federation, etc.) to supply accurate estimates of the number of speakers for these languages, and we are missing something critical if, for example, ten articles on deictic markers in a language have been published since the beginning of the decade, but we cannot provide a more recent estimate of speakers for that language than 2000.

Endangerment studies of the Uralic languages

Very few scholars have conducted vitality studies of language endangerment in complete language communities. Among the Uralic languages, the only such studies have been conducted by Hallamaa in the mid- and late 1990s. These include studies of the Northern Veps dialect area (in 1996 and 1997), Olonets Karelian (Livvi) communities in the D'essoilu area (1996), Central Karelian communities of the Paatene area (1997), the main Skolt Saami communities (1996), and certain Inari Saami communities (1996–1999). Of these studies, only a summary of the Northern Veps study has been published until now (Hallamaa 1998).

The Northern Veps study included 2970 persons, of whom 2171 were considered Veps or of Veps extraction. The Livvi study in D'essoilu and its surroundings included 991, persons, of whom 668 were considered Karelian or of Karelian extraction. The Central Karelian study in and around Paatene included 1699 persons, of whom 1168 were considered Karelian or of Karelian extraction.

Hallamaa's framework allows him to extract two limit values from his data: one for the transmission of the language and one for the absolute vitality of the language in question. In the following diagrams, those age groups which have transmitted the language on to the following generation are marked with black, those in which the command of the native language is good but which have not transmitted the language to the next generation are marked with grey. Those age groups which are not able to speak the language are marked with white.

Northern Veps study in 1996

From the perspective of 1996, it appears that the transmission of the Veps language to the next generation went on longest in Toižeg, where those people who were born in 1920 (age 75 in 1996) or earlier seem to have transmitted the language to the next generation. Kalaig (1918, age 77 in 1996), the neighboring community, was not far ahead of Toižeg. In places such as Ust'ii of Šokš, a generation that would have transmitted the language could no longer be detected. For the whole area, it appears that the transmission of the language to the next generation ended with those born in 1914 or later. These people were 81 or older in 1996. The vitality for Northern Veps varieties are shown by village in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

One would have to add to these values some 20 to 25 years, to arrive at a time when transmission actually ended, with these age groups becoming of

child-bearing age. This would mean that the transmission of Veps stopped in this area between 1940 and 1945. This is a rough estimate, and it is likely that the language was transmitted even during the Continuation War, when this area was occupied by the Finnish military. What is certain from the data is that after the war transmission of the language stopped. In some cases, however, it seems that transmission ceased already before World War II. This is likely in the case of Šoutar'v, which since pre-war time has been the local administrative center. In the 1990s, Hallamaa could find only one individual there who knew all of the local place names correctly. That only one individual among the 680 Veps in Šoutar'v knew such things is indicative of how the language community had disintegrated during the Soviet years, both before and after World War II.

Vitality of Veps seems to have been strongest in Kalaig, where those who were born in 1949 or earlier have a command of the language. For the whole dialect area, those born in 1944 or earlier have a good command of the language. This is not to say that no younger individuals speak Veps here. The youngest speaker found in the area was a 16-year-old teenage girl (born 1980) in the Suvagd' part of Kaskez.

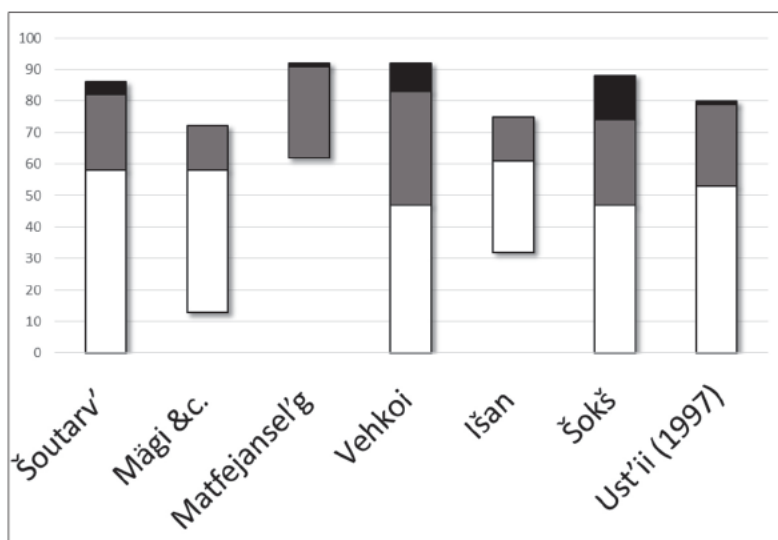


Fig. 1. Northern Veps vitality by village (north), 1996.

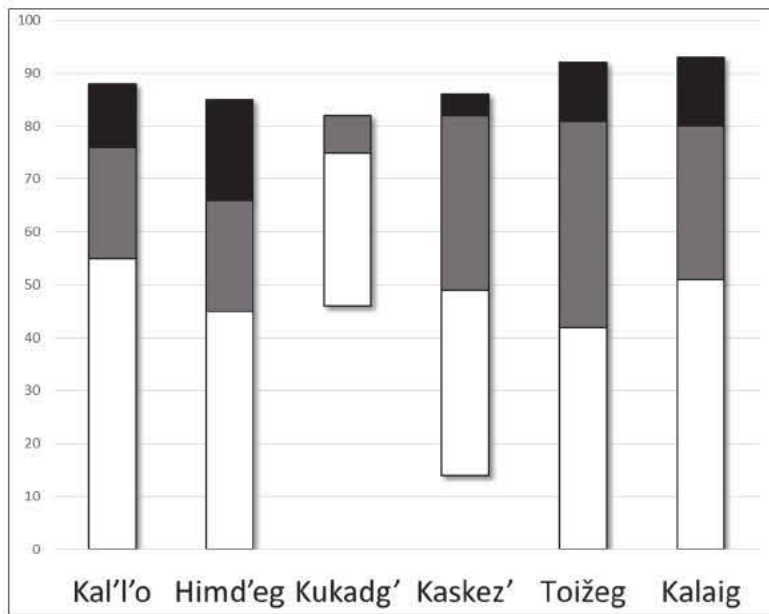


Fig. 2. Northern Veps vitality by village (south), 1996.

Livvi study in D'essoilu in 1996

The study of the communities administered by the D'essoilu village soviet showed that the vitality of Livvi was not uniform in the area, as shown in Figure 3.

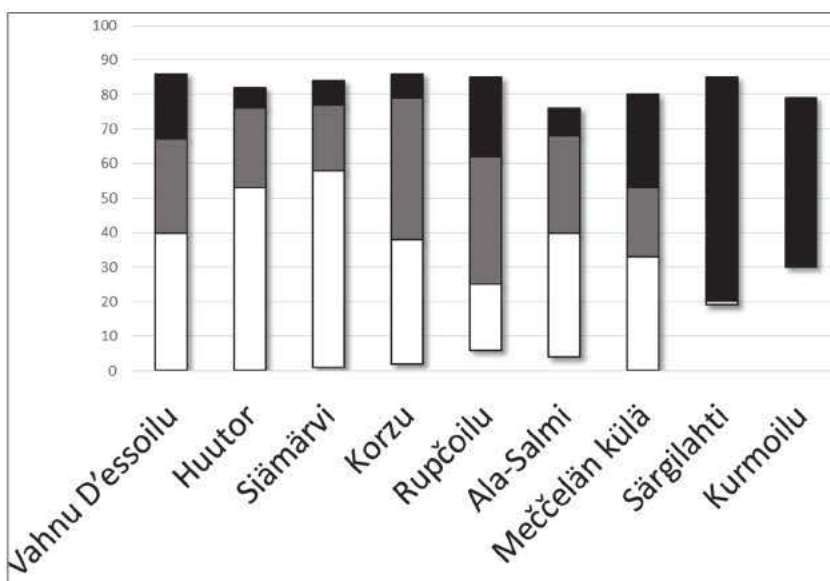


Fig. 3. D'essoilu area Livvi vitality by village, 1996.

Whereas in most villages the language shift had taken place right after WW II, there villages in the west, Särgilahti and Kurmoilu, showed hardly any sign of a language shift. Only one mixed marriage in Särgilahti had offspring who could not speak Livvi. But the younger generations from these villages had moved to larger communities and to the city (i.e. Petrozavodsk). Nevertheless, the possibility of language shift was investigated; Hallamaa asked all villagers what language had been used in the homes with children.

Central Karelian study in the Paatene area in 1997

The study of the Paatene (Karelian Poojen) area showed that in three of the four villages language shift had taken place more or less simultaneously (see Figure 4).

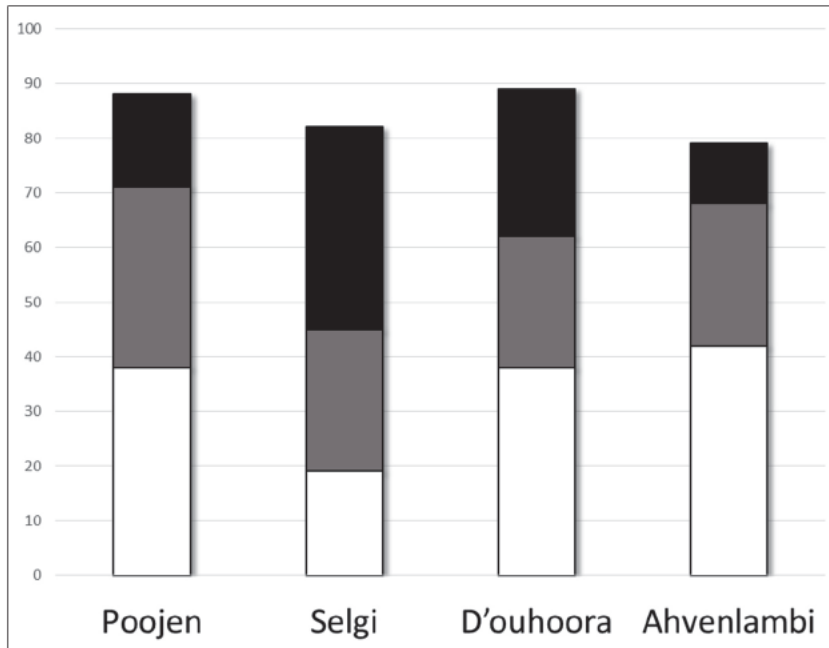


Fig. 4. Central Karelian language vitality in Paatene, 1997.

The fourth village, Selgi, had locally a reputation as a place in which even the non-Karelian newcomers would learn to speak the language. While this was strictly speaking not the case, as least not any more in 1997, the results show that the language shift in Selgi took place some 20–25 years later than in the other villages.

Comparison of the three areas in Karelia

As shown in Figure 5, the comparison of the three areas in Karelia show that the vitality of Northern Veps and Livvi in D'essoilu were in similar, with those above 50 years of age being able to speak the native language. The index for language transmission was slightly better in D'essoilu (by five years), but this was not really reflected in the language's absolute vitality. The Paatene area (data here is calibrated for 1996) had a slightly better figure for both language transmission and absolute viability than the two other areas.

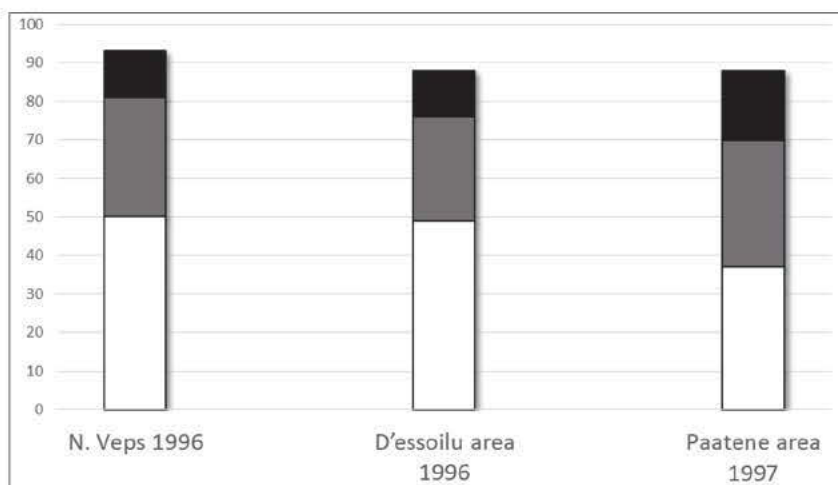


Fig. 5. Comparison of three areas in Karelia, 1996–97.

Studies in Skolt Saami vitality 1996

Hallamaa conducted a survey of Skolt Saami vitality in three communities in the Inari Municipality. Only Ivalo was not surveyed. The results (Figure 6) showed that in Njeä'llem and Keväjä'urr language shift had progressed quite far, and language transmitters are no longer to be seen in the diagrams. In Če'vetjäu'rr, the language transmitters were mostly in the groups of those 60 years and older. In 2016, this would translate into 80 years and older.

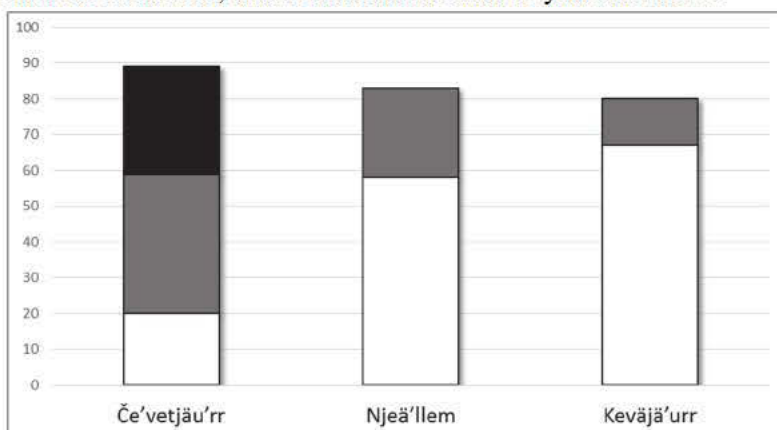


Fig. 6. Skolt Saami vitality in three Inari communities, 1996.

The development in Če'vetjäu'rr was reconstructed later on the basis of various census data (Figure 7). It was found that language shift originated in the early

1970s. By 1986, those under 15 did not have an active command of the language, although some persons in these age groups do have passive knowledge of the language, from having been engaged in reindeer herding activities, during which Skolt Saami is spoken almost exclusively.⁹

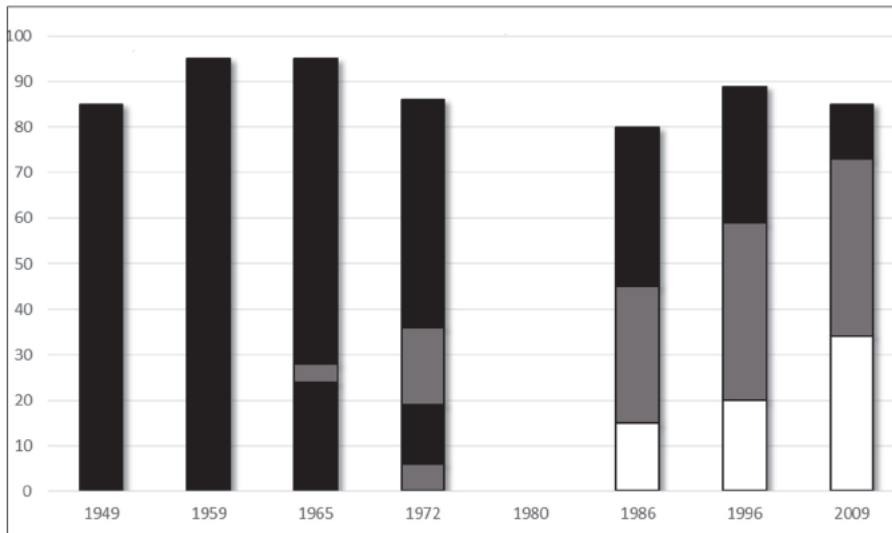


Fig. 7. Skolt Saami vitality in Če'vetjäu'rr, 1949–2009.

3.2 Uralic documentation

As with endangered languages in other areas of the world, documentation and revitalization of these endangered Uralic languages are of paramount importance. Thorough, multipurpose documentation of multiple speakers and genres can best serve as the basis for revitalization programs (not to mention sound linguistic analyses). Views vary about the status of documentation for the Uralic languages. For instance, while Bakró-Nagy, Laakso, and Skribnik (2015) state that “the languages are relatively well documented,” the Izva Komi Project on the other hand reports that “many major Uralic languages are not well documented.”¹⁰ Actually, both views can be correct: documentation can be thorough in some domains at the same time it is inadequate in others. For instance, some languages have much documentation of folkloric texts or vocabulary, but may still lack basic information about everyday

⁹ In Figure 7, the Če'vetjäu'rr vitality in the 2009 column is a projection based on the 1996 values for that year, taking the age of the oldest resident and adding 13 years to the two limit values.

¹⁰ <http://www.slideshare.net/chemyshev/kone-project-sykyvkar> (accessed 18.10.2015).

communication, such as how to say, “hello”, “goodbye”, or “thank you” (as for example, in Kemi Saami, with very limited attestation).

Uralic languages have a long tradition of language documentation, from the late 1700s onward, in the context of comparative linguistics and of the romantic nationalism dominant in Europe at the time. Numerous famous Uralic “fieldworkers,” linguistic expeditions, and archive collections could be mentioned. This differs from many other areas of the world, which would be envious of the extensive documentation that exists for Uralic languages. The following are some of the earliest influential fieldworkers in Uralic linguistics.

Anders Johan **Sjögren** (1794–1855) made an expedition in 1824–1829, collecting materials on Karelian, Saami, Mari, Komi, and Udmurt, among others. Most of his materials remain unpublished. His comparative and grammatical sketch of Komi influenced similar studies. He is credited with first identifying the Veps language and with facilitating Castrén’s and others’ investigations.

Table 2. Early expeditions to document Uralic languages.

Language	Details
Csángó dialect (Hungarian)	Yrjö Wichmann 1907
Votic, Eastern	Lauri Kettunen 1913
Inari Saami	A. V. Forsman (Koskimies) 1886 Frans Äimä 1900
Kamas	Kai Donner 1911–1913 and 1914
Khanty (Ostyak)	Arvid Genetz 1887 Heikki Paasonen 1898–1902 K. F. Karjalainen 1898–1902
Kola Saami	T. I. Itkonen 1912 and 1914
Komi	Arvid Genetz 1889, Yrjö Wichmann 1901–1902
Livonian	E. N. Setälä, E. A. Saarimaa and Vilho Setälä 1912
Ludic (Lyydi)	Juho Kujola 1910
Lule Saami	K. B. Wiklund 1888
Mansi (Vogul)	Arvid Genetz 1887 Artturi Kannisto 1901–1906
Mari (Cheremis)	Volmari Porkka 1885–1886 Arvid Genetz 1887 Heikki Paasonen 1898–1902 G. J. Ramstedt 1898–1900 Yrjö Wichmann 1905–1906
Mordvin	Heikki Paasonen 1888–1889 Arvid Genetz 1889 Heikki Paasonen 1898–1902
North Saami	Konrad Nielsen 1903
Olonets (Livvi, Aunus)	Juho Kujola 1911

Language	Details
Selkup	Kai Donner 1911–1913 and 1914
Skolt Saami	T. I. Itkonen 1912 and 1914
South Saami	K. Jaakkola 1884, 1885, 1888 K. B. Wiklund 1892
Tavgi (Nganasan)	Kai Donner 1911–1913 and 1914
Tver Karelian	Juho Kujola 1912
Udmurt (Votyak)	Arvid Genetz 1889 Yrjö Wichmann 1891–1892, 1894
Veps	J. H. Kala and E. N. Setälä 1889
Yurak (Nenets)	Toivo Lehtisalo 1911–1912 and 1913–1914

Elias **Lönnrot** (1802–1884) made many trips to the field, including to the Saami, Estonians, and the Finnic peoples of northwestern Russia. He famously documented the *Kalevala*, but also did much to document the folklore and languages of these peoples. Matthias Alexander **Castrén** (1813–1852), who travelled together with Lönnrot and Sjögren, made expeditions in 1838 to Lapland, 1839 to Karelia, and 1841–1844 beyond the Urals, as far as Obdorsk (Salekhard, a Khanty settlement). He produced Zyrian (Komi) and Cheremis (Mari) grammars, among other important works.

An example of just how valuable and thorough some of this documentation is comes from Votic. All Finnic languages except Votic had a literary language (Heinsoo 2004: 11, 13). Nevertheless, Votic has both early and extensive linguistic documentation, from 1780s onward. Elias Lönnrot “put down 3,000 lines of verse when stopping in Kattila on his trip to Estonia [1844]” (Heinsoo 2004: 11). Paul **Ariste** (1905–1990) produced 23 handwritten volumes documenting ‘Votic Ethnology’. Its 5369 pages include: 330 songs, 54 incantations, 7 lamentations, 204 fairy tales, 274 myths, 54 legends, 107 jokes, 768 proverbs, 239 riddles, 147 sayings, 3226 items of beliefs and customs, 1633 items of historical and ethnographical data. His vocabulary card index has 44,100 word slips.

Some other early expeditions to record Uralic languages, all of which were funded by the Finno-Ugrian Society, are reported in Table 2. These expeditions abruptly ceased in 1917 due to the Bolshevik revolution.

3.2.1 Issues in Uralic documentation

Though the early and extensive documentation of many Uralic languages is truly a treasure, there are issues concerning the nature and utility of this documentation corpus. These issues concern the language of analysis

(metalanguage), the transcription conventions used, and the historical orientation of the collected materials.

The language in which the description is presented (the metalanguage) often makes the documentation materials on Uralic languages inaccessible to speakers of the languages and communities whose heritage languages are described, as well as increasingly inaccessible to scholars. Much of the early work was written in German – although speakers of Uralic languages are typically bilingual, most are not bilingual in German. The documentation presented in Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, Russian, Swedish, and Norwegian also limits access for many communities and for many scholars, for whom today English has replaced German as the dominant language of international scholarship.

Ideally, all documentation would be translated, archived, digitized, and made available online in the dominant language of the community whose language is described and in English, preserving also the metalanguage of the original description. While today we are no longer limited with respect to storage capacity of such materials, serious barriers remain in the lack of financial and human resources available for such a daunting undertaking.

Similarly, much documentation was written in inaccessible transcriptions, often written phonetically (not phonemically) in the Finno-Ugric Transcription System, also known as the Uralic Phonetic Alphabet (UPA). It is important to note that the phonemic principle did not come into force until around 1930 or later. While the UPA is established among Uralic scholars, materials originally rendered in close phonetic transcription in this notation are formidable even for scholars accustomed to the UPA, and far worse still, are intimidating to the point of uselessness for speakers of the languages transcribed. A small example to illustrate this is cited in Figure 8.

nu₁kuzā' b̄d:nu'ga'ʔʔi' d̄š̄ābakt̄or̄āi't̄s:'. amnā'ʔʔ, d̄š̄ābak-
 t̄or̄š̄ābā:ʔʔ. amō'rāitt̄š̄ p̄d̄i' oʔx̄ō't̄ta. amnā'ʔʔ, amō'ra'ʔʔ.
 deñ i'p̄ē'k i'p̄'ō'ta'p̄o, k'ajā'k'ē nugā', šamnā'k'ē iḡš̄. t'ūs̄
 iḡē', munu'ḡ', ujā', k'ʔā. amā'ʔ bar. mən̄ t̄ujō'k'a-
 t̄ā' m̄ šumurā'noʔ, a t̄ān̄ mā'na' amnō'ʔ. jāšomaʔ. m̄n̄ mb̄ān̄i-
 b̄ū' t̄n̄n̄ t̄et̄š̄ē' m̄. d̄ḡḡt̄t̄ē' meš̄ē' m̄ t̄n̄n̄. t'āšd̄āin̄ š̄o-
 b̄i: m̄n̄ t'ur̄ānb̄ē'. m̄n̄ m̄mb̄ā'm : i'p̄p̄ē'ʔ kunō'š̄i't̄t̄š̄.
 d̄ḡḡt̄t̄ē' m̄mb̄ā'm : amō'ra'ʔʔ, p̄d̄i' amō:rāitt̄š̄ oʔx̄ō't̄ta.
 d̄ē' m̄m̄p̄i' : mun̄ē'ḡ' amō:r̄z̄i't̄t̄š̄'n. m̄n̄ t'ur̄ā'ran̄ amb̄ā'm
 d̄im. d̄ḡḡt̄t̄ē' i'p̄'š̄b̄ē' k'unō'š̄i't̄t̄š̄, man̄ ē'p̄p̄b̄ē'm.
 i'rt̄ē' n̄ uptub̄ā'm, šomurā'no' m̄m̄p̄ē' m̄. šob̄ā'm, d̄ē' n̄ m̄m-
 b̄ā'm : up'c̄tā'ʔʔ, amō'ra'ʔʔ, deñ namzōr̄ā' s̄v̄ēt̄. šut iḡē',
 k̄p̄t̄ē' iḡē', munu'ḡ', i'p̄ē'k'. amō'ra'ʔʔ, amnā'ʔʔ. D̄ē' b̄ār.
 d̄ē' u'p̄i', buzai'z̄āb̄i', d̄ḡḡt̄t̄ē' amnō'b̄ā: amō'r̄z̄i't̄t̄š̄. d̄ē-
 ḡt̄t̄ē' k'at̄ā:d̄š̄ūrb̄i'. a m̄n̄ b̄ān̄ai'š̄ā' m̄.

Fig. 8. Transcription in Uralic Phonetic Alphabet of the Kamassian spoken by Klavdija Plotnikova, transcribed by Ago Künnap in 1964. (Posti & Itkonen 1973: 89).

The rich materials collected by Kai Donner (1888–1935) illustrates the problem, materials collected on two expeditions to Siberia, 1911–1913, 1914, in which several languages, including Selkup were documented. Kim (1998: 86) speaks of the necessity of “deciphering” the “collected linguistic records of K. Donner [on Selkup].”

More recent examples illustrating some of these difficulties in the documentation can be found, for instance, in the recently published Mansi dictionary (Kannisto, Eiras & Moisio 2013) and Mari Dictionary (Moisio et al. 2008). Both preserve the complicated phonetic symbols and are written in German. They could have added Russian glosses and given the headwords in the official orthography to make them more accessible. They will not be of use to most native speakers, and even dedicated scholars will have to struggle to use them.

In several cases, the cumbersome original material has been re-transcribed in more accessible orthographies or systems of phonemic notation, but much

still needs to be done with much of these materials. Ideally, all the existing documentation would be re-transcribed phonemically and in an acceptable practical orthography for the languages, more accessible for users, but also preserving all original materials and transcriptions.

The content of the documentation and the motivations for collecting it are also an issue for Uralic languages. The comparative linguistic orientation of early Uralic research had a bias towards collecting old, even archaic, language. It was aimed at scholars, not at language maintenance or revitalization. Field workers sought the most “conservative” informants, in order to collect the most “authentic” (oldest) form of the language. Moreover, the texts that were collected concentrated on folklore and traditional tales, often neglecting everyday language and conversational interaction. (Bakró-Nagy et al. 2015.)

The languages have changed since these historically-oriented descriptive materials were collected. Although the structure of the languages may not have changed much, how the languages are used in their communities has changed markedly. The majority of Uralic languages have long existed in a contact situation with other languages, though emphasis on the purest and most archaic form of the languages investigated often resulted in the influences from other languages becoming next to invisible. The kind and amount of code switching and the domains in which the languages are used has, in many cases, changed markedly since the earlier documentation.

Even for the best and broadest collections we have, much older documentation lacks the audio and video recordings so important to modern language documentation. Multimedia documentation is important for preparing effective language-learning material for revitalization. Ideally, additional documentation would be undertaken for all the languages (and dialects) to provide modern electronic recordings, dealing with a wide range of genres, including conversation and language in daily use.

3.2.2 Archives

Several archives contain documentary materials on Uralic languages. A common perception is that there is extensive documentation on Uralic languages in archives, but that the materials are scattered, the holdings are poorly organized, and few people actually use them. They can be improved by digitizing all holdings, making their holdings fully accessible online, and by linking their holdings with other archives. (The papers presented in Symposium 19 of this current CIFU meeting dealt with these issues.)

The Finno-Ugrian Society’s archive, with significant records on most Uralic languages, now in the Finnish National Archives, contains extensive

linguistic and ethnographic materials collected by Finno-Ugrian Society (SUS) fellows on Uralic. A main activity of the SUS has been to analyze and publish these materials.

The Pushkin House Archive has extensive sound recordings dating from 1915 to 1982, including collections of Mordvinic (447 records), Mari (210 records), Udmurt (320 records), Komi (673 records), Estonian (157 records), Khanty (276 records) Mansi (237 records), and Karelian, Veps, and Finnish (401 records). (Denisov 2009.)

Some of the Kotus (*Kotimaisten Kielten Keskus*) archives include language documentation. For instance, *Suomen Kielen Nauhoitearkisto* (Finnish Language Recording Archive) contains 23,000 hours of sound recordings, mostly of Finnish dialects, but including many other languages, and is currently two-thirds digitized. The *Nimiarkisto* (Name Archive), which turned 100 years old this year, contains information on 2.7 million place names of Finnish, Saami, and Swedish origin.

The *Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura* (SKS, Finnish Literary Society) also houses important collections of Uralic languages. For example, it has the *Kansanrunousarkisto* (National Folklore Archive), which has 29,927 sound recordings and 1524 video recordings of Finnish and other languages.

The University of Tartu *Eesti murrete ja sugulaskeelte arhiiv* (Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages) holds about 2,300 hours of fieldwork recordings, about 356,000 pages of written materials, and 1500 photos of Estonian Dialects and other Finno-Ugric and Uralic languages. The *Yle* archive (Finnish Broadcasting Co.), includes its Saami Radio archive, with many hours of recordings in three Saami languages, and other languages.

Malye yazyki Sibir': Nasha kul'turnoe nasledie (Minority Languages of Siberia: Our Cultural Heritage) Multimedia Computer Linguistic Archive at Lomonosov Moscow State University contains a large collection on Selkup, among others. The University of Oulu Giellagas Institute (*Saamelainen Kulttuuriarkisto / Sápmelaš kulturarkiiva* [Saami Culture Archive]) holds many tape recordings and videos of varieties of Saami. The ULMA archive, Uppsala also contains materials on Saami languages. The Sámi Archives, at Sámi University College (Kautokeino, Norway) holds tapes, some transcribed materials, and a text bank. Other Saami materials are held at the Tromsø Museum, at *Sámi Arkiiv* (Inari), and at the Skolt Saami document archive.

These and other archives containing Uralic collections are summarized in Table 3. We hasten to add that this is only a sample of the archives and archived materials on Uralic languages. Others exist in several other countries of Europe.

Table 3. A sample of archives holding Uralic language collections.

Name	Uralic languages represented	Details
Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages http://www.murre.ut.ee/arhiiv/abi.php?t=otsi	Estonian, Ingrian, Votic, Karelian, Ingrian Finnish, Veps, Udmurt, Inari Sami, Komi, Livonian, Mari, Mansi, Ludic, Voro, Permi, Nenets, Mordva, Moksha, Saami, Erzya, Khanty, Kamas	1500 hours of fieldwork recordings and about 118 000 pages of written materials
DoBeS (TLA) http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/	Nenets, Kola Saami	
Endangered Languages Archives (ELAR) http://elar.soas.ac.uk/	Eastern Khanty, Southern Selkup, Enets, Inari Saami, Ingrian, Pite Saami, Tundra Nenets, Vogul (Mansi)	Partial access
Estonian Folklore Archive http://www.folklore.ee/era/eng/	Estonian, Livonian, Votic, Finnish, Ingrian, Karelian, Vepsian, Mordvinian, Mari, Komi, Udmurt, Khanty, Hungarian	25 folklore collections manuscripts 1,476,445 pages, collection of 39,313 photographs, sound archive 180,014 pieces, and 1333 video tapes and films (2013)
Finno-Ugrian Society (National Archives) http://www.arkisto.fi/fi/arkistolaitos/kansallisarkisto		
Kansanrunousarkisto http://www.finlit.fi/fi/yhteystiedot/kansanrunousarkisto	Finnish and other languages	29,927 sound recordings and 1524 video recordings
Minority Languages of Siberia: Our Cultural Heritage – Multimedia Computer Linguistic Archive http://siberian-lang.srcc.msu.ru/	Selkup	
NEZD (National electronic sound depositary) http://www.nezd.ru/	Khanty, Enets, Mansi, Nganasan, Nenets, Selkup	Paid access
Nimiarkisto	Finnish, Saami	Place names
Phonogram Archive, Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkinsky Dom) http://www.pushkinskiydom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=1301	Mari, Udmurt, Karelian, Veps, Estonian, Ingrian Finnish, Komi, Mordvinian	7,000 Edison phonograph wax cylinders, 500+ old wax discs (De Graaf 2013)
Saamelainen Kulttuuriarkisto http://www oulu.fi/giellagasinstituutti/saamelainen_kulttuuriarkisto	Saami	Tape recordings, video
Sámi Archives, at Sámi University College (Kautokeino, Norway) http://arkivverket.no/eng/The-National-Archives/Sami-Archives	Saami languages	Tapes, some transcribed materials, and some text bank
Sámi Arkiiv http://www.arkisto.fi/en/arkistolaitos/	Inari Saami	

Name	Uralic languages represented	Details
saamelaisarkisto		
Skolt Saami document archive	Saami languages	
Suomen Kielen Nauhoitearkisto http://www.kotus.fi/aineistot/puhutun_kielen_aineistot	Finnish dialects, other languages	23,000 hours sound recordings. 2/3 digitized
Tromsø Museum	Saami languages	
Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature, Russian Academy of Sciences (Ural branch) http://udnii.ru/	Udmurt, Mari, "other regional languages"	600 hours on 1000 cassette tapes and open reel tapes
Udmurt State University	Udmurt	
ULMA (Uppsala) http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/	Saami languages	
Yle archive (Finnish Broadcasting)	3 Saami languages	Saami Radio archive

3.2.3 Modern Uralic documentation

Fortunately, not all the documentation is from former times. Some modern Uralic linguists regularly carry out field work and actively collect documentation of these languages. To mention just two examples, a 2011 dissertation, based on nine months of field work funded by DoBeS from 2005–2009, described Forest Nenets, a language that was practically speaking undescribed prior to this publication (Siegl 2011). In 2014, a grammar of Pite Saami was published, based on fieldwork conducted since 2008 (Wilbur 2014).

The European Union-sponsored Finno-Ugric Minority Languages project (ELDIA)¹¹, based at Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz and coordinated by Anneli Sarhimaa, lasted 3.5 years and reported on 9 Finno-Ugric languages spoken in 12 linguistic communities in northern Europe, Russia, Slovenia, Austria, and Germany. The goals of the project were documentation, with aids to revitalization. The project report stated that “all of the minority languages under investigation therefore urgently need support in one form or another.”¹²

The Ingrian Language Documentation Project, funded by HRELP (SOAS), was originally intended to document the Ingrian language, but was expanded to include surrounding Balto-Finnic languages and legacy materials due to low research value of some of the existing documentation, often lacking metadata and transcriptions or stored on cassettes. The project increases the value of

¹¹ <http://www.eldia-project.org/>

¹² www.uni-mainz.de/presse/16718_ENG_HTML.php; <http://www.eldia-project.org/index.php/en/news-events-ac/press-releases/453-eng-eu-project-looking-at-finno-ugric-minority-languages-completed> (accessed 31.10.2015).

existing documentation by adding metadata and transcriptions and depositing it in multiple archives for accessibility, as well as expanding it with new documentation intended to capture new genres and modern language.¹³

The concept of language documentation has changed in recent decades, and with it what should be documented. Today language documentation is expected to record a richer corpus of texts representing many genres, with ethnographic content preserving and transmitting local culture. It is clear that the documentation of Uralic languages is not complete. The lexical documentation is better (although more is needed), but grammatical documentation is weak for several of them. Several Samoyedic languages are not well documented. We need better lexicographical documentation for some Samoyedic languages. For Ter Saami and Akkala Saami,¹⁴ there is no grammar and the lexical documentation is poor. As mentioned, documentation of everyday language and of genres beyond folkloristic ones are lacking for many of the languages.

3.3 Revitalization of Uralic languages

The purpose of documentation extends beyond the needs of linguists and scholars: in many cases, these endangered language communities seek to reverse language loss and, in extreme cases, revive a language from dormancy. This can only be possible where there is adequate documentation to support the creation of learning materials. There are on-going revitalization programs involving various Uralic languages of varying degrees of success and of institutional or governmental support. Also, some current or recent documentation projects have revitalization components. We do not attempt to give a detailed report of what has been done in revitalization of Uralic languages or of what is currently happening. Rather, there are issues for revitalization, some of which overlap the documentation issues, and we focus on these, pointing to directions for improved practice.

A common issue is that it is difficult to deploy existing documentation for language teaching and learning. Older documentation is especially difficult to adapt for learners, largely for reasons discussed above (see Bakró-Nagy et al. 2015). In cases where the modern language differs significantly from that represented in the majority of the documentary materials, designing revitalization programs around the archived version of the language can even be detrimental: partial speakers of the modern language might be intimidated by

¹³ <http://www.hrelp.org/grants/projects/index.php?lang=219> (accessed 31.10.2015).

¹⁴ Although Akkala Saami is often thought extinct, a family speakers was recently discovered living on the Kola Peninsula (Pekka Sammallahti, personal communication, August, 2015).

the unfamiliar, archaic forms, or may come to see the modern version of the language as inferior, not worthy of pursuit.

Some materials are not easily adapted to meet the needs of modern audiences. Some textbooks were prepared for native speakers to learn the written language, not for less competent learners who want to learn to speak the language (Bakró-Nagy et al. 2015). Some of the materials were written in difficult or inaccessible orthographies. A common case for the Balto-Finnic languages, at least, is that the orthography has been standardized multiple times as the surrounding political environment shifted to and from favoring Cyrillic. Learners who are literate only in Russian may find a Latin-based alphabet difficult to learn, yet switching to a Cyrillic orthography severs access to many rich and important works written in Latin-based orthographies.

Another issue is that most of the materials have not been written by members of the language communities. Members of the language community may feel like they no longer have authority when it comes to their own language. For example, Schröder (2012) reported that one factor impacting the success of Khanty and Mansi language summer camps was that camp leaders felt the need to consult with linguistic texts, prepared by outsiders, and to trust them over their own linguistic knowledge and experiences.

Language policy and the political context can also dramatically impact a revitalization program. Language policies have varied significantly over time and from nation to nation, and have changed again recently in several places. Official language policy can help or hinder language revitalization.

Due to assimilationist policies and efforts to eradicate some minority languages in the former Soviet Union, most children today are semispeakers at best of the minority Uralic languages, with Russian as dominant. In Russia, the current leadership's policies to abolish national autonomies is not encouraging for language maintenance or for language revitalization efforts (Bakró-Nagy et al. 2015). "In contexts such as the former Soviet Union or today's Russia, heavy bureaucracy and ideological aspects (the glorification of Russian as the national and interethnic language and a general mistrust towards multilingualism) makes [...] cooperation [for revitalization] particularly difficult" (Bakró-Nagy et al. 2015).

In the Nordic countries, and to some extent in Estonia, language revitalization efforts have enjoyed favorable circumstances, with significant popular and government support.

Language revitalization and conservation efforts for Uralic languages have involved primarily only language nests and teaching in schools. Efforts to establish numerous language nests have been undertaken, some sustained more

successfully than others. Some of the language nests that have been established include: Inari Saami language nest established 1997 (funded by the Finnish Cultural Foundation, by 2007 Finnish state funding), Inari Saami in Ivalo Skolt Saami (Sevettijärvi and Ivalo), South Saami (Engerdalen), Lule Saami (Tysfjord and Jokkmokk), Northern Saami (in Utsjoki, Karigasniemi, Vuotso, Oulu, Helsinki, and Rovaniemi), Karelian (Uhtua, Petrozavodsk, Nurmes), and Finnish in 2009 (Petrozavodsk).

The language-nest project (2008–2013) helped to set up language nests, channeled through the Finland-Russia Society. These included a Veps language nest in Šoutjärvi (Sheltozero), Karelian in Tuuksi (Tuksa), Karelian in Petroskoi (Petrozavodsk), Komi day-care facilities with language immersion, Nganasan, and Forest Enets (Potapovo). There were also training seminars with language nests in Yoshkar-Ola in the Mari Republic, in Syktyvkar in the Komi Republic, and in Izhevsk in Udmurtia.

Setting up language nests has not been without difficulties. As Pasanen (2015b) says: “During the language nest project it became clear that the current circumstances in Russia make these language nest activities challenging. Adopting a language other than Russian as a day-care or teaching language is considered quite a radical approach in today’s Russia, when it is not considered suspect or even illegal.”¹⁵

Fortunately, the Finnish Cultural Foundation has been able to provide a substantial amount of support to these programs. Since 2006, the Finnish Cultural Foundation has spent over 3 million euros for two main purposes: (1) to keep Inari Saami a spoken language in Finland for at least the next 100 years, and (2) to help revitalize small Finno-Ugric languages in the Russian Federation. The Language Nest project, active from 2008–2013, consisted of a series of seminars, aimed at helping to set up language nests. In 2011, the Finnish Cultural Foundation funded one year for parents of children in the Inari Saami language nest to take leave from their jobs to learn Inari Saami, an unprecedented offer of support from our perspective.

In the past decades, several Kone Foundation grants have supported the creation of Inari educational materials, a Votic (Vatja) summer course, and an online guide for Nganasan. They have also supported Skolt Saami technology-enhanced language learning and programs for varieties of Karelian.

Some revitalization programs have been established in local schools. These include Livonian, Inari Saami, North Saami, and Karelian, among others. Saami languages are taught in schools in the Saami Domestic Area in Finland, and

¹⁵ Cited from <http://www.visat.cat/articles/eng/116/the-language-nest.html> (accessed 31.10.2015).

Kildin Saami is taught at the vocational school, among others, in Lovozero in Murmansk Oblast', Russia. Presently, there are 13 Uralic languages taught in schools in Russia.

Our main point here is that, while these programs are necessary and certainly laudable, more diverse revitalization strategies can and should be pursued as well. As mentioned, for Uralic languages, the main strategies for language revitalization have been language nests and language teaching in school. Uralic language revitalization could benefit from adapting other strategies, such as: the Master-Apprentice program; more language immersion instruction; language camps, e.g. the Wānanga Reo immersion camps for Māori in New Zealand¹⁶; youth summer programs like SYLAP¹⁷; or the Breath-of-Life program¹⁸. Assessment of revitalization and teaching programs is needed, especially of the amount of language input children receive and the effectiveness of the programs employed.

4 Conclusions and recommendations

The existing documentation for many Uralic languages is rich, based on a proud tradition of description in Uralic linguistics that many linguists today continue with dedication. However, Uralic documentation is far from finished. It needs:

- a) to be completely digitized, and made more accessible,
- b) re-transcribed (phonemically) in accessible orthographies,
- c) made available online, and made more usable for language revitalization programs, and
- d) the archived materials need to be better organized, and linked with other archives.

Further documentation is still needed. Specifically, there is an urgent need for audio and video documentation, documentation of genres missing from existing documentation (for example, daily language usage), and for some languages grammars and more thorough dictionaries are needed.

Similarly, while good revitalization programs exist for some endangered Uralic languages, programs need:

¹⁶ See as an example, <http://www.twoa.ac.nz/Nga-Akoranga-Our-Programmes/Te-Reo-Maori-Maori-Language/Te-Ara-Reo-Maori-Certificate-in-Te-Ara-Reo-Maori.aspx> (accessed 18.10.2015)

¹⁷ See <http://shoshoniproject.utah.edu/sylap/> (accessed 18.10.2015)

¹⁸ See for example, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Breath_of_Life_\(language_restoration_workshops\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Breath_of_Life_(language_restoration_workshops)), <https://vimeo.com/ondemand/nativelanguages> (accessed 18.10.2015), and others.

- a) to be sustained, with more resources,
- b) to have improved teaching and learning materials,
- c) to have favorable and consistent language policy,
- d) in particular, to employ a range of strategies in addition to just language nests and teaching in school, and
- e) to assess the programs to see if they meet their goals (to see if the children are getting the quantity and kind of language input necessary to acquire the language).

Resources are needed for both documentation and revitalization of endangered Uralic languages – chiefly, financial resources and human resources. We scholars need to call attention to the plight of these languages, to help raise funds for the work needed, and to influence official language policy where necessary. It is up to us to undertake the needed documentation, because the consequences of failing to document these languages adequately would be an intolerable tragedy for which future generations will not easily forgive us. It is also up to us to aid revitalization efforts in any way we can. Too little has been done, and in some cases it is all but too late.

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The Finno-Ugric message. Literary and cultural contributions of our discipline

Cornelius Hasselblatt

Introduction

The question of whether there is something specifically Finno-Ugric beyond mere linguistic kinship has bothered (and perhaps guided) me for the last thirty-five years (since I started to study the languages) or longer (since my first contact with the Finno-Ugric world). During my first contact with Finland, I must have felt something special I was initially unable to put my finger on. I could not specify it, and that is certainly one of the reasons why I started to dedicate my studies to this field. It is questionable, however, whether now, thirty-five years later, I know what this specific thing could be – but I have at least made some investigations and observations which may help to draw up an inventory. The question is, incidentally, interesting for both Finno-Ugrians and non-Finno-Ugrians (cf. Krull 2010, German version Krull 2011).

In linguistic terms, the main argument for treating the Finno-Ugric language family separately lies in the fact that there are some basic differences between our languages and, say, Indo-European languages. I mention Indo-European here not because of my own background, but because this language family is responsible for a great deal of our ruling mainstream culture and civilisation. We all know that it always widens the horizon of speakers of an Indo-European language if they become acquainted with features of the Finno-Ugric languages. This is not new and this is, of course, not restricted to the Finno-Ugric languages. Any non-Indo-European language will enlarge the narrow Indo-European view, as Archibald Henry Sayce already observed in 1880 (II: 329): “Had Aristotle been a Mexican, his system of logic would have assumed a wholly different form.” Sayce was a British Assyriologist and professor in Oxford, and he knew what he was talking about, as he had the broader horizon of those who see further than the end of their nose.

The same holds for the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, who in 1886 in his famous book *Beyond Good and Evil* (JGB no. 20) made the following remark: “It is highly probable that philosophers within the domain of the Ural-Altai languages (where the concept of the subject is least developed) look otherwise ‘into the world’, and will be found on paths of thought different

from those of the Indo-Germans and Mussulmans.” In other words, for the purpose of this congress one could rephrase the sentence of Sayce as: “Had Aristotle been a Finno-Ugrian, our present system of logic would have a wholly different form.”

This observation already indicates that it is not language alone that we are dealing with. Logic as a branch of philosophy might often be linked to language, but it is more than a purely linguistic notion. Hence my attempt is to deal with literary and general cultural contributions of our discipline. What would this different form look like, where are the differences, or, more cautiously formulated, is any crucial difference observable?

There are some famous technical or intellectual achievements that can be connected to Estonia, Finland or Hungary, but does this amount to Finno-Ugric culture? We know that the inventor of the popular 3-D combination puzzle was the Hungarian Ernő Rubik, we know that it was a Finnish company which was extremely important and successful in the field of mobile phone technology (cf. the title of Pieterse 2006), and we are aware that the inventors of a revolutionary video chat programme were settled in Tallinn (cf. the title of Hasselblatt 2012a). But probably that is not enough to make these products Finno-Ugric.

In order to properly understand the specific “Finno-Ugrianness” of some features, we have to return to the nineteenth century. Four decades earlier than Sayce, the German scholar Wilhelm Schott (cf. Hasselblatt 2014a) made contact with Finland and Estonia. His discipline initially was the Far East, China and Mongolia, and he was a contemporary and colleague of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. His contact with the North-East did not happen by travelling there, but through publications that reached him in his Berlin home. Schott was fascinated by the material and wrote reviews of it for German periodicals. In one such review about the first issue of the Proceedings of the Learned Estonian Society, from 1840, he characterised it as “attractive already owing to the fact that it provides especially us Western Europeans with almost completely new material, and enters like a pleasantly fresh breeze into the sultry atmosphere of the familiar and the everyday” (Schott 1841: 455).

This is a crucial remark which we can fully understand when we look at this very first issue of the first volume of the Proceedings. In this German language publication we find the very first German translation of some parts of Lönnrot’s *Kalevala* and several myths from Estonian folklore reported by Friedrich Robert Faehlmann. These texts were not just another folklore contribution among the flood of romantic literature from that period – these contributions still function today as representations of the respective cultures. The *Kalevala* is translated into approximately sixty languages (Piela et al. 2008:

536–541) and is *the* business card of Finnish culture; and Faehlmann’s myth about the boiling of the languages even fascinated Jacob Grimm, who mentioned it in his famous speech on the origin of language (Grimm 1851, cf. Hasselblatt 2010). There, he observed that he knew of only one other aetiology of the diversity of the languages of the world – besides the well-known biblical myth of the Tower of Babel we find in Genesis. Today we know of more origin myths concerning the diversity of languages (cf. the one recently reported from New Guinea by Diamond 2012: 323–324) but for Grimm, this other one was the Estonian tale from Faehlmann, which is rather unique and hardly found in any other language (cf. Undusk 2002).

What Grimm did not observe, however, was that the reason for the diversity of languages is in Faehlmann’s tale diametrically opposed to that of the Hebrew myth. In the Bible, the Creator confused the languages of men because he was afraid of them conspiring against him; in the Estonian myth, on the contrary, the Creator observed that humans had become too many on earth and were starting to quarrel with each other, so he decided to give them separate languages. And he creates these different languages by deriving them from the steam of boiling water.

From here it is a short way to one of the first particularities of the Finno-Ugric cultures – the relative richness of folklore material. I will return to this below but would like to draw attention to the fact that this is not at all only dead and old material – it is partly still a living tradition, as we can observe from today’s Estonian song festivals. Even the Singing Revolution, more than twenty-five years ago, can be regarded as an offspring of this tradition. The name of this type of political change in Eastern Europe came from Estonia (formulated by the Estonian artist Heinz Valk in his article in the newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar*, 17 June 1988). But here it is important to point out that this kind of revolution was not restricted to Estonia – it was found also in Latvia and Lithuania, and this is a central point in my attempt to define “Finno-Ugrianness”: many things I am going to mention may occur here and there in other linguistic environments as well, which is the reason why no strict definition of “Finno-Ugric culture” can be given. Therefore the Wittgenstein notion of “family resemblance” (cf. Gert 1995) is helpful here. It enables us to establish a set of criteria, a certain number of which have to be matched in order to make something “Finno-Ugric”. There are no features common to all – because there are always exceptions. And, on the other hand, there are no features restricted to Finno-Ugric languages, cultures and peoples only – for the very same reason, there will always be some exception. The main reason for this is the well-known fact that the Finno-Ugric languages and cultures did not

live in isolation but have rather been in an exchange and contact situation for millennia.

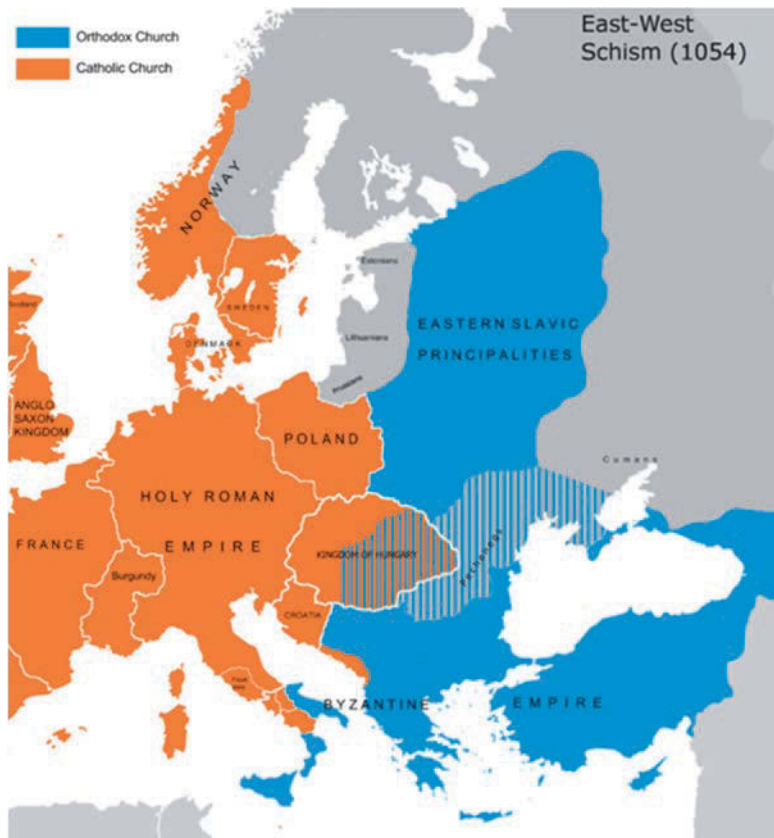
This set of criteria is tentative and partly impressionistic, but I nevertheless venture to present it here. I will comment on each of the following criteria in somewhat greater detail. The list comprises the following topics:

- language;
- mythology, shamanism, traditional religion;
- size matters, small is beautiful;
- the particular position of nature;
- the richness of folklore and oral tradition;
- silence, reticence, defensiveness;
- ethnofuturism.

Of these points, I will not discuss the language in any great detail because I assume the notion of what a Finno-Ugric language is and is not is undisputed. But the point is important as only one of the Wittgensteinian criteria, because language is not all. There are manifestations we might call Finno-Ugric, but which are not formulated in a Finno-Ugric language. I will come back to this later when talking about literature.

Mythology, shamanism, traditional religion

This first point is a well-known distinctive feature of the Finno-Ugric nations and one of the most investigated research fields. The fact that traditional religion is preserved relatively well in the Finno-Ugric areas has a simple explanation which can be illustrated by the following map:



(© Wikimedia Commons)

The interesting thing with this map is not the schism itself and the division of Europe. Much more important is the fact that some areas were not affected by the absurd discussion of the problem of what role was played by the son in the holy trinity, the so-called *filioque*-question. The interesting area for us is the grey area, which was – about a thousand years ago – not yet Christianised, in other words still free of a strange religious system imposed by foreigners. This grey area is in large part Finno-Ugric. This late arrival of Christianity, maybe with the exception of Hungary, led to a better preservation of original beliefs throughout the Finno-Ugric world. In the light of cultural diversity, biodiversity and pluriformity of our world, I regard the longer preservation of certain alternative forms of spirituality important, and mainly a positive factor.

And there are more positive side effects. The German writer, philosopher and environmental activist, Carl Amery (1922–2005), stated already in the 1970s that the total victory of Christianity is identical with the total crisis of our

planet, because the fatal words of Genesis (I: 28) created the global ecological crisis we are suffering from now: “Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the heavens and over every living thing that moves on the earth” (Amery 1985: 11). Today, we know how problematic this concept is. If we follow, instead – simplistic as it may sound – some other still living religious concepts, nature will perhaps have a better chance of survival. Among the Udmurts and especially among the Maris, this tradition is still living (cf. e.g. Sebeok & Ingemann 1956: 317; cf. also Werth 2001), and as has recently been shown, concentrating on certain traditional forms of religion may even help to preserve the language because, in the case of Mari, traditional religion is strongly based on the native language (cf. Vedernikova 2014).

This brings us to shamanism as one of the distinctive features of at least a number of Finno-Ugric cultures (cf. Hoppál 2010). In 1692 the Dutch traveller Nicolaes Witsen produced the first account of a Siberian shaman, who found his fly agaric (*Amanita muscaria*) under the Siberian cosmic tree, the birch (Corradi Musi 2001: 14). This tradition can still be traced today. Not only can we still witness Khanty bear celebrations, but also the Finnish epic poetry like the *Kalevala* is full of shamanistic elements (cf. Siikala 1992: 14) and the very same birch is still something of a holy tree in Finland and Estonia if we think of its use in present-day sauna rituals.

Finno-Ugric mythology is well investigated and certainly displays convergences with other mythologies. There are always mutual influences, and it would be wrong and even a dangerous mystification to state that in the Finno-Ugric world everything is different. But there are some elements which are nevertheless perhaps worth note. One example is the myth of the creation of the world from an egg. This is well known throughout the Finnic area and probably linked to Asia and even Oceania (cf. Pentikäinen 1986: 203; Siikala 2013: 152, 475; Valk 2000). The egg, and with it birds, seem to have a peculiar significance for the Finno-Ugric people, as can also be seen in their name for our galactic system, the Milky Way, which in a number of Finno-Ugric languages is the birds’ way (cf. Finnish *Linnunrata*, Estonian *Linnutee*, Võru *Tsirgurada*, Eastern Mari *Кайыккомбо Корно*, using the word for the Greylag goose (*anser anser*); more examples in SKES II, 297 s. v. *lintu*).

Birds obtain a prominent position also in Finno-Ugric poetry (cf. Hasselblatt 2012b: 168–169; Kahrs & Schötschel 2011: 70, 72, 136; Yuzieva 2014), although I would not dare to claim that birds are absent from other nations’ poetries. But it is at least interesting that the grandmother of the Estonian hero Kalevipoeg was in fact a black grouse (Talvet 2009: 100). The

distribution of this black grouse (*Lyrurus tetrix*, formerly also known as *Tetrao tetrix*) worldwide can be seen on the following picture:



(© Wikimedia Commons)

I would not say, of course, that this is identical with the distribution of the Finno-Ugric or Uralic languages – and what would this mean, by the way? – but it is indeed interesting to see that the habitat of the black grouse is in large part the habitat of the Uralic peoples and vice versa. One reason for this could be the fact that the black grouse is rather sensitive and in need of a large and peaceful area. Too many people around annoy it. And perhaps it is not by accident that the largest so called “lek mating” field of the black grouse in Europe has been detected in north-western Latvia, i.e. in the Livonian area. Here, the gathering of more than sixty males has been observed (Särmīte 2015: 16).

Size matters, small is beautiful

Hence the following point may be of some importance, i.e. quantity. Size matters, but in the Finno-Ugric case we have to apply the reverse version. Small is beautiful. The Finno-Ugric population makes only about a third of one per cent of the world population, and this has its positive consequences, not only for the black grouse.

Another consequence is a broader outlook in certain respects, as the Estonian poet and scholar Uku Masing (1909–1985) it put. “Small peoples necessarily have a broader outlook on life on account of the fact that they cannot disregard the existence of others” (Masing 1989 (1940): 144). This is, again, no absolute truth; narrow-mindedness and stupidity can also be found

with Finno-Ugrians, but more important are the fatal consequences of the reverse version of this insight: *Large peoples necessarily have a narrower outlook on life on account of the fact that they can disregard the existence of others.* Since all Finno-Ugric cultures are small when compared, for example, to English, Russian, German or Chinese, they should lack this particular restriction of such large cultures.

Uku Masing adored plants and gave his memoirs the title *Memories of Plants* (Masing 1996) because he actually thought them to be more intelligent and more capable than humans and animals. This is what the Estonian poet Aare Pilv called in a lecture “enlightened animism” (June 2015, p.c.) and this is once more at a certain distance from mainstream Christianity.

The particular position of nature

Masing’s love for plants is not exceptional; the presence of nature is ubiquitous in the entire Finno-Ugric world. One reason for this is, of course, the infrequency of human interference. I already mentioned the negative impact of mankind on our natural environment. Fortunately, there are still areas where nature is powerful, as we have seen on the map of the black grouse. Here is another map which resembles the previous one, but shows a well-known tree, the Scots pine (*Pinus sylvestris*):



(© Wikimedia Commons)

The distribution of the Scots pine in Eurasia, again, covers most of the Finno-Ugric area but also some adjacent Germanic, Baltic and Slavic areas. What is

more important here are the forests this species forms, and the percentage of forest in the Finno-Ugric and a number of other countries, as can be seen from the following list of the most forested countries in Europe:

Finland 72.9%

Sweden 69.2%

Slovenia 62.4%

Latvia 54.3%

Estonia 51.8%

Russia 49.4%

Austria 47.3%

...

Germany 31.8%

Poland 30.7%

...

Hungary 22.6%

(<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.LND.FRST.ZS> viewed 26 August 2015)

Only Hungary forms an exception here; all other Finno-Ugric peoples live in countries with a high percentage of forests.

One Estonian poet, Valdur Mikita (b. 1970), even included in his essay book *The Linguistic Forest* a chapter with the heading “Homo silvaticus”. Much can be criticised in this book, because the author specifically attributes things and values to Estonia one could attribute to any other culture or nation in the world (cf. Mikita 2013: 116–117), but the notion of the “homo silvaticus” seems to be not completely wrong. It is true, of course, that in German or Germanic mythology or poetry too forests played an important role, as in many other cultures, but the point is that even in contemporary life and poetry the forest is still very present. It is no accident that the Estonian partisans after the Second World War called themselves *metsavennad*, which means ‘Forest brothers’ – there simply is more forest than anything else around the Estonians.

The particular significance of the forest has been perfectly conveyed by another, more famous Estonian poet, Hasso Krull (b. 1964). His message is put into five lines of a simple poem: “Who goes into the forest / might discover sometimes / that he is lost / but who comes into the forest / will never get lost” (Estonian original: *Kes metsa läheb / võib mõnikord avastada / et ta on ära eksinud / aga kes metsa tuleb / ei eksi kunagi*, Krull 2014: 80).

It is only a simple juxtaposition of ‘coming’ and ‘going’, but it says everything about the attitude of the person towards the forest, and probably also

about the attitude of the forest toward the humans visiting it. Maybe it is the case that the Finno-Ugrian *comes* into the forest whilst the Indo-European *goes* into it?

Another literary example of the extraordinary importance of nature comes from the Nenets poet Juri Vella (1948–2003, on the author Toulouze 1998b). He wrote in Russian, but he was always conceived as a Nenets writer and he also considered himself a Nenets:

A recommendation, which I once got from my grandfather and now pass on to you, Nenets student.

Study! Always study!

Study any subject!

Learn the technique of the exploitation of oil and natural gas. Try to be dealer in gold, cars or weapons. Find out how to get a good harvest. Learn to orient yourself on the oceans and in the cosmos, in the soul of man and in legislation. Elbow your way into politics and power...

But never forget your reindeer. If the day comes when the world turns its back on you, the reindeer accepts you, no matter what you have become.

He can forgive everything. He pulls you out.

(Russian original: *Совет, который я получил когда-то от деда и теперь адресую тебе, ненецкий студент. / Учись! Учись всегда! / Учись на любую специальность! / Узнай технику добычи нефти и природного газа. Допытайся стать торговцем золота, автомобилей и вооружения. Узнай, как вырастить хороший урожай хлеба. Научись ориентироваться в море-океане и в космосе, в человеческой психике и в юриспруденции. Влезь в Политику и во Власть... / Но никогда не забывай о своих оленях. Если наступит день, когда весь мир отвернется от тебя, — олень примет тебя, каким бы ты ни стал. / Он умеет прощать все. Он тебя вывезет!* quoted from Juri Vella's website: <http://jurivella.ru/vanaweb/index.php/about-joomla/91----5>, viewed 26.8.2015; Estonian translation in Vella 2009: 6.)

The position of nature in various Finno-Ugric literatures must not be overestimated. Nature and poetry have a keen symbiosis in all languages. Nevertheless I would like to stress that owing to the relative “youth” of the culture, the low density of population and the touchable proximity of nature, this very nature is in a more prominent position within the Finno-Ugric world.

Finally, the snake can be named as an interesting example. This is a mythological animal in almost every part of the world and not particularly Finno-Ugric. But the reputation of this animal is not universally positive, owing

– again – to one old Hebrew myth in which the role of the snake is depicted as negative (Genesis 3). But much more interesting is that the snake in most Uralic mythologies has a clearly positive role. A successful novel by the Estonian writer Andrus Kivirähk (b. 1970) might serve as an example here. His novel *The Man who Spoke Snakish* (Kivirähk 2007, English translation in 2015) is a fantasy-like story about the Middle Ages and the loss of contact with nature. It has been translated so far into seven languages. The best friend of the main character is a snake, and the language of snakes functions as a symbol of harmony and being united with nature. In this sense one could even call the work an ecological novel (cf. Hasselblatt 2007; Sõrmus & Tofantšuk & Liiv 2013). Perhaps the saying the Estonian writer Jaan Kross (1920–2007) once told me (p.c.) has some truth to it: What is the difference between an Indo-European and a Finno-Ugric? If the Indo-European sees a snake, he kills it. If the Finno-Ugric sees a snake, he follows it and tries to understand it.

A final biological map might conclude this excursion into nature:



(© Wikimedia Commons)

It is, again, roughly the Finno-Ugric area where we find the European brown bear (*Ursus arctos arctos*). But on the other hand, the “brown bear” is also a metaphor for the world’s largest state where most of our smaller Finno-Ugric nations live. The behaviour, i.e. the politics, of this state is of utmost importance for most Finno-Ugric peoples. Thus, the contrast between small and large always puts stress on the Finno-Ugric cultures.

Richness of folklore and oral tradition

The next point is the richness of folklore and folklore collections, and the vividness of oral or other traditions already mentioned. The Finno-Ugric collections are indeed impressive and well-known. Few other nations have comparable records of this quantity. These large collections form the basis for numerous and diverse fields of research – from linguistics to literary and culture

studies. Thanks to them, the entire discipline of folklore studies received decisive stimuli from Finland. It is no accident that today's standard classification system of folktales has the abbreviation "ATU" where the A stands for the Finnish scholar Antti Aarne (1867–1925), who was the first to design this system using Estonian material. Others like Julius Krohn (1835–1888) and Kaarle Krohn (1863–1933) also contributed to the field, and the so-called Finnish school was born. Although it met serious criticism and has to be regarded as outdated in some points, today's folklore studies are unthinkable without this Finnish contribution. Two other letters – the T of Stith Thompson (1885–1976) and the U of Hans-Jörg Uther (b. 1944) – completed the current abbreviation, but the A stands still at the beginning.

We all know one of the results or consequences of this richness of folklore material – that is the Finnish epic *Kalevala*, which appeared one hundred and eighty years ago. This unique and huge piece of literature has inspired many foreigners; the best known is probably the British writer J. R. R. Tolkien (1892–1973) for his fantasy novel *The Lord of the Rings*. Tolkien knew some Finnish and employed his knowledge in his bestseller (cf. Himes 2000). The Finnish epic is also said to have influenced the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882) in his famous *Song of Hiawatha* about a noble savage, written in 1855, but Waino Nyland showed in 1950 – quite convincingly – that there was no influence from the *Kalevala* on Longfellow. Otherwise, so Nyland's argumentation runs, the verse of Longfellow would not have been as "chained" as it is, whilst the Finnish of the *Kalevala* is "natural and free" (Nyland 1950: 17). In this he is right. If one has read the *Kalevala* and then takes Longfellow's poem, the reader will be quite disappointed with this artificial and unpoetic, almost boring, story about a Native American. But be this as it may, the mere fact that influence is suggested already shows some influence.

There was certainly much more influence in other fields, one being the anthroposophists' interest in the *Kalevala*. The fascination of Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) and his followers for the Finnish epic certainly stems in part from the mainly peaceful character of its protagonists. The best example is Väinämöinen himself, who – as a leading hero of the epic – simply has no sword at all. He *sings* his adversary into the swamp.

This is the bridge to singing generally, and then to one very specific Finno-Ugric kind of singing, the Saami joik. No doubt this is a very old and very special form of creative activity. If one wants to understand this combination of melody and words one has to look at the language. The verb is a transitive verb. A Saami does not joik "about" or "on" a person, an animal or a hill, but he or she joiks the person, joiks the hill (Laitinen 1981: 181). The notion of a direct

object is important here. To joik is to create. No joik, no creation. In other words, if we stop joiking, we stop existing (Laitinen 1981: 191). Here, we have a parallel to the aboriginal songlines in Australia that the British author Bruce Chatwin (1940–1989) wrote his bestseller *The Songlines* (1987) about. Therefore it is quite understandable – though not commendable – that still today some Christian circles regard Saami joiks as something evil and forbidden (Bartens 2002: 4; Kjellström et al. 1988: 103; Lüderwaldt 1976: 7–8; Launis 1908: II), because they do not fit into their world view.

The joik with its characteristic pentatonic scale, however, is not only traditional music; it is still living, as can be seen with various successful contemporary Saami bands. Even modern phenomena like a steamboat (Launis 1908: XIII) or a taxi (Lüderwaldt 1976: 155–158) can be joiked. And the joik is not restricted to Saami culture: it can – or at least could – also be found in Karelian culture, and there are similarities with the Khanty song tradition (Kjellström et al. 1988: 100–101).

This brings us to the matter of music in general. The whole discipline we call ethnomusicology today is, in fact, a Finno-Ugric invention, one could say, with some exaggeration. One Finn and two Hungarians were the founding fathers of modern folk music research: Armas Launis (1884–1959), Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967) and Béla Bartók (1881–1945). One of them, Kodály, has even developed his own method of music teaching, the Kodály Method, which is linked to Rudolf Steiner and Waldorf education.

Half a century later, folk music was the basis for one of the most popular and famous Estonian composers, Veljo Tormis (b. 1930), who brings together old tradition and modern composition to create a unique music found nowhere else. If anything, then, these songs are certainly a Finno-Ugric contribution to the world's music heritage.

In the music context one might expect such leading lights as Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), Franz Liszt (1811–1886) and Arvo Pärt (b. 1935) to be mentioned. All of them certainly display features of their nation and their origin, certainly Sibelius with his *Karelia Suite* and his *Swan of Tuonela*, to name but a couple. All of them belong to, or maybe *are*, the most famous composers of their respective countries, Arvo Pärt even being the most performed living classical composer in the world – but in my view these three giants of music are less Finno-Ugric and more conventional or mainstream. But this is certainly subject to discussion, and no-one should doubt their Finno-Ugric roots.

Finally, in the field of folklore we also find some significant contributions in the realm of the visual arts. I have in mind the rock paintings in Karelia and

the Vepsian area (cf. Sawwatejew 1984; Uino 1997, 1998; Zhulnikov 2009). They are approximately 7,000 years old and therefore extremely valuable for historical research. These paintings have inspired an Estonian artist, Kaljo Põllu (1934–2010; cf. Põllu 1988, 2006), to make special works of art which reflect Neolithic times.

Silence, reticence, defensiveness

The next point I offered in my set of criteria was “silence, reticence, defensiveness”. This sounds like a cliché, but nevertheless, the basic tone of Finno-Ugric utterances, it seems to me, is just not very loud, sharp or shrill. This is connected, once more, with the fact that the Finno-Ugric peoples belong among the smaller ones, who naturally do not shout as loud as the Germans, Russians or English.

In this context I found a very beautiful quotation from the Hungarian novelist Péter Nádas (b. 1942). He wrote this in an essay about the writing of his most famous novel, *A Book of Memories* (1986): “I am extremely sensitive to noise and since I am grown up, my entire life is ruled by the struggle against noise, fleeing the noise and by the mental afflictions caused by noise” (Nádas 1993: 23). This corresponds with the characterization of Western culture as “communicative” by the famous Estonian poet Jaan Kaplinski (b. 1941; Kaplinski 2009: 138 and passim). In his opinion, the Finno-Ugric culture, in contrast, is less communicative and more contemplative or meditative, thus showing convergences with some cultures of the Far East (Kaplinski 2009: 149–150; on Kaplinski see Salumets 2014). (There are, I know, always counterexamples – think only of the world-famous Finnish heavy metal bands, but I still believe that these are exceptions confirming the rule.)

Another example of Finno-Ugric silence comes from a German criminal investigation movie from 2010, entitled *Tango für Borowski*. In this film, a German police officer is heading for Finland in order to support his Finnish colleagues in a case which is connected to his German home city. The German officer is accompanied by his assistant, a woman called Frieda. They are, together with a Finnish colleague, somewhere in the countryside, far from Helsinki, and have spent the night in a summer cottage. The next morning, when the German officer wakes up, his assistant is absent. Perhaps she just woke up earlier or whatever, that doesn't matter. The fact is that the German officer does not know where she is. And then follows the decisive scene (the film is on youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8qD3C3YWro>; the scene in question is between 1:21:00 and 1:21:15): the German asked his Finnish colleague “Did you see Frieda?” and the Finn answered simply “No”.

And then follow 15 seconds of silence. For the Finn, there is no need to say more, a simple question and a simple answer. But one can expect that in many other settings, cultures or languages, the questioner would have continued to ask and urge the other to say something more. “Haven’t you seen her? Where could she be? Why didn’t you notice anything?” et cetera. But the Finn said “No” and everything is clear. Why waste words on things everyone understands?

This brings me directly to the related point of a certain defensiveness, the state of not being aggressive. This is partly also due to the relative smallness of our nations, but that is not all; small nations can be very aggressive. But most of the Finno-Ugric cultures, I would say, are not. For example, the strange habit of the Germans and Russians of regularly invading their neighbours and taking pieces of their territory is not really Finno-Ugric.

This is directly reflected in what happens with the large languages. As they tend to export more, they inevitably also export numerous ugly words. As examples may serve Russian *pogrom*, English *concentration camp*, German *Blitzkrieg* or Dutch *apartheid*, which have been accepted by numerous other languages. The smaller Finno-Ugric languages export far less, and what they export is positive: the Finns have given the word *sauna* to the world – can there be anything less guilty than this personified warmth? Or take the Hungarian *goulash* which has made its way around the world and entered every language it met. This is something to eat. Or take the Nenets *parka*, ‘a hooded fur pullover garment for arctic wear’, again something very useful and necessary, and something to keep you warm like the sauna.

Literature

This was just another reflection of the well-known contrast between small and large – and we find it in Finno-Ugric literature, too. Literature was not mentioned in my set of criteria because writing itself and contributing to world literature through writing is nothing especially Finno-Ugric. There are considerable problems with the notion of “Finno-Ugric” with respect to literature (cf. Hasselblatt 2014b and Laakso 2000.) But any writer who writes a text in a Finno-Ugric language by definition offers a Finno-Ugric contribution to the heritage of world literature. Therefore I will finally mention some literary achievements, too. First of all, there are, among the total of nine non-Indo-European winners of the Nobel Prize in Literature, two of Finno-Ugric origin. In 1939, the Finn Frans Eemil Sillanpää (1888–1964) was awarded the prize, and in 2002 the Hungarian Imre Kertész (b. 1929).

The question is, however, whether there is something specific in these authors that others lack. Here, Kertész might be a good starting point. His treatment of the Shoah is not just another one in the long row of literature on these traumatic events of the twentieth century; he adds a new voice and a new perspective, which can be found in other Finno-Ugric writers too. They contribute to our understanding of collective traumas: besides the Hungarian, we find an Estonian perspective in the works of Ene Mihkelson (b. 1944) and a specific Finnish-Estonian perspective by Sofi Oksanen (b. 1977; cf. on both Olesk 2011). And there are more traumatic events which have been transformed into literature. One example is the Khanty author Yeremey Aypin (b. 1948), who in 2002 published a novel about the cruel Soviet collectivization in 1933 (cf. Leete 2002 or 2007 on the collectivization; Hasselblatt 2014b and Toulouze 1998a on the author). This book has been translated into several languages (e.g. Aipin 2008), and it is no doubt genuinely Finno-Ugric, although the original was written in Russian. The same holds true for his fellow Siberian colleague, Yuvan Shestalov (1937–2011), who wrote about traditional Mansi culture and thus conveyed information to the Russian reader, but through translations also to others (e.g. Šestálov 1976).

From here, it is interesting to jump in the other direction and mention a non-Finno-Ugric author who writes about Finno-Ugric topics: the Italian Diego Marani (b. 1959) published in 2000 the novel *New Finnish Grammar*, in which an amnesia patient is taught Finnish, because the psychiatrist thought that that was his mother tongue, although this was not the case at all. A couple of years later, Marani wrote the novel *The Last of the Vostyachs*, thus in the title deliberately mixing up the Khanty (Ostyaks) with the Mansi (Voguls), in which he treats the struggle of some Finno-Ugric languages to survive. But more than that, the novel is also a satirical comment on linguistic trends which could also be found in the Finno-Ugric world. In the final chapter, one of the protagonists gives an opening speech to a linguistic congress, and he says, among other things, the following words: “So, on this solemn occasion, I am taking advantage of this celebration of our languages to express the hope that, in fifty years’ time, no one between the Gulf of Bothnia and the White Sea will know one single word of English or of Russian, and that the vocalic harmony of the Finno-Ugric languages will ring out loud and clear, dense and compact as our own forests. Long live Finland! Long live ignorance!” (Marani 2012: 156). This – especially the last sentence! – is an elegant way of commenting on the so-called revolution which affected some linguistic brains a couple of decades ago.

But apart from Finno-Ugrians writing in Russian and non-Finno-Ugrians writing on Finno-Ugric topics, there is still enough literature written in the Finno-Ugric languages themselves – and here I have in mind other languages

than the three large ones with their well-established literatures. Some authors of the minor languages are even translated into larger, mostly other Finno-Ugric languages, like the Mari writer Sergei Chavain from the 1930s, whose novel *Elnet* appeared in Finnish translation in 2008 (Tšavain 2008; cf. Hasselblatt 2014b). Others are often used as vehicles to (help to) establish a literary language, like the first Vepsian novel from 2002, written by Igor Brodski (cf. Salve 2004). Both of them deal with one of the most popular topics of world literature in general, that is the love between two people; but also with a Finno-Ugric topic in the sense that the contrast between small and large comes, once more, into the picture. With Chavain, it is the contrast between Russian and Mari culture, with Brodski it is the contrast between the large city, obviously Saint Petersburg, and the countryside. These are universal topics in a Finno-Ugric shape.

Ethnofuturism

Finally the concept of ethnofuturism (cf. Sallamaa 2001, 2003, 2005; Treier 2003; Viires 1996; Viires 2012: 76–79) has to be mentioned as something elementarily Finno-Ugric. It started in the late 1980s – to be exact, in the year 1989 – as a literary movement in Estonia. At that moment, the cultural survival of the Estonian nation was clearly more threatened than today. A young literary movement recognized the signs of the time and started to combine commercialism and arts, the past with the future. It was the Estonian poet Karl Martin Sinijärv (b. 1971) who coined the term “ethnofuturism” for that purpose (Hasselblatt 2006: 744). The idea behind it was, on the one hand, a return “back to the roots”, back to traditions, to concentrate on one’s own power which lies inside – not to rely on the big powers, and, above all, to get rid of the imposed Soviet yoke. But this included, on the other hand, looking forward, not remaining in the past. The result was called ethnofuturism, and for a short time this was an important movement in Estonia. Then, Estonia regained its independence and something amazing happened: the concept was not needed in Estonia any more, but was now transferred to all the smaller Finno-Ugric nations in Russia which were – and still are – in need of this feeling of self-confidence. Writers’ meetings have been organised, along with exchanges, discussions, translations. The concept is alive; it has entered a couple of handbooks and spread even outside the Finno-Ugric world (Kahrs & Schötschel 2011: 135–143). The message is not a simple “back to the roots”, but “back to diversity! Don’t rely too much on the uniform large!”

In this sense, the Finno-Ugric message could even be linked to the anti-globalization movement, to the search for alternatives to the mainstream, and scepticism with respect to the partition of the world into black and white, left and right, capitalism and socialism or red and brown. From Estonian literature, it suffices to name Jaan Kross and Jaan Kaplinski. Jaan Kross was imprisoned by the Nazis and by the Soviets, because he did not fit into the system. Later he wrote famous novels on this dilemma and has been translated into about twenty-five languages (cf. Hasselblatt 2011: 314–341; Laanes 2005; Salokannel 2008).

Jaan Kaplinski is a good example of diversity, given that he writes in many languages – Estonian, Finnish, English, Russian and Võru – and his roots are Estonian-Polish-Jewish. More than anything else, Kaplinski’s poem about the east–west border shows the dilemma – which might be called a Finno-Ugric dilemma, but which also might simply be called a Finno-Ugric message:

*The East–West border is always wandering,
sometimes eastward, sometimes west,
and we do not know exactly where it is just now:
in Gaugamela, in the Urals, or maybe in ourselves,
so that one ear, one eye, one nostril, one hand, one foot,
one lung and one testicle or one ovary
is on the one, another on the other side. Only the heart,
only the heart is always on one side:
if we are looking northward, in the West;
if we are looking southward, in the East;
and the mouth doesn’t know on behalf of which or both it has to speak.*

(Kaplinski 1987: 9)

Conclusion

Kaplinski’s poem perfectly illustrates the in-between-situation of the Finno-Ugric peoples. This situation enables them – and us, the scholars of these languages and cultures – to see more than just one side. The United Nations have declared the years 2011–2020 the “Decade of Biodiversity”, because they

have understood that monocultures do not survive. The same holds for culture: without diversity, cultural survival is doubtful.

I would like to conclude with a personal reminiscence from more than thirty years ago. When I learned Russian, some time in the early 1980s in Western Germany, a fellow student of mine was a dedicated Communist and defended the achievements of the great Soviet Union. One of his arguments was that the Soviet Union had never attacked any country. According to him, the Soviet Union was really a peace-loving nation. I then asked him: “What do you think about Finland and 1939, the Winter War?” He answered hesitatingly: “Well, I am not really familiar with that part of Europe . . .” Once more we can see the ignorance of the large nations, in this case the Germans. My fellow student had never heard of Stalin’s activities in the north-west of his empire. But when we deal with Finno-Ugric cultures we inevitably learn about these things. It prevents us from black-and-white pictures produced by old or new totalitarian regimes.

One of the best examples to show this dilemma is the Russian film *Kukushka* from 2002 (cf. the trailer on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dow9SRj9A0g>). This film is staged and performed in three languages – Finnish, Russian and North Saami. And that is the message, too: diversity in languages, diversity in cultures, diversity in beliefs. This is not only the message of the film; it might also be the Finno-Ugric message for the sake of world culture and civilization. As only biodiversity will guarantee survival on this planet, it is cultural diversity which makes life valuable.

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Formation of Proto-Finnic – an archaeological scenario from the Bronze Age / Early Iron Age

Valter Lang

Introduction

This paper was inspired by the presentation of a new, much lower or shorter chronology for the formation of Proto-Finnic by some Finnish linguists over the past ten–fifteen years. Scholars like Petri Kallio (2006) and Jaakko Häkkinen (2009) have extended this new chronology also to the disintegration of Proto-Uralic into western, central, and eastern branches, pointing out such a late date as 2000 BC. It means that the formation of Proto-Finnic east of the Baltic Sea together with the associated ethnogenetic processes had to be a relatively late phenomenon, which could not have taken place prior to the Bronze Age or even the Iron Age. There have already been several attempts to explain such a late spread of Proto-West-Uralic westwards with the help of both socio-linguistic models and archaeological material. The dominant socio-linguistic model has been language shift due to elite dominance while among archaeological material the so-called Seima-Turbino phenomenon and Textile (or Netted) Ware culture have attracted most attention.

Meanwhile, thanks to a revolutionary breakthrough in archaeo-genetics and the pioneering studies of ancient DNA sequences, the researchers have become increasingly aware of real prehistoric human population movements (e.g. Ermini et al. 2014; Brandt et al. 2014). Recent discoveries suggest that the supposedly Indo-European-speaking Yamnaya (Pit Grave) steppe herders of the late fourth and early third millennium BC, who had descended not only from the preceding eastern European hunter-gatherers but also from a population of Near Eastern ancestry, are responsible for ca. ¾ of ancestry of the Corded Ware people in central Europe. Most likely it resulted from rapid migration from the steppes north of the Black Sea (Haak et al. 2015; Allentoft et al. 2015). This means that, as to the Indo-Europeanization processes in Eurasia, a lower or shorter chronology – and, thus, the theory of Marija Gimbutas (1956), James P. Mallory (1989), and David W. Anthony (2007) – is also more plausible than the longer chronology presented by Colin Renfrew (1987) and many others. In principle Kallio (1999: 238) pointed it out already many years ago; he stated that the existence of a non-Indo-European substratum with agricultural terminology in western Proto-Indo-European proves that the Indo-

Europeanization of central Europe was not connected with the transition to farming but, instead, had to be a later development. Accordingly, a relatively undifferentiated Proto-Indo-European was spoken by Corded Ware people (*ibid.*).

For Finno-Ugric studies it follows that we have good reason to *believe* that the *terminus post quem* for the Indo-European loanword stratum in Uralic/Finno-Ugrian/Finnic proto-languages is as late as 2800 BC. However, the region of the corresponding borrowings is theoretically still very large and is marked with Corded Ware, Fatyanovo, and probably even some more eastern archaeological cultures, i.e. extending from the Baltic Sea to the Ural Mountains (cf. Mallory 2007: 354). In the light of the scenario, which will be presented below, I exclude from this theoretical region of early contacts the Corded Ware areas in Eastern Baltic and around; although the Indo-European speakers met there with north-eastern European hunter-gatherers, the language spoken by the latter is, strictly taken, unknown. According to Häkkinen (2009: 45–51), the Uralic language of Stone Age archaeological cultures in Finland (and I would add Eastern Baltic) is unlikely, and the Finno-Ugrians reached the Baltic Sea region a thousand years after the Corded Ware people. The most plausible context where early contacts between Indo-Europeans and Finno-Ugrians could have taken place is the Fatyanovo horizon in further east, dated from ca. 2500/2400 BC¹ upwards. Without doubt, this date and space makes the new and lower chronology of the formation of Proto-Finnic even more trustworthy.

The aim of the present article is to discuss the archaeological possibilities for placing the formation of Proto-Finnic into the Bronze Age. I am deeply convinced that the biggest mistake of many earlier studies with a similar purpose have been attempts to find suitable archaeological culture(s) responsible for the distribution of Proto-Finnic. Archaeological cultures have not been languages, however, and they have not been ethnic groups either. This is why any such suggestions as, for instance, the carriers of the Corded Ware culture were Proto-Indo-Europeans, is wrong or at least partly wrong. The supposed Corded Ware invaders did certainly not kill all the other people living on their way or nearby. Therefore, one can suppose extensive mixture of various ethnic groups in the whole distribution area of this archaeological culture. At the same time, it is probably correct to claim that the *Corded Ware*

¹Chronology of the Fatyanovo culture is not well elaborated as yet. Four available radiocarbon dates of five belong to the period of 3780±130...3590±70 BP (ca. 2460–1780 cal. BC), while the fifth date is remarkably earlier, 3960±130 BP (2850–2200 cal. BC) (see Jushkova 2011: 21 f., table I.1).

horizon was a context where Proto-Indo-European contacts with local aboriginal tribes took place, whereas there is no doubt that much of the cultural achievements of the former were taken over and used by the latter.

Having stated this, I am certainly not looking for any ‘archaeological culture’ the distribution of which could seemingly demonstrate the distribution and development of Proto-Finnic. Instead, an attempt will be made to find out and to study those prehistoric archaeological contexts which can make the formation of Proto-Finnic logical, understandable, and possible in terms that the presumed scenario corresponds to all known archaeological (and linguistic) evidence. The disintegration of Proto-Uralic after 2000 BC inevitably implies westward migrations in the Bronze Age or/and even later. Definition of human migration on the basis of archaeology is definitely a tricky question, and I am fully aware of the risk prior to systematic aDNA studies. However, this task will be somewhat easier if we know what we are looking for. This time the historical linguists have put the problem for the archaeologists as follows: whether, when, and how can one see the spread of Uralic language(s) from somewhere in the Volga–Oka–Kama region (or at least west of the Urals) to Eastern Baltic and Finland, presumably after 2000 BC? So, we already have the region of departure, the region of destination, and the general time frame. What is left for archaeology is concrete material evidence that proves the migration, migration routes, general logic and reasoning of migration, and a more exact sequence of the relevant events. Regardless of expectations, one must stress here that archaeology, being effectively able to demonstrate the movements of things, ideas, customs, and other cultural traits, faces still serious problems when speaking about real (and not seeming) movements of people and languages. Other links are needed here, of which aDNA studies are most important. Until their arrival one has to concentrate on archaeological and language contexts trying to discover the most essential connections and to build up the most logical scenarios.

Proto-West-Uralic, Seima-Turbino, and Textile Ware

Although what follows will focus on probable mechanisms of the formation of Proto-Finnic, one should still deal first with the supposed scenario of the spread of Proto-West-Uralic to Finland as presented by Kallio (2006) and more recently and in greater detail by Asko Parpola (2012). This is because these two topics are connected and interrelated.

*The virtual identity of Proto-West-Uralic and Proto-Uralic suggests that Proto-Uralic has spread fast, in all likelihood [...] through the elite dominance of incoming warrior traders. The northwards spread of the Netted Ware coincided with the operation of the **Sejma-Turbino intercultural trader network** (c. 1900–1600 BCE). [...] This means that Pre-Proto-Saami probably came to southern Finland together with the Sejma-Turbino artefacts, brought there by warrior-traders belonging to the elite of the Netted Ware culture that had formed shortly before this in the Upper-Volga area. (Parpola 2012: 156.)*

There are several reasons why I cannot accept this explanation. First, the proposed idea that an archaeological culture – such as, for example, the Textile Ware culture – corresponds to a language group – such as Proto-West-Uralic – and the spread of the corresponding cultural traits (pottery) reflects the spread of certain groups of people together with their language, stands simply on wrong methodological grounds and should be therefore avoided (see more: Lang 2001, 2005 and references therein). Second, the tribes who lived in what are today Finland, Karelia, and north-western Russia and made textile-impressed pottery in the second millennium BC were hunter-gatherers by their main subsistence. They could not develop a social order with strong and hierarchic power structures, which is needed to cause a language shift through elite dominance (see more in Lang 2014a and references therein). At least there is nothing in the archaeological records that could suggest the opposite. Therefore, it is unlikely that a few faraway traders with the Seima-Turbino background who occasionally reached the Baltic Sea could have changed the language situation among the sparse hunter-gatherer settlement on its eastern shores. At the same time it does not mean that even a few foreigners could not have caused remarkable changes in the gene pool of locals because the population numbers were rather small at that time.

Third, the number of Seima-Turbino artefacts in Finland, Estonia, and Lithuania is altogether very small (around ten), and there is nothing that speaks against the usual intertribal trade. Large areas of Textile Ware culture have yielded no Seima-Turbino artefacts at all. Fourth, new radiocarbon AMS-dates from textile-impressed pottery in the upper and middle Volga region, made recently by Mika Lavento (2011), suggest that there are chronological problems if one combines the Seima-Turbino phenomenon and the Textile Ware culture. Except for one, all the other dates of the earlier group of dates for textile-impressed pottery date from the second quarter of the second millennium BC while in the middle Oka region they are even not earlier than the second half of the second millennium BC. As to the dating of the Seima-Turbino horizon, its

start should be dated to a slightly earlier period than previously thought, that is, prior to 1900 BC (e.g. Anthony 2007: 447; Lang 2007: 40). Thus, this cultural phenomenon seems to be a step earlier than the Textile Ware culture. And fifth, as concluded by Maria Jushkova (2011: 47) on the basis of her investigations in the region between Narva–Ladoga–Ilmen, there are regions where the occurrence of textile-impressed pottery is not interpreted as a result of immigration but rather as a reflection of local developments on the basis of post-Fatyanovo (Rus. *фатьяноидная*) ceramics. This makes the movement of some groups of people (tribes) from the Volga region directly up to Oulu in Finland rather unlikely.

Thus, the conclusion of what was said above is that in all likelihood, (1) the few Seima-Turbino artefacts found so far in Finland and the eastern Baltic region are products of the usual intertribal trade of prestige goods with a possibility of human movements on a minor scale (which hardly had any serious language consequences), and (2) the spread of Textile Ware culture could be more about the spread of ideas how to make pottery than the movement of people. What is important, however, is the circumstance that both cultural traits spread through the (water) routes that were known both before and after the second millennium BC – i.e. from the Volga region to northern Fennoscandia. These routes could be labelled as the **North-Western Passage of Contacts**, and there is no doubt that in addition to goods and ideas, some people travelled via this passage as well, all the time and in both directions.

One has to emphasize here that there is no need to expect all the people living in the Textile Ware area to speak one and the same language; the region is perhaps too large for that.

Pre-Proto-Finnic and the South-Western passage

According to Parpola's interpretation, Proto-Finnic spread to Finland and eastern Baltic one thousand years after Proto-Saami, i.e. during 800–500 BC from the middle Volga region, where the Textile Ware had spread around 1000 BC and where under the influence of the Anan'ino culture the Akozino/Akhmylovo culture had been formed around 800 BC.

*I suggest that Proto-Finnic was introduced to the Baltic area by warrior-traders of the Akozino-Akhmylovo culture, who brought **Akozino-Mälars axes** to southern and southwestern Finland, the Åland islands and, in so great numbers that it must have involved the movement of a fair amount of people, to the Mälaren area of eastern Sweden around 800–500 BCE. [...]*

On the basis of the associated archaeological evidence [...], I suggest that the “immigration of Finnic” was not from Estonia to SW Finland as has been thought, but in the opposite direction, taking the Proto-Finnic language to Estonia (Estonian) and then further to Courland (Livonian) and to Latvia (the Finnic superstratum whose assimilation to the local Baltic speakers led to the differentiation of Lithuanian and Latvian). (Parpola 2012: 153.)

In addition to bronze axes, also early *tarand*-graves, pottery in Morby and Ilmandu styles, and fortified settlements have been thought to support the idea of Proto-Finnic immigration in the early first millennium BC by Parpola. The main migration route of Finnic speakers is supposed to be “the same as the Vikings used later”, i.e. probably via the Volga to the Volkhov and from there to the Gulf of Finland, but he does not exclude another route through the Daugava valley either. Derivation of Proto-Finnic from the middle Volga helps Parpola to solve the problem of Proto-Baltic loanwords in Proto-Finnic – they were introduced already before leaving the Volga valley (Parpola 2012: 155).

On the basis of what will be suggested below, it seems that Asko Parpola is right in the main thing – the speakers of (Pre-)Proto-Saami and (Pre-)Proto-Finnic spread westwards *separately*. But as one cannot totally agree with his other ideas and interpretations, I will present here a different scenario for the formation of Proto-Finnic on the basis of archaeological material.

The movement routes of bronze and pottery, whatever they mean in the ethnogenetic processes, are symptomatic anyway. And therefore it is important to note that the majority of Akozino-Mälär axes have most likely spread not via the North-Western Passage of Contacts to Finland but instead they moved via the Volga to the upper reaches of the Dnieper and the Daugava and from there through the Daugava valley up to the Baltic Sea. This route could be called the **South-Western Passage of Contacts**. Moreover, in this connection it is important that the South-Western Passage has revealed also numerous casting moulds of such axes (e.g. Lukhtan 1982; Graudonis 1989: 45 f., fig. 24, pl. XLVII). So far they are not known in the Mälaren area or in the North-Western Passage. At the same time, contemporaneous axes of another, i.e. the Anan’ino, type (and their casting moulds) spread mostly through the North-Western Passage to northern Fennoscandia. The most significant thing here is that although in the Volga region both types of axes may co-occur in the same cemeteries (but mostly in different burials) (see Patrushev & Khalikov 1982), they still moved westwards separately, through different passages (with a few exceptions).

The same can be said about pottery. As noted, early Textile Ware spread in the regions of the middle reaches of the Oka and Moscow rivers later than in the upper and middle Volga. And it was different from the latter. Already Petr Tretyakov (1966: 135 ff.) distinguished two different groups among the early Textile Ware: one in the Volga region in the Yaroslavl and the Kostroma district (having its roots in earlier local post-Fatyanovo and Balanovo ceramics) and the other that was to some extent also distributed in the Volga region. However, the latter spread mostly and in larger numbers on the Klyazma and particularly on the Oka and Moscow rivers. The pots of the second group have either flat or rounded bottoms; textile impressions (and striations) cover all the bodies, but decoration consists mostly of rounded pits and comb stamps and is usually located only on the upper parts of vessels (Tretyakov 1966: fig. 38). The pots of the first group have round bottoms; they are much more covered with decorations and the decoration motives are much more complicated than those of the second group (Tretyakov 1966: fig. 37). If one compares Finnish and eastern Baltic pottery styles of the Late Bronze and Pre-Roman Iron Ages with pottery in the region of the Volga and Oka–Moscow rivers, then there is a rather clear distinction: the Asva/Paimio/Lüganuse and Imandu/Morby styles that were distributed in coastal Estonia, south-western Finland and the Mälaren area in Sweden are rather close to Tretyakov's second group; and the Kalmistomäki, Luukonsaari, Volkhov, etc. groups that were spread in interior Finland, Karelia, and between lakes Ladoga and Ilmen are very similar to his first group.

Keeping in mind what was said above, one could put forward the following hypothesis: *one branch* of East-European early Textile Ware spread since the middle of the second millennium BC from the middle and upper Volga region through the North-Western Passage up to Volkhov, Karelia, and Finland; *the other branch*, which was the so-called developed (Rus. *развитая*) Textile Ware or pre-Dyakovo pottery, spread from the middle Oka and the Moscow rivers a step later, i.e. in the last quarter of the second millennium and at the turn of the second and the first millennia BC, through the South-Western Passage first to the south-eastern part of the Eastern Baltic, afterwards to western and northern Estonia, south-western Finland, and the Mälaren area in Sweden. Contacts and movements through both passages continued at least over one thousand years later and certainly even more. Both branches of cultural traits met each other once again somewhere in Finland a few centuries after the beginning of the movements.

There is no doubt that cultural contacts through these passages and at those times as mentioned above took place in reality; this is proved by much more archaeological evidence than previously mentioned. However, as always, the main question is how to interpret these contacts in terms of ethnogenesis, that

is, whether and how much people moved with their pots and bronze and ideas about how to make them. The spread of Textile Ware in the North-Western Passage certainly calls for further examination; as noted, there are regions with possible autochthonous transition to this style of surface finish of pots, whereas other changes in morphology, technology of making and decoration of pots have not been so revolutionary to interpret them necessarily through migration. And it is important not to forget that contacts and movements in the North-Western Passage took also repeatedly place in later times. For example, it is supposed that in the period 700–500 BC several waves of people left the areas of the Volga and Kama rivers and moved towards northern Fennoscandia spreading cultural influences from the Anan’ino and Akozino complexes (Vaskul 2013 and references therein). Thus, it cannot be excluded that Pre-Proto-Saami (or additional Saami groups) spread to Fennoscandia in the final Bronze Age, i.e. more or less contemporarily with Pre-Proto-Finnic.

The proposed scenario is in good accordance with the results of genetic simulation models carried recently out by Tarja Sundell in Finland. She concludes that “...the scenarios including small migration waves and moderate constant gene flow from neighbouring areas [to Finland] are those where the strongest similarity to present day genetic diversity can be observed“ (Sundell 2014: 51). In other words it means that instead of a few large-scale immigrations one should think about many small movements from different directions in order to explain the modern genetic diversity of the Finns. Due to the lack of similar studies in Estonia one cannot state the same about the Estonians, however.

As to the formation of Proto-Finnic, it is important to keep in mind that the South-Western Passage served at the same time as a contact zone of Finno-Ugric and Baltic settlements (the so-called Upper-Oka, Dnieper-Dvina, and Striated Pottery cultures). If the Finno-Ugrians moved (together with their pots) in this passage, their language could have adopted Proto-Baltic loans on their way to the west. Certainly they could have absorbed some Baltic loans already in the Oka–Moscow region earlier, before moving out, as linguistically argued by Parpola (2012: 155). However, as they then still were hunters rather than farmers, it does not explain so much the loans in the sphere of agriculture (as exemplified by Vaba 2011: 751, 753 and Junttila 2012). Thus, they had to adopt a big share of Baltic loans later when moving westwards, or as also argued by Santeri Junttila (2012: 261): “we could look for the contact area somewhere between Estonia in the west and the surroundings of Moscow in the east, a zone with evidence of Uralic settlement in the north and Baltic on the south side”.

There are several reasons why I believe in the migration of the Pre-Proto-Finnic together with the so-called pre-Dyakovo pottery styles through the

South-Western Passage in the Late Bronze Age. First, everywhere in the valley of the Daugava river, western and northern Estonia, south-western Finland and somewhat later in eastern central Sweden where the Asva/Paimio/Lüganuse type of pottery occurred at the turn of the second and the first millennia BC, it was a new occurrence without any earlier local pre-forms. For instance, the Lubāna pottery style that was distributed in eastern Latvia earlier, during the Early Bronze Age, continued the local Stone Age traditions (see Loze 1979), against the background of which new ceramics of the Eastern Baltic fortified settlements with textile-impressed, striated or smoothed surfaces and sparse decoration on the upper parts of the pots (e.g. Vasks 1991) clearly form a new tradition referring to the east. As to coastal Estonia, the situation was different in the sense that after the disappearance of Neolithic late Combed Ware and Corded Ware around 2000/1900 BC the whole pottery disappeared for 800 years. When new pottery occurred again in ca 1200/1100 BC, it was completely different from the Neolithic ceramics (cf. Lang 2007: 127 ff.; Sperling 2014). Moreover, there are no parallels to Asva/Paimio/Lüganuse ceramics immediately east of Estonia (and south-western Finland) – the Volkhov type of pottery distinguished recently by Jushkova (2011), as well as Kalmistomäki and Luukonsaari ceramics in Karelia and interior Finland belong to the tradition of East-European Textile Ware of the first millennium BC. Thus, one can conclude that (1) due to the absence of pre-forms, the makers of Asva/Lüganuse/Paimio ceramics in Estonia and Finland were most likely not locals but newcomers, and (2) they could not come from the eastern neighbourhood, i.e. through the North-Western Passage; they had to come through the South-Western Passage where one can find numerous parallels to these ceramics (e.g. Syrovatko 2013; Stankevich 1955: pls XVIII, XIX, XXI; Egorejchenko 2006: 52 f., pls 1–4).

Second, pottery is not the only indicator of probable immigration. In this respect the so-called fortified settlements that were distributed over large regions of eastern Europe (but not so much in and around the North-Western Passage) seem to be rather important. This form of living together started to spread rather contemporaneously at the beginning of the first millennium BC (for the dating of fortified sites in the Volga–Oka region see e.g. Folomeyev 1993; Sulerzhickij & Folomeyev 1993; Krenke 2011: 135 ff.). Although a few dates are slightly earlier, the majority of the radiocarbon dates indicate that fortified settlements in Estonia and Latvia were founded around 850–800 BC (Oinonen et al. 2013; Vasks 1994: 55 f.; Lang 2007: 57 ff.; Sperling 2014: 307 ff.). This is somewhat later than in the core area of the Striated Pottery culture located more south-east, in what are today north-eastern Lithuania and north-western Belarus (Egorejchenko 2006: 54 ff.). Unfortunately, we do not have any radiocarbon dates from a few Finnish and Swedish fortified settlements, but

in all likelihood they are more or less contemporaneous with the Estonian–Latvian sites. Archaeological finds in fortified settlements – pottery, bone, and antler artefacts – resemble very much the materials from the settlements in the Volga–Oka region. But what is even more important to stress is that fortified settlements and the associated material culture were shared by both the Proto-Finnic and Proto-Baltic tribes. As there have been suggestions that old Baltic loans in Proto-Finnic speak about closeness of these two linguistic groups, mixed marriages (bilingualism) and assimilation of Proto-Balts into Proto-Finns (e.g. Vaba 2011: 756), then fortified settlements seem to offer a good (probably the best) opportunity to localize this occurrence in time and space.

Tarand-graves is the grave type that many scholars since Artur Vassar's works 75 years ago (Vassar 1943) have connected with 'houses of the dead' of the easternmost Finno-Ugrians. The earliest graves of this type were built in the neighbouring coastal areas of Estonia, Finland, and Sweden already in the Late Bronze Age and the early Pre-Roman Iron Age as one can suggest on the basis of both grave goods and a series of radiocarbon dates obtained recently from the Estonian *tarand*-graves. For instance, two skeletons from the *tarand*-grave at Hiemägi in Kunda – where the burials were almost without grave goods – were radiocarbon-dated to the 8th–6th centuries BC while the *tarand*-grave at Ilmandu – with typical Ilmandu Ware as grave goods – was from more or less the same period, i.e. from the 8th–5th centuries BC. Recently we carried out the first Strontium analysis of skeletons found in those graves, which should indicate whether the persons in question were born locally or not (Oras et al. in print). It occurred that two analysed persons from the Kunda grave were immigrants indeed while two other persons from Ilmandu were obviously locals. Moreover, this analysis showed that the two Kunda persons were not born in south-western Finland and not in Scandinavia or central Europe either. Unfortunately, we do not know whether or not they were born somewhere east of Estonia because there is no comparable background information about Strontium values. Although this first evidence is still small, it does not support the idea that Proto-Finnic people migrated from the north to the south as supposed by Pärpola (see above).

Finally, there is a large amount of artefacts found mostly from eastern Baltic fortified sites and early *tarand*-graves that have their origin somewhere in the East-European Forest Belt between the eastern Baltic and the Volga–Oka region. They do not come from one certain and limited area; a considerable number of them come from the areas the inhabitants of which have been considered Baltic-speaking (or even Indo-Iranian). This supports the idea of close Finnic–Baltic (and Finnic–Indo-Iranian) contacts that took place east of the eastern Baltic region during the entire first millennium BC.

Formation of Proto-Finnic

Similarly to Harri Moora (1956), I am convinced that the final formation of Proto-Finnic took place on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea and not somewhere outside or further off, and therefore the arrivals from the east were only so-to-say ancestors of Proto-Finns who spoke a kind of Pre-Proto-Finnic. The time frame when it supposedly happened and other ‘geopolitical’ conditions are different in the following explanation, however. According to the dates we have today, it seems highly possible that the first immigrants reaching the Baltic Sea through the South-Western Passage from the east at the end of the second millennium BC met quite an interesting population mixture in what are today Latvia, Estonia, and south-western Finland. First, there were certainly so-called aborigines – native groups who had descended from earlier local populations. It is not clear what and how many languages they spoke; perhaps it was a kind of Proto- or Palaeo-European, traces of which have been supposedly found in the Finnic languages (Ariste 1962; Saarikivi 2004); perhaps it was some remnant of Indo-European that was supposedly spoken by at least some Corded Ware people (e.g. Kallio 1999; Koivulehto 2007), or perhaps it was already some predecessor of a Uralic or West-Uralic language. Or perhaps all these varieties were in play. The natives represent and reflect the continuity in the development of settlement, economy and partly even material culture over centuries and millennia as it is often observed in archaeological records.

Next, in northern Estonia and in south-western Finland the newcomers from the east met the newcomers from the west, Scandinavia, who buried their dead in monumental stone-cist graves built above the ground (e.g. Lang 2007: figs 82–87). The first Scandinavians had arrived only slightly before the first eastern people: in coastal Finland around 1500 BC, in northern coastal Estonia around 1200 BC. The researchers have not doubted the Scandinavian (i.e. Germanic) background of south-western Finnish stone-cist graves (e.g. Meinander 1954: 118 ff.; Salo 1984: 181 f.). As to ethnic interpretation of Estonian stone-cist graves, for a long time the explanation of Artur Vassar (1943) and Carl F. Meinander (1954: 120) were predominant; according to this view, this phenomenon resulted from long-lasting cultural influence, which first and together with some people distributed from Scandinavia to coastal Finland and next from coastal Finland to northern Estonia. Reaching Estonia, according to this model, this cultural impact did not contain so much direct Scandinavian elements any more, but indeed was more or less a Finnic occurrence. Today, after making a rather long series of AMS dates of the burials and having much better knowledge of these graves – and other contemporaneous sites – in general (Lang 2007, 2011; Laneman 2012; Laneman & Lang 2013; Laneman et

al. 2015), this explanation is not satisfactory any more. Therefore, I have recently hypothesized (Lang 2011, 2014b) that a few very first groups of stone-cist graves were built by newcomers from the west – most likely from Gotland – while the majority of such graves, built since the 10th century BC, were erected already by a ‘mixed native’ population. Thus, the immigration of new people from the west was stopped – or at least decreased to a minimum – rather soon after its start. Other sites that belong to this Scandinavian package in northern Estonia are fossil fields of the pre-Celtic (Baltic) type and cup-marked stones while there are also numerous single artefacts of bronze brought in from the west (Lang 2007: figs 10, 11, 13, 40–44, 147–148). Our first Strontium analysis, referred to above (Oras et al. in print), showed that the analysed persons from the cemeteries at Jõelähtme and Muuksi, which are considered the earliest so far, had certainly not come from the north, i.e. coastal Finland; they were either locally born or born somewhere else with rather similar natural conditions (i.e. alvar soils on limestone bedrock).

What happened next is more than interesting. Different groups of newcomers and the aborigines differed from each other by their subsistence and culture. The indigenous people practised a kind of mixture of hunting-fishing, cattle rearing, and soil cultivation, but before 1200 BC their farming practice was mostly limited to so-called shifting slash-and-burn. The evidence of local farming comes mostly from cereal (barley and wheat) pollen from pollen diagrams and both imprints of cereal seeds on pottery and bones of domesticated animals in a few Corded Ware sites (Kriiska 2003; Lang 2007: 19 ff.). The very first newcomers from the South-Western Passage (from the end of the second millennium BC) were even less advanced in their subsistence methods; they were mainly still hunters and fishers, who practised only very limited farming and cattle rearing. The next waves of newcomers already included people with better knowledge about productive economy, particularly stock rearing. This understanding of livelihood gained from archaeological evidence is strengthened by numerous Baltic loanwords in Proto-Finnic referring to hunting and fishing (Vaba 2011: 752; Junttila 2012: 268 ff.). Judging from the semantics of the words in question, this was mainly hunting and fishing in inland forests and water bodies. However, as noted, there are also numerous old Baltic loanwords referring to agriculture. While the former loans could have been adopted earlier, the latter can originate from a slightly later period and – at least partly – from more westward regions. At the same time, as evidenced by the existence of some common agricultural terms in Proto-Finnic, Volga-Finnic, and Permian-Finnic languages (e.g. Rätsep 2002, 51 f.), farming as such was certainly introduced before moving out from the Volga–Oka region and perhaps even before the contacts with the Balts. As to the latter, I must also

draw attention to the specific nature of agricultural loanwords from Proto-Baltic: they refer mostly to cattle rearing and a rather initial stage of soil cultivation that should be called ‘hoe cultivation’.

The first immigrants from Scandinavia, on the other hand, were already pure agriculturalists who cultivated block-shaped fields surrounded by stone baulks and clearance cairns. The nature of agriculture of western people differed remarkably from the hoe-cultivation of eastern people, and this is also proved by a big share of agricultural terminology borrowed into Proto-Finnic from Proto-Germanic (Koivulehto 1984). These loans refer to field cultivation that was practised with an ard, fishing not only on inland lakes and rivers but also at sea, seal hunting, and advanced cattle rearing. Germanic loanwords designating hunting game are virtually missing in Finnic.

As a matter of fact, the comparison of the semantics of old Baltic and Germanic loanwords in Proto-Finnic can provide (at least indirect) evidence on ways how the latter was developed. As to livelihood, the Baltic loans refer both to hunting-fishing-gathering and cattle rearing / hoe cultivation, whereas the Germanic loans designate advanced field cultivation, cattle rearing, and fishing/seal hunting/seafaring. The linguists (e.g. Koivulehto 1984; Kallio 2012) have already for a long time stressed that both the old Baltic and Germanic loanwords come from more or less the same time period but – if that is true – the stress must be on ‘more or less’ rather than on ‘the same’. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why the Proto-Finns had to simultaneously borrow terms for more primitive economy from the Balts and terms for more advanced economy from the Scandinavians – why they needed words for two different economies at the same time. The situation, however, is easily understandable if: (1) the Finno-Ugrians in the Volga–Oka region, being mostly hunters and fishers, lived side by side with Baltic-speaking communities who were also hunters and fishers; (2) farming spread gradually more and more widely, first among the Balts as living more south, next among the Finno-Ugrians; (3) due to living close to, and mixed with each other, the Finno-Ugrians adopted many Baltic loanwords, among others those describing both hunting-fishing and primitive (hoe) agriculture and stock breeding; (4) when migrating to the west, more agricultural terms were borrowed from the neighbouring Balts; (5) reaching northern Estonia and south-western Finland, the Pre-Proto-Finns met the Germanic-speaking communities and learned from them field cultivation with an ard, seafaring, and other modern things together with the associated Germanic words. It is noteworthy that there are no

loanwords from Proto-Baltic concerning the sea and seafaring,² which probably means that the Baltic loans were obtained farther inland. This explanation leads to the conclusion that (at least one part of) the old Baltic loanwords must be earlier than the Germanic ones; yet, the difference in time was most likely rather short, lasting perhaps a few generations only.

Although the existing evidence is scanty, it still indicates that the earliest pottery of Asva and Lügenuse types that we know in Estonia has come to daylight from small open settlement sites located near water bodies (e.g. Altküla, Akali, Mõisaküla, Mähkli). This could refer to the circumstance that the eastern people first settled down outside the zones of agriculturalists, i.e. outside the alvar soils. On the other hand, there are some grave goods of eastern (south-eastern) origin that were found from the so far earliest stone-cist graves at Jõelähtme together with imported items from Scandinavia (see Kraut 1985: pl. V: 11–14, VI: 1–8). This possibly means that communities with a different ethnic background already since very early times communicated with each other and exchanged some goods and even mixed marriages could have been likely. Starting from the 10th century BC, however, the pottery of the Asva/Lügenuse type was also placed in stone-cist graves and bone pins (with their roots in the east) as grave goods became more popular, referring perhaps to closer connections between different groups. It could well be that those stone-cist graves that were erected since the 10th century BC already belonged to an ethnically mixed population that can be considered ‘new native’. Did they speak one and the same language and what it was is impossible to answer on the archaeological grounds. However, it seems logical to suppose that during the 12th–10th centuries BC (perhaps even longer), the Scandinavians and the Proto-Germanic had a dominant position in northern Estonia. It is likely that the language situation in SW Finland was similar to that in northern Estonia in the late second millennium BC. Here the data of archaeology and linguistics are in good accordance.

The question is when, how, and why the Proto-Finnic language attained the dominant position instead of Proto-Germanic. One might think that the most logical solution lies in the new waves of immigrants from the South-Western Passage, which increased the proportion of Finno-Ugrians. After initial arrivals at the end of the second millennium BC the next and rather remarkable wave took most likely place in the 9th–8th centuries BC. The people of this wave

² Lembit Vaba (2011: 756) presents three words for denoting the sea: *meri* ‘sea’, *mala* ‘seashore’, and *rahu* ‘reef, shelf’. The Baltic origin of both *meri* and *rahu* is disputed and an alternative Germanic origin was suggested by Junttila (2012: 282 and references therein); *mala* has also some senses that are not related to the sea.

were much more involved in farming – mostly stock breeding and less soil cultivation – than the earlier newcomers from the east; they also practised fishing and hunting. All these branches of livelihood are proved by rich archaeological evidence from Eastern Baltic fortified settlements, whereas the majority of associated hunting and fishing tools have good parallels in more eastern sites. One has to point out that the role of soil cultivation decreases remarkably – and the percentage of stone axes increases – if one moves from north-western (coastal Estonia) fortified settlements towards more south-eastern and eastern sites (north-eastern Lithuania, north-western Belarus and farther to the east). The main reason lies not in the fact that the Estonian fortified settlements were established slightly later than the Lithuanian and Russian ones but in the circumstance that in coastal Estonia the newcomers from the east met more advanced farming communities. As a result of contacts with the latter, the immigrants from the east changed their economy and lifestyle rather quickly – the Estonian fortified settlements were already settled by communities cultivating fields (probably with ards with stone and antler points), breeding stock (with stress on sheep/goat as mostly in Scandinavia but differently from the Daugava valley (cattle) and north-western Lithuania (pig), hunting seal, casting bronze, hunting and fishing. Bronze casting, by the way, was also common at fortified sites in the Daugava valley and north-eastern Lithuania, but its role decreases when one moves to more eastern regions.

Archaeological evidence of this migration wave is rich: fortified settlements with a material culture package of eastern or south-eastern origin, bronze axes of the Akozino-Mälär type, the first early *tarand*-graves, etc. This wave is also responsible for the distribution of eastern material to the Mälaren area in Sweden. In addition to bronze axes (that were made of Ural copper), there were also a few fortified settlements (Darsgårde, Sjöberg) the pottery assemblage of which is clearly different from that of the surrounding areas (Reisborg 1989; Eriksson 2009: 247 ff.). Looking at the wider picture, it was exactly at that time when the axis of contacts was established between two major bronze work centres – one in the Volga–Kama region and the other in Scandinavia. The fortified settlements on this axis (i.e. mostly in the South-Western Passage of Contacts) were also important bronze work places developing the network for production and exchange. Among other things also bronze axes of the Akozino-Mälär type were produced in eastern Baltic and more eastern fortified sites (at least seven sites with moulds for casting such axes are known so far, see Jushkova 2011: fig. 99). At that time the central Baltic Sea together with the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Riga became something like a Finnic inland sea. One can presume that namely in that period the formation of Proto-Finnic was completed (in addition to Proto-Baltic loans

it had also adopted influences from Proto-Germanic and local aboriginal language(s)) and – against the background previously described – it achieved the dominant position among the languages spoken around this inland sea.

There were some new waves of cultural influences from the east that followed the main inflow. One of them introduced some new elements in pottery making; as a result the Morby/Ilmandu styles took shape in the eastern Baltic and SW Finland since the very end of the Bronze Age (see Edgren 1999: 313 ff., figs 1–3; Lang 2007: 130 ff., fig. 61). Numerous other connections with the east and the south-east can be noticed during the entire Pre-Roman Iron Age (e.g. shepherd's crook pins, narrow-bladed iron axes, temple ornaments with spoon-shaped ends, and numerous other ornaments). Although such contacts might be linked to simple intertribal networks, some infiltrations of people cannot be excluded either.

Conclusions

On the basis of what was claimed previously one could make the following conclusions (Figure, see appendix).

1. A common horizon for both Pre-Proto-Saami and Pre-Proto-Finnic (if it indeed existed) can only be found in the Volga–Oka region in the Bronze Age;
2. From there two branches of cultural influences spread westwards, one through the North-Western and another through the South-Western Passage of Contacts. The former can be connected with Pre-Proto-Saami and the latter with Pre-Proto-Finnic.
3. Both movements took place in several waves lasting over many centuries. The first Pre-Proto-Saami movements perhaps started already within the Textile Ware networks, but they certainly continued in the later Bronze Age / Early Iron Age (Anan'ino influences). The Pre-Proto-Finnic speakers started to shift westwards at the end of the second millennium BC.
4. After a few centuries, these two branches of western Finno-Ugrians met again somewhere in Finland; they spoke similar languages, but those who came from the South-Western Passage had already obtained a rather strong Proto-Baltic 'accent'.
5. On the shores of the Baltic, the Pre-Proto-Finnic newcomers met a mixed population speaking (several?) aboriginal and Proto-Germanic languages, the latter being in the dominant position.
6. In the following processes the biggest role was played by new waves of immigrants from the east; a particularly important wave was the one that

brought along fortified settlements, bronze axes of the Akozino-Mälär type and early *tarand*-graves in the 9th–8th centuries BC. This wave also reached the western shores of the Baltic establishing in this way an axis of contacts between the bronze work centres in the Volga–Kama region and Scandinavia.

7. As a result of these processes and language contacts with Proto-Baltic, Proto-Germanic, and some Palaeo-European, Proto-Finnic emerged and it also achieved the dominant position at least in what are today coastal Estonia, SW Finland, and the Daugava valley in Latvia. However, as more intensive and developing processes concentrated next on the coastal areas further north, it is easy to imagine the mechanisms of the separation of one portion of Proto-Finnic-population – the one that was later called South Estonian.

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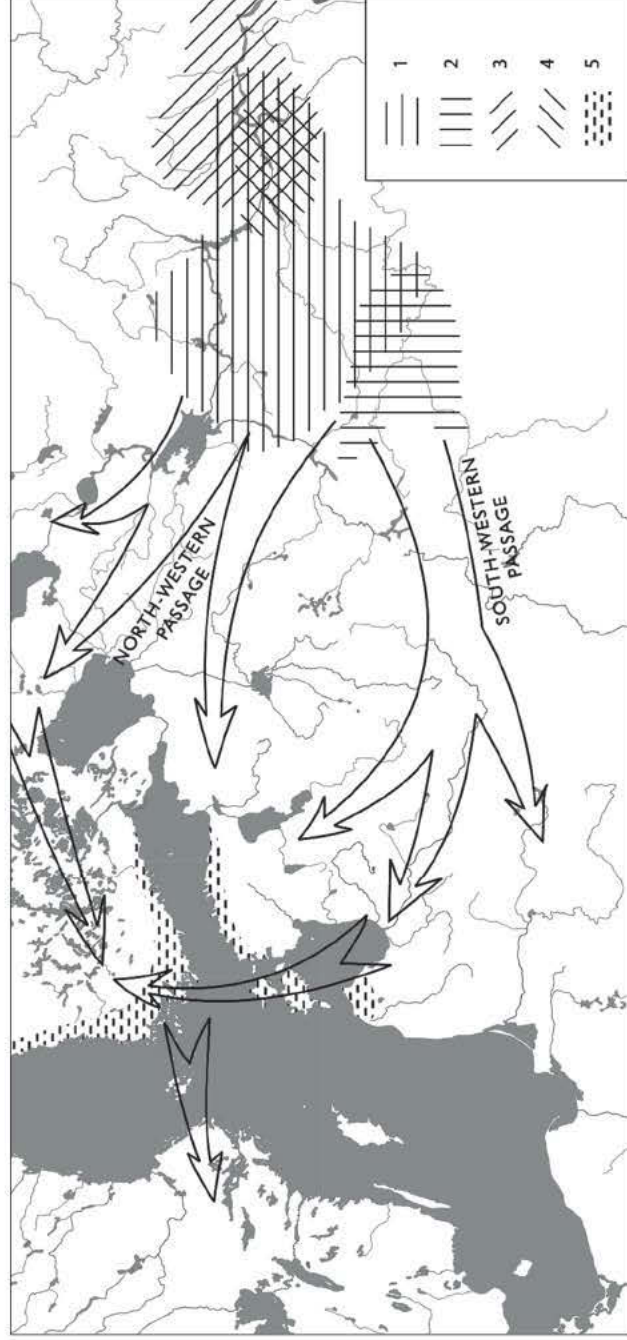
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Appendix. Two main passages of human contacts and movements from the middle and upper Volga region towards the west.



1 – core area of Textile Ware in the middle Volga region (according to Patrushev 1992: fig. 2), 2 – main area of pre-Dyakovo pottery styles in the Moscow and Middle Oka (Syrovatko 2013), 3 – distribution of Anan'ino axes, and 4 – distribution of Akozino-Mälär axes in the middle Volga (Jushkova 2011: figs 97, 99), 5 – areas with Germanic settlement east of the Baltic Sea around 1000 BC (Lang 2014b). Drawing: Kersti Siitan.

The labyrinth of identity: Khanty ethnic identity, its alternatives, and their place in the discourses of identity

Zoltán Nagy

Introducing dilemmas

The topic of my article covers the local public discourses about the Vasyugan Khanties living in the territory of the Tomsk *Oblast*. Before embarking on the theme proper, I have to clarify two problems: why I refer to the selected entity for research with two geographic labels – *oblast* and the river valley – as points of reference, and whether they can safely be called Khanty.

In research literature several geographically based frames of reference are used in relation to the Khanties, but by a geographic region territorial units also implying common ecological and cultural elements must evidently be understood.

Comparative ethnographic investigations take regions of various sizes for a start, defining region as a territorial unit in the first place. As regards my research topic the Khanties, the boundary of the region can justly be demarcated at Western Siberia or Siberia, but the circumpolar zone or the Arctic can also be considered. This frame of interpretation based on geography is manifest at the level of the institutional system as well: social and cultural researchers investigating Finno-Ugrian groups work less in institutes of Finno-Ugrian studies and more in research centres of arctic or Siberian peoples, or again, in paradigmatically defined ethnographic, cultural or social anthropological workshops. Likewise, the studies on Finno-Ugrian peoples are not only published in books and periodicals on Finno-Ugrians but more frequently in journals organized on different bases. As a frame of reference, Eurasia must also be considered, whatever may be understood by the term. In Russian research, Eurasianism refers to a region of an autonomous cultural profile defined first of all in contradistinction to the Western world (cf. Szili 2005). Western anthropology, for example Chris Hann, refers to the concept of – geographically more broadly conceived – Eurasia, which – in his view – “is justified by at least two historical frames: a short-term frame (the aftermath of socialism) and a long-term frame (the shared developmental process triggered off by the discovery of agriculture)” (Hann 2006).

These broad geographic frames mainly apply to comparative ethnographic research, but they are also often used as frames of reference in descriptive monographic investigations. In monographic examinations of a narrower focus the boundaries of description encompass less and less the totality of the earlier developed category of ethnicity – here the Khanties – and researchers concentrate on smaller regional groups as research entities, for they can be more coherently described within the inhomogeneous ethnicity. In this way, the fundamental diversity is restored to a culture always existing in small local communities. As for the Khanties, a river valley is first of all the relevant frame of research on account of the transport possibilities, the structure of local identity and the dialectal stratification. This frame is unquestionably relevant for the examination of questions of material culture, religion and folklore.

It is no novelty to take the administrative units of Russia for the frames of research. Province or county has always determined the attraction of research centres and the literature of the *краеведение* also uses these frames. For ethnography, the use of this frame may be justified for two reasons. Under the Russian “legal pluralism” the legal frames of the life of “small indigenous ethnic groups of the north” are chiefly regulated by skeleton law: in the different administrative units there is possibility to offer divergent perspectives, ways for the local ethnic groups. It is also to be noted that the radically changed circumstances in Russia invalidate an approach that thinks in strictly localized, immobile groups, for people, objects, ideologies are in a permanent flow, living in real and virtual spaces at the same time; people’s life is determined by translocality (Freitag & von Oppen 2010) today that sets the frames of both fieldwork and interpretation. The narrowest frame within which the thus conceived cultural flow can be examined is the administrative unit that outlines the everyday life of its inhabitants; in my case, the Tomsk *Oblast* in which the Vasyugan Khanties live. This geographic frame is thus clearly relevant for examinations of the economic life, ethnicity and identity, or for legal anthropological analyses.

The problem with the term Khanty is that the people whom researchers identify as Khanties actually do not call themselves Khanti. To those who speak Russian – and practically nobody uses the Vasyugan dialect in everyday communication – it comes natural to refer to themselves as “Ostyaks” and the other coexisting non-Khanty groups also call them by this name. Unlike generally believed, this term does not have any depreciative content along the Vasyugan river. Thereby the local people terminologically separate themselves from the Khanties living in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous *Okrug* whom they simply call Khanties or with the compound word “Khanty-Mansis”. It is not at all obvious that the ethnic categories used by scholarship apply evidently to the

named groups; it is far from being sure that the local categories correspond to the scientific ones. (Nagy 2002.) For this reason, I have decided to use the term “Ostyak” hereafter.

The demographic situation of the Tomsk *Oblast* was determined by the systematic relocation of people in the 1930s–‘40s when masses of mostly Russian, German and Baltic families were transferred to the local, mainly “Ostyak” population there. From the 1960s, this tendency was given a boost by the upswing in labour migration for growing crude oil and gas production, as a result of which the local “Ostyaks” have practically been dissolved in the “non-Ostyak” population. In the focus of my research Novy Vasyugan, founded in 1933, 2579 inhabitants lived in 2014, of them about 100 or a mere 4% being “Ostyaks”.¹ According to the 2010 census, the number of Khanties living in the area of the Kargasok *Rayon* to which the settlement belongs is 193 or 0.88%, while in the Tomsk *Oblast* their number falls short of 720 or a negligible 0.07% of a total of over one million inhabitants (Vserossijskaja perepis’).

My aim is to examine within these frames what role the “Ostyaks” play in the local public life, how they are represented, if they are represented at all, in local public discourses, what tendencies can be discerned and what underlying causes can be explored.

The invisible “Ostyaks”

In the official website of Novy Vasyugan² there is no sign of “Ostyaks” living in the settlement. In the predesigned statistical section the rubrics referring to nationality are left blank. Neither in the general description of the village nor in the brief historical summary is it mentioned that the settlement was founded in an area where “Ostyaks” used to live. It is also left unsaid why one of the first names of the village also included in the description was Magilny Yar “cemetery slope”: the construction of the settlement was begun right on the burial ground of an “Ostyak” village, Okunsigatskoe. A look at the coats of arms, official billboards, publications of the village also confirms this kind of concealment. The official village does not take note of their existence. What is more, in an official roundtable about hunting rights the representative of the local administration argued that there was no need to put into effect the allowances of natives because there were no “Ostyaks” in the settlement, only a single one of them remaining.

¹ http://www.novvas.tomsk.ru/content/obshhie_svedeniya

² <http://www.novvas.tomsk.ru/>

When in 2003 the village celebrated its 70th anniversary, the festive program was to present the history of the village. Echoing the website, the village history began with the deportations in 1933. About the times prior to that date, there was a short summary without mentioning the undeniable fact that the area had been inhabited before the arrival of the deported. As a prelude to “real” (*настоящий*) history started with the deportations, only the Cossacks of Yermak were mentioned in addition to a note of Bronze-Age cultures explored in the region. In the cultural program the deportees and the oil miners featured as pioneers, first settlers. Consequently, the official history of the village is to be seen as the appearance of humans (first of all Russians) in the uninhabited taiga, the impassable marshland, be they people of Bronze-Age cultures devoid of ideologies for the immense temporal distance, or the troops of Yermak not at all free from ideologies, or again, the settlers of the immediate past, of the deportations and the beginning of oil mining.

The same trope is used by authors with local affiliations such as Vassily Borzetsov (see e.g. 2001a and 2001b) and by poets like Sergey Dorofeev (s.a.) in their works and in the pieces of the so-called oil miner’s romanticism, e.g. by Piotr Shapovalov (1997) or Yury Zonov³ the bard. Despite an unambiguous attachment to the natural environment, the region appears in these texts as a godforsaken wilderness (*глухоман*) devoid of humans which the deported and the oil miners have to conquer, tear out of the taiga to make it habitable for people, that is, Russians. They see themselves as pioneers, first settlers (*первопосетитель*) who have to work hard in the wilderness without culture, performing heroic work day by day under extraordinary circumstances. The stories are about man making the taiga livable and useful for himself, turning the empty uninhabited taiga suitable for living and politically speaking, turning it into an important resource for the people’s economy.

The absence of people and the economic void mutually postulate each other in that-time political ideology in which nature is the tool of production which – together with man – becomes the force of production (Marx 1983). Since earlier there was no production in the region in terms of the overall economy although the natural resources (the tools of production) were available, then the human factor must have been missing, that is, there were no people there.

The forest (and swamp) alludes to the remoteness of the world, the exclusion of the inhabitants, the absence of humans: the forest is the antithesis to civilization. From this point of view, the presence of the “Ostyaks” is irrelevant: in the interpretation of modern Russian man they have not civilized

³ manuscript

or humanized the taiga, but conversely, the taiga naturalized them. Before the deportations, the “Ostyaks” were seen much rather as part of nature than part of modern human society. Their life embedded in nature, the lack of production, their “primitiveness” was interpreted – if not bestialized – as inherent to the forest alien to civilization. Their presence did not count when the area was deemed unpeopled. That is why there is no mention in any work that before the newcomers others used to regard this area as their home. Similarly, the works of the fine arts – the paintings of Dmitrii Lavrov⁴ or thematic albums by the local photo salon – also depict the endless taiga, the swamp, or the Russians living amidst inhuman conditions, but the “Ostyaks” are missing.

The “Ostyaks” are hardly visible in the public spaces of the *oblast* or the *rayon*. The official institutional memory as well as the popular memory – which must not be mixed up with the forums of the historical sciences – only mentions archeological cultures as precedents to “real” Russian history. In other words, the carriers of the history of the area prior to its conquest by Russians are not the “indigenous” people but the archeological cultures. Of them the most famous is the Bronze Age *Kulay* culture (see e.g. Chindina 1984) about which regular lectures, exhibitions are held. It is this culture producing high-quality art by today’s esthetic standards as well that has inspired the alternative intelligentsia of Tomsk Province who are looking for roots elsewhere, in some ancient culture, outside the official (Russian) cultural ideal. Their best-known artistic group is the marked representative of Siberian purism called *Сомона КуКуН* (*Somona KuKuN*).⁵ In their attempts to go back to the “primeval”, the “genuine” they accept the native cultures as mediators of the idealized *Kulay* culture but interpret their art as the degradation of that superior culture.

If the local Russian majority included the natives in public history, they would be faced with serious dilemmas. Pre-Russian history is represented by Bronze Age cultures because of the enormous distance in time, because that past is surely terminated, the living could not be part of it, hence it cannot affect the life of the living, it does not mean any obligation for them. A past full of “Ostyaks” would be hard to face up to. If they were incorporated in official memory, it would be hard to evade the question of the colonialist past which would entail the reconsidering of the natives’ rights e.g. to lands, hunting areas, and that in turn would confront the local Russians with nearly unsolvable situations.

⁴ Колпашевский краеведческий музей – Томский областной краеведческий музей

⁵ About this see e.g. <http://www.kukun.ru>

The “Ostyaks” are ignorable factors in politics, too. The issue of natives gradually disappeared from the agenda of political problems starting with the deportations of the 1930s, whereas in the early phase they played an important role among the questions of the region to be settled. In the initial phase of the Soviet system programs, such as the “red chum” program, were launched to elevate them (to use a that-time term). Annual party reports were written about the situation of the natives, the chances of arousing them with propaganda, about their problems. The last report accessible in the Tomsk archive dates from 1937⁶ – as far as I know, no more such report was written later. Political and public interest shifted clearly towards the deported – in the eye of the natives “imported” – people who became absolute majority in the area within a few years’ time. From the late ‘30s their handling, their control was the main challenge, all the reports to the party covering them, instead of the indigenous people. Moreover, decades later, after the political turn, the rehabilitation of the deported became the central issue, the question of the natives not coming anywhere near it in significance (about the “invisibility” see Nagy 2011b).

Besides, the question of the aboriginal people is interpreted exclusively as a cultural problem: anything related to the indigenous population of the *oblast* belongs to the cultural government whether it is an economic, welfare or truly cultural question. The organizations of the local natives have negligible political weight, they also regard themselves as cultural institutions with their central activity being related to theatrical culture, first of all ethnotourism. Under such circumstances real ethno-political agency is out of the question, the natives cannot enter the stages that shape the politics of memory. Although the historical narrative of the natives could be an alternative to the hegemonic national and regional historical narratives, there is no “voice” beneath it, it has no political potential. This invisibility of the indigenous people in the public sphere is particularly conspicuous if it is compared to the situation in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous *Okrug* where regional politics has overtly chosen the (festive) culture of the Khanties and Mansis as the emblem to be used as proof of its difference in the Moscow versus region debate. The name and culture of the *titular* ethnic groups appear like *brands*; let it suffice to refer to the designation *Yugra* now included in the name of the region. This is despite the fact that numerically they are not significant: the 2010 census figures put their populace at 2.1% or 30 045 people (Vserossijskaja perepis’). However, the national political motivations overwrite the demographic factors here.

⁶ ОГКУ ЦДНИ ТО. Ф. 206, оп. 1, д. 240, л 10.

“Natives” dangling between discourses

One of the reasons for the invisibility of the “Ostyaks” is the attitude of the local public opinion towards them. For the publicity of the village, the *rayon* and the *oblast*, the “Ostyaks” are not an ethnic group but a special way-of-life group in contrast to the “Russian” way of living (cf. Nagy 2014).

The neutral element of this conception is their presumed very close relationship with the forest. “Ostyakness” is a way of living based primarily on fishing, hunting and other uses of the forest bound tightly to the taiga. This applies even though technically speaking this style of living hardly differs from that of the Russians who pursue a sylvan existence. Nothing proves better that “Ostyak” is a the way-of-life category not based on ethnicity that the descendants of Russians who settled down here in the 19th century (*старожилы*) and whose style of living hardly differed from that of the natives at the time of the deportations are sometimes also called “Ostyaks” in Novy Vasyugan. In the ethnic self-definition of both sides the forest, the taiga has a very important role with the difference that the “Ostyaks” are inseparable part of it, almost identical with it, while the “non-Ostyaks” are intruders easily separated from the forest, who move in the forest, not exist in it. There is a kind of metaphoric relation between the forest and the “Ostyak” society: a “real, genuine” (*настоящий*) “Ostyak” lives in the forest or is at least tied to the forest for his living; a “true Ostyak” fishes and hunts; to live “truly” (*по настоящему*) actually means living in the forest fishing and hunting. By contrast, the forest is an inscrutable, incalculable, hostile territory for Russians. Further, as has been seen, it is the symbol of the absence of culture where the past is an incessant fight against the forest from which the home has to be conquered, the village – the symbol of civilization – has to be torn out. For the “Ostyaks” the forest is their inalienable way of life, for Russians it is the area either of entertainment – duck hunting and shashlik barbecues – or a means to make a living on the basis of strict economic calculation which they immediately give up when it loses its lucrateness.

More powerful than this value-neutral categorization is, however, the set of negative connotations associated with the term “Ostyak”, since they are primarily seen as members of a poverty culture, in many cases as a marginalized, lumpenized poverty culture. It largely reinforces the concept of lumpenization that the former, now deserted “Ostyak” settlements often become the shelter for marginalized, impoverished families failing to remain put in Novy Vasyugan, often also wanted by the police, and thus these settlements practically turn into ghettos. The one-time “Ostyak” centre Aypolovo bordering on Novy Vasyugan is only inhabited by two “Ostyaks”, the rest are

marginalized, shady characters who moved there from Novy Vasyugan. The “Ostyak” villages were more and more labelled as “villages of criminals and alcoholics” which reinforced the image of the “Ostyaks” as “criminals and alcoholics”. Deviancy and lumpenization thus became a marker which was used to set “Ostyaks” off from “Russians”. What is more, stretching the parallels, we can say that actually the taiga, the sylvan way of life has become the ghetto of society, which in turn has further reinforced the presumed irreconcilable antagonism between nature and society in the “non-Ostyaks” categorization.

It is time now to return to the different uses and connotations of the terms “Ostyak” and “Khanty”. As seen earlier, in the local Russian usage “Ostyak” is not an ethnic but much rather a life-style category, while “Khanty”, on the other hand, designates an ethnicity. The differentiation of the two terms is, however, far from being unambiguous. The word “Ostyak” does not appear in social or cultural issues in standard political discourses. “Khanty”, by contrast, in addition to “Selkup” are ethnic categories in Russian federal statistics and in legal terminology. The so-called indigenous ethnicities to which these two belong have a special legal status: they have firewood allowance, get permits to use the forest freely when they build or renew their homes, they may be allocated hunting ranges out of turn, may get shooting permits free or at a discount for certain number of game, they may get a gun license earlier and are at an advantage to acquire places in higher education. Contrarily to the language usage of the majority society, those who call themselves “Ostyaks” regard the “Ostyak” concept as a clearly ethnic category which differentiates them not only from the majority society but, as seen above, from the Khanties living more to the north. This dual usage of the terms, used now as an ethnic, now as a life-style category, largely contributes to their weak individual and collective interest protecting potential, to this “dialogue of the deaf”.

The fact that the “Ostyaks” are handled as members of a poverty culture, as deviants makes it impossible for them to include their fate and problems in an ethnic discourse, to assume the position of a group, although that would be the only way to voice their interests, to get access to political, economic and cultural resources, which are redistributed on an ethnic basis in the Tomsk *oblast*, too. The only possibility to break out from this situation – as ethnic entrepreneurs claim – is to adopt the urban concept of exoticism, to be noticed by the majority population, to appeal to them and arouse their sympathy.

However, the concept of exoticism must be fought out by local minorities as it is not generally associated with them. The “Ostyaks”, who represented a strongly Russified culture already at the beginning of the 20th century do not satisfy the demand for the exotic. The prototype of “Siberianism”, of “aboriginality” – also disseminated by the nationwide media – was and is

embodied for the majority in both high literature and popular culture by the Evenks of a markedly “different” way of life and costumes, although in the studied area they are only sporadic. The Evenks – more correctly, the Tungus people – appeared to be more archaic than the rest of the minorities living here, as they were nomads, primarily hunted and used reindeer for transportation. As far as I know, the “Ostyaks” never kept reindeer, lived a sedentary way of life, mostly going in for fishing. The exoticism of the Evenks was largely attributed to their marked and “extraordinary” clothes which they kept far longer than the “Ostyaks” who left off their folk costumes in the early 20th century. In the books written by Alexander Sheludiakov (1981, 1985) about the natives of the area the protagonists are Evenks, members of the “Siberian pine tribe”, and Valentin Reshetko (2007) deported to the Vasyugan as a child also relied on the Evenks for the protagonist Agafia of his novel *Черноводье*.

The Evenks have thus expropriated the concept of exoticism. What may seem more startling is that “Khanties” satisfying the requirements of the exotic are also known in the territory of the *oblast* who are markedly shown from time to time in national television programs as well. However, majority society identifies these “Khanties” with the natives of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous *Okrug*, and not with the local “Ostyaks”. For instance, in the museum of the town of Strezhevoy⁷ “Khanties” are also represented in a separate section of one of the rooms, but the displayed material is not from along the Vasyugan close by or from the Alexandrovo *rayon*, it is not from the Tomsk *Oblast* but from the equally nearby Nizhnevartovsk *Rayon* in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous *Oblast*. The way of life and culture of the minority in their own *oblast* are not archaic or exotic enough, not spectacular enough to be shown in exhibitions.

Consequently, the first priority goal of the minority organizations of the *oblast* must be to make the local minorities visible through stage culture and the production of folklore artefacts, involving them in the discourse of exoticism and thus offering them the possibility of a different interpretation from the culture of lumpenization. These programs have an appeal, projects can be built on them, subsidies acquired, because the public is receptive to such staged ethno-variety programs in Russia in general and in the Tomsk *oblast*. Another possible way to re-ethnicize the discourse arises with ethno-tourism which introduces the local natives as members of a sylvan, natural culture along ethnic categories (Aborigennyj). From this viewpoint they are the ones living in

⁷ Муниципальный историко-краеведческий музей г. Стрежевого. www.museum.ru/M613

harmony with nature as models of modern ecological thinking, besides offering adventures and recreation.

This ambition of re-ethnicization is facilitated by the elimination of differences between the local minorities, that is, Khanties, Selkups, Kets, Evenkis, Chulims, and their presentation as some general indigenous minority. For this festivalized cultural conglomerate the widely heterogeneous cultural assortment is picked from quite freely: the image is built from the interesting customs and folklore texts of the Selkups and the Vasyugan Khanties of the Tomsk *Oblast* gleaned from ethnographic accounts, but also from the most spectacular tested elements of the folklorized culture of the Northern Selkups and Khanties. For this possible identification – as far as I have found – the word Selkup is recommended in the territory of the Tomsk *Oblast*. One reason is that the Selkups are the largest minority of the *oblast*, and “*Kolta Kup*”⁸, the strongest organization of the region asserting the representation of all native ethnic minorities was originally founded as a Selkup self-help organization.

A concealing discourse: the trauma of deportations

All the efforts of local ethnic business people notwithstanding, today the decisive discourse in the memory of the oblast is not the ethnic discourse. This tendency is perfectly in accord with the demographic figures. The 2010 census data reveals that 92.05% of the population of the oblast profess to be Russians, in addition to which there are only two ethnic groups, Tatars and Ukrainians, whose number is over 1%. These rates are even more revealing when the actual number of inhabitants is taken a look at: the Russians number more than 920,000, the size of the next two ethnic groups taken together is beneath 30,000, while the total number of non-Russians in the oblast is less than 125,000. This figure might be even more significant if we consider that the statistics includes 48 different ethnic groups. (Vserossijskaja perepis'.) Owing to the differentiation and small number of minorities their political potential is weak in this ethnically almost homogeneous medium, and in the political rhetoric, political agency and the politics of memory the decisive role is obviously played by the historical traumas and not by the ethnic questions.

One of the decisive historical traumas was World War II, the Great Patriotic War, the memory work of which serves first of all the elaboration of an all-

⁸ "Ассоциация Коренных Малочисленных Народов Севера Томской Области "Колта-Куп", Томская Региональная Общественная Организация

Russian *rossiyanin* identity. The other great trauma is the period of Stalinist retaliations, the “*пенпещия*”, which plays a decisive role in the identity politics of the Tomsk *Oblast* as an autonomous entity. It must be known that the destination of one of the largest wave of deportations was the formerly famous–infamous Narimsky Kray in the 1930s–‘40s. There is a well-known proverb to this day: “*Бог создал рай, а чёрт – Нарымский Край*”, “God created the Paradise, and Satan created Narimsky Kray”. In 1930 only 2676 families were deported to the valley of the Vasyugan, mass deportations starting in 1931. Within a year the population of 2500 along the Vasyugan was boosted by some 40,000 deportees. This wave of deportation went on in 1932–33. Following the “great terror” (*большой террор*) of 1937, after the relocation of the kulaks in the early ‘40s, members of some ethnic groups declared guilty began to be deported. Mostly people from the Baltic zone, first of all Estonians, but also Lithuanians and Latvians, were moved to the Narimsky Kray, and Germans were exiled here from the Saratov area. The last wave of deportations reached the region in 1948–49, then chiefly from the Caucasus. There can only be guesses about the total number of the deportees, but today’s demographic figures are highly informative: some estimates put the rate of the deportees and their descendants at 70%. (See Krasilnikov 2003; Maksheev 2007; Mongolina 2008.) For comparison’s sake, let me remind you that in the area of the *oblast* the rate of the Khanties is a mere 0.07% and that of the indigenous people taken in one is 0.4%. This means that the everyday demographic experience of people here is that nearly everyone, every family has been involved in the retaliations or deportations and one can hardly meet someone who is aboriginal. In areas to the north the rates are somewhat different but it does not bring considerable change to the everyday demographic experience: in the Kargasok *rayon* the rate of Khanties is 0.88%, that of all the small ethnic groups together is 4.12% (Vserossijskaja perepis’).

Also in line with the demographic figures, the modern self-image of the *oblast* and the *rayon* is being developed along the retaliations, the “*пенпещия*”. The undeniable horrors of deportations which could not be talked about for decades have a salient role in the construction of the local identity. This truly dramatic event became traumatized, became a cultural trauma. A cultural trauma is not the individual memory of an event but, as Alexander (2004) put it, it is “when the members of a community feel they have been exposed to some dreadful event that left an indelible mark on their group consciousness, that has imbued their memory for ever, and decisively and irrevocably designates their future identity as well.” The forced relocation of people is the trauma that determines the memory and political discourses of the region at issue, to “explore” and show up which they are making considerable efforts. In Tomsk

there is a peerlessly rich and effective museum and research centre for political repression.⁹ The theme dominates fiction as well, the leading authors – such as Vadim Maksheev, Vladimir and Veniamin Kolikhanov and Valentin Reshetko – themselves having also been victims of the deportations. Maksheev is not only the most outstanding and competent author but he has published his archival researches, conversations with deportees in several documentary collections of signal importance (Maksheev 1997, 2007). His figure is essential on the public scene not only of the *oblast* but also of the Kargasok *rayon* that has awarded him the freedom of the district. What is more, Novy Vasyugan is also tied to his person in that annual literary competitions called “Макшеевские Чтения” (Maksheev Readings) are held.

The deportees are weighty factors in contemporary politics as well, for their moral rehabilitation is permanently on the agenda of decision-makers and the communal media. In the official politics of memory the remembrance of Stalinist repression has high priority. Earlier the only permitted monuments were those of World War II, but now monuments and memorial crosses commemorating the victims of deportations are appearing one after the other all over the *oblast*. Well organized programs cherish the memory of the deportations with support from local governments. Outstanding among them is “Прощение и Память”, “Forgiving and Remembering”, a local history project run by the activists between 2006 and 2009 with local government funds in the Kargasok *rayon*. The aim of the project is to explore the Stalinist terror, to revive the work of remembering and elaborate the right forms of remembrance. During the three years it achieved great scholarly and educational results: three expeditions were led to the Vasyugan river, oral histories were recorded and gathered in an archive, multimedia publications, films, slide shows were made, the participating students entered for regional and national competitions with poems, songs, literary and scientific texts; in the district library a special thematic book and documentary collection was created and three books were published (*Proshenie i pamjat'*; *Reki pechaly*). Since then, the project apparently goes on as a civilian movement with considerable political support: those who keep it running are state employees who can obtain quite a lot of financial aid for the programs. They stage conferences and exhibitions, publish books, deportation-related news and local history projects are available on a civilian internet portal.¹⁰ The method of teaching local history they have worked out is used in nearly every school of the *rayon*. They also had an

⁹ <http://nkvd.tomsk.ru/>

¹⁰ http://www.sokik.ru/kraev_mozaika.html

important role in the politics of memory: during the three-year period they organized commemorative church services, erected 45 memorial crosses in place of the former villages of the exiled, had memorial stones and monuments put up. Since from the start the project fostered the memory of the deportations together with the memory of the Great Patriotic War, it is justified to conclude that today they are the spokespeople and controllers of the practice of remembrance in the *rayon*, determining and thematizing local memory which is clearly built on these two historical moments.

According to the recent “master narrative” of the deportations – as I mentioned apropos the Novy Vasyugan celebrations – the exiled were transported amidst most inhuman circumstances to the former Narimsky Kray and left on the shore of the Vasyugan river without supplies, where they had to carve out a living space for themselves with their bare hands from the hostile environment, the taiga. The key motif of the first years was lumbering, “*корчевание*”, a compulsory job which allowed them to build houses for themselves and created space for farming as well. During the period of the *comendature* they fought for life deprived of their rights and human dignity, losing many of their beloved. Famine and contagious diseases decimated them, many of the children were orphaned and brought up in poorly equipped orphanages. The deported were thus the pioneers who were forced to bring culture to this unpopulated, empty area, who suffered for the humanization of this region and gave the lives of their beloved for its peopling. Suffering is conceived of as the conquest of the natural landscape, as the metaphor of occupying the area, and legitimates the right to this land, this region. In this narrative – in the “Vasyugan Golgotha” – the natives have no place. So it may seem that if they should include the indigenous population into the narratives of memory, they would cease being the first humans in the area, the humanizers of the landscape. They would apparently lose the sense or significance of their suffering, if they acknowledged that before them the place had already been civilized, humanized, that the unbearable setting and climate was the natural medium for others, or that the hostile taiga was the home of people. That is why the “Khanties” are spoken of as only living in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous *Okrug* and that is why the only precedents to modern history is the Bronze Age cultures, concealing the history of the indigenous people. The memory of the “natives” is therefore removed mentally from the place of suffering and shifted to Yugra in space and to the Bronze Age in time.

There is considerable discrepancy between the personal memories of the “Ostyaks” and the deportees. As is known, it is the dissimilarity of social experiences and their different political force that leads to social amnesia. In Renan’s (1995) definition, national – here regional – identity is determined by

the dialectic of social memory and forgetting: the history of the “Ostyaks” is forgotten so that the history of the deportations could be remembered more sharply. Interpreting the situation perhaps even more sensitively, Aleida Assmann (1999) claims that the memory of the deported is *functional memory*, that is, collective memory reinforced by individual memories which creates the homogeneous identity of a region, uniting and mobilizing people, serving as a frame of reference in current political issues and determining the political and cultural discourses. The memory of the natives, on the other hand, is part of the *storing memory* since it only exists in personal reminiscences that have no political potential and thus cannot be part of the national – here *oblast* – identity; it is even opposed to the latter. The memories of the natives are silent memories, concealed from the stages of local publicity, they have no trace in the discourse on “motherland”, “homeland”. The natives are not included in the region’s community of remembrance, in its value system manifest in the public discourses, and hence – if we accept Jan Assmann’s reasoning – they are not members of the community itself (to the relation between collective memory and collective identity see Assmann J. 2004).

The landscape of memory and the “Ostyak identity”

The above described process – exclusion from society through memory work, that is, the lack of the right to have themselves heard and seen – is everyday experience for the “Ostyaks”. It suffices to take the memory landscape of the *oblast*, which – except for Tomsk with an extraordinarily rich cultural tradition manifested – is almost exclusively dominated by memorials of the Great Patriotic War and the repression, as well as the bulbous domes of orthodox churches. These impressions of the *landschaft*, these sites of memory (*lieu de memoire*) (Nora 1984–92) are precisely the elements that help remembering, that give clues to thinking about the past, that offer places for collective memory work, in short, that strengthen a collective’s identity. The “Ostyaks” are absent from this space. Although their names are also included in war memorials as mute members of a supra-ethnic multitude involved in a jointly undertaken sacrifice: these monuments are erected by villages, *rayons* and *oblasts* strengthening an all-Russian *rossiyanin* memory. The monuments of the exiled veil over the memory of the “Ostyaks” and although many of them are Christian (or Christian as well), the orthodox churches stand for a clergy that is alien to them with its intention to convert them. The “Ostyaks” have no monuments, they do not appear on public sculpture or in urban symbolism.

The exclusion of the “Ostyaks” from the symbolic space, the *landschaft*, is apparent in other ways as well. The “Ostyaks” visualized their own historical memory in the form of sacred sites, but the antireligious stance of the Soviet system and the radical transformation of the settlement network brought along the destruction of the overwhelming majority of their sacred places (Nagy 2011). The change of the settlement network radically transformed the symbolic landscape. The “Ostyak” settlements manifested the structure of “Ostyak” society, its kinship groups, both in the village names alluding to the lineages and topographically through their sacred places close-by, each belonging to a lineage. With the emergence of new settlements and the relocation of the natives there, with the elimination of the villages, this connection was eradicated. Remaining in the same physical setting, the “Ostyaks” were faced with the utter change of the symbolic landscape and lost their integral relation to it, practically becoming homeless in it. By being transferred to the villages of the earlier relocated exiles, they – the natives formerly at home here – were forced into the position of the relocated. Though they kept their ties with their former habitat, using it as their hunting ground, but this was pursued on the periphery of the new “Russian” world and emphasized their otherness and unfamiliarity in the eye of the majority society, instead of their familiarity. The rehabilitation begun in the 1990s did not affect the “Ostyaks”; in the depopulated villages of the deportees memorial crosses have been erected, but it has not been considered to commemorate the similarly depopulated former “Ostyak” villages.

All this has unquestionably weakened the bases of “Ostyak” identity, leading to the “Ostyak” young generations being ill at ease about an “Ostyak” identity, if not downright hostile to it. As inferred from practice, this identity is fairly amorphous, with blurred and ambiguous boundaries and markers, and they work differently in the Khanty language and in Russian (Nagy 2002). The “Ostyak” identity is often kept in silence, while there are situations in which there is some group solidarity among them partly based on the ideal of lineage and among the elderly on collective memory. Many of the younger generations clearly discard this identity, not ascribing importance to kinship. Their lifestyle hardly differs from that of the Russians, and they certainly do not act as a community of memory.

Invisibility in science?

When I was speaking of the invisibility of the Vasyugan “Ostyaks” at a forum earlier,¹¹ there were some who responded with astonishment because for ethnographic researchers of Russia the people of the Vasyugan constituted one of classic fields of research,¹² generations having been brought up on the fundamental works of Nadezhda Vassilievna Lukina and Vladislav Mikhailovich Kulemzin (see e.g. Kulemzin 1976; Kulemzin & Lukina 1977; Lukina 1985). I have made a point of it in my presentation that my findings apply to the public discourse and not to scholarship, marked differences being between the two spheres.

Scholarship discovered the Vasyugan “Ostyaks” in the 19th century, after sporadic mentions of them in earlier times. Underlying this explosive interest two motives can be discerned. Firstly, it cannot be separated from the centrally supported and controlled attempt to get a thorough knowledge of Russia, tightly related to the exploration and ideal utilization of the country’s resources. These investigations were almost all financed by the Russian Geographic Society, whether they were carried out by officials or exiles. For example, Grigorovsky was a member of the Society (Grigorovskij 1884), Kostrov’s (1872) research into legal folk customs was closely tied to the competitive project called by the Society, the travels of Shostakovich were supported and his book (1876), just like Plotnikov’s (1901), was published by the Society. Secondly, extensive research and expeditions were initiated by Finn-Ugrian scholarship searching for relations between ethnicities envisaged on the model of language relations. Károly Pápai’s (1890) findings are not so widely known, (about Pápai see Nagy 2012) but upon the influence of Karjalainen’s and Sirelius’s (see e.g. 1928) works the “Ostyaks” of Vasyugan had a salient role in the research literature. That was because already at this early date nearly everything worked differently here than in the regions more to the north, and therefore the data from this area had to be made separate mention of, e.g. in *Die Religion der Jugra Völker* (Karjalainen 1921–1927).

From the second decade of the 20th century appeal of the area gradually fell back. World War I interrupted foreign research for a long time, and Russian ethnographic research also stymied. Scholars who happened to visit the area

¹¹ *Les Khantys du Vasjugan, des Khantys “Invisibles”* – on the Conférence International Journées khantyes. (Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales – Centre de reserche Eurepes-Eurasie – Centre d’étude et de recherche sur les littératures et les orientales du monde), Paris, 2014. 11. 28–29.

¹² Thanks to Novikova N.

were mostly archeologists (pl. Uraev R. A. and Kirjushin J. F.) sometimes linguists (Kalinina I. M.) with ethnographic collecting work just being a “side product” of other work. The ethnographers of Tomsk focused their research interests elsewhere for decades: Shatilov (1931), who studied the Khanties, carried on field research along the Vah river annexed newly – and temporarily – to the Tomsk *oblast*, and Pelih (see e.g. 1981) concentrated on the Selkups. A decisive exception is the mentioned research of Lukina and Kulemzin at the turn of the 1960s and ‘70s which resulted in fundamental ethnographic works of great use to this day, but they also shifted their focus northward in their field research.

This tendency did not change before the 1990s, but from then on practical rediscovery has been going on. That applies, first of all, to linguistics: the Vasyugan dialect of Khanty is now a high-priority research topic of the Tomsk research team trained on Dulzon’s school.¹³ In the field of social and cultural studies, however, there is strong ambivalence. Classic ethnography interested in the historical and descriptive investigation of traditional Khanty culture has failed to rediscover the “Khanties” living along the Vasyugan and constituting a separate ethnic category. This is because their massively assimilated, urbanized life does not satisfy their slightly outmoded classic interest. For cultural anthropologists, at the same time, the “Ostyaks” living along the Vasyugan are an ideal topic of research, irrespective of whether they are regarded as an ethnic or a life-style category. On the one hand, anthropological interest has shifted from the traditional questions towards questions of urbanization, globalization and glocalization, and on the other, for researchers of ethnicity the Vasyugan valley is ideal terrain for its marginal position with its rapid processes of assimilation.

Becoming visible

The material for the above analysis was based on my fieldwork in the 1990s and 2000s, but during my more recent field research I took note of different processes too. Anthropologists like me working there have unwittingly but undeniably contributed to these processes. Being among them, the publications and exhibitions, the discussions with the actors who influence local public life all have the potential to change the evaluation of an ethnicity or a group, or transfer it into another discourse.

¹³ Томский государственный педагогический университет, Кафедра языков народов Сибири (e.g.: Osipova O. A., Kim A. A., Filtchenko A. Ju., Potanina O. S.)

I have found especially in the area of the *rayon* and in Novy Vasyugan that the activists controlling the memory of repression, with whom I have developed a close relationship, have discovered the “Ostyaks”. To be more precise, whom they have discovered are not the “Ostyaks”; they have discovered the “Khanties”, an ethnic culture that can be idealized and exoticized, in this marginalized, lumpenized life-style group called “Ostyaks”. That means that from now on I will have to call them “Khanty” accordingly.

During my latest fieldwork I have found that the “Khanties” have been appearing in the local history programs of the Novy Vasyugan school based mainly on the masters and handicrafts of folklore (see e.g. Burmatova & Martynova 2011). That also confirms that their utilization mostly satisfies the expectations and stereotypes of majority society who look upon the “Khanties” as living epitomes of ethnic folk art, its storage containers, as it were. This process is not separable from the tradition-forming activity of the “cultural brokers” of the minority organization, even less from their patrimonizing attempts to offer the “Khanty” culture ready for consumption.

What is more, stories of “Khanty” families are included in conferences and publications of the “*прошение и память*” project fostering the memory of the *rayon* (see e.g. Novikov et al.). Now it seems that a narrative can be developed which lifts the “Khanties” into the memory of the region, although their earlier exclusion was just as logical. The involvement of the Khanties in local memory is also based on two basic moments of the history of the region: the story of suffering, that is, the deportations, and the glorious past, that is the Great Patriotic War. It can be heard with increasing frequency that without the experience and help of the “Khanties” the exiled would hardly have had a chance to survive, they taught the newcomers to fish, gave them tools, brought them food despite the prohibitions and even backed them in their attempts to escape. Mixed marriages sometimes under the pressure of circumstances became regular, even decisive. It is more and more frequently voiced that they have learnt to live side by side, although both groups were threatened or scared with the other: the commissaries described the “Khanties” as savage beasts to the exiled, while they described the deportees as dangerous criminals to the “Khanties”. It is also mentioned more and more often that the “Khanties” were also victims of the deportations, however indirectly: the decisive two decades of the 20th century radically transformed their lives, too, their villages were also disrupted and later abolished, and they lost their hunting grounds. There is also growing acknowledgement of the fact that “Khanties” also fought in World War II, they can also be named as “heroes” of the war: being used as marksmen, probably they died at a higher relative rate than the Russians. Thus, both truly and equally tragic personal experiences – the uprooting of the so-called “*specs*”

physically and morally from their native environment and the symbolic tearing of the “Khanties” from their own landscape – may become part of the master narrative of repression complementing and not cancelling out each other. Moreover, the deportees and the “Khanties” appear together in the narratives of the Great Patriotic War that fundamentally determine the memory work and identity of Russia, the *oblast* and the *rayon*.

As a logical consequence of the process of the “Ostyaks” becoming visible, becoming “Khanties” is their growing presence in the publicity of the *rayon*. Though the glory of the *rayon* is the writer Vadim Maksheev, who spent years as a deportee by the Vasyugan, in an utterance the leader of Kargasok administration named Nadezhda Vyalova then just opening her exhibition as the most famous person of the *rayon*.¹⁴ Vyalova is a folklore artist of “Khanty” origin who makes mosaic pictures cut out of paper and tells folk tales and myths with their help in the Khanty language, which she has re-learned relying on Mogutaev’s (1996) dictionary. In addition to the exhibition, albums were released of her works, she illustrates folk tale collections, her motifs can be found on fridge magnets, picture postcards (Vyalova 2014), T-shirts, and she regularly attends conferences. The formal idiom of her art, her language usage or the majority of tales she illustrates do not correspond to the features of the Vasyugan Khanty culture described by scholarship, but they are perfectly suitable to represent the local “Khanty” ethnicity in the local public discourse. Nadezhda Vyalova was discovered by the cultural actors who were the motors of the “*прошение и память*” project. This also indicates that the two apparently independent tendencies of making the “Khanties” visible – patrimonization and involvement in the trauma discourse – are inseparable.

Conclusion

The Vasyugan Khanties epitomize how an ethnic group can become invisible, then visible again in the local discourse; how natives can be lost tossed between life-style and ethnic discourses. From a marginalized life-style group without political, cultural and economic potential the Vasyugan Khanties have become an ethnic group of considerable potential upon the deliberate or unintentional, direct or indirect influence of the scholarly sphere and some individual researchers.

¹⁴ Главам районов рассказали как действовать, если все-таки придется затягивать пояса. = <http://www.sokik.ru/news-6228.html>

The process is going on along two inseparable lines, patrimonization and traumatization. The explanation is that, on the one hand, the master narrative of a cultural trauma can easily change when its agents become interested and incorporate new narratives in the previous one, and on the other hand, the prestige entailed by this incorporation gives rise to the possibility of patrimonization, the rendering of the affected culture suitable for consumption. The insupportable term “Ostyak” is apparently being ousted for good from local public discourse and thinking, to be replaced by “Khanty” representation on an ethnic basis. This ethnic concept imposes Russia-wide prevalent schemes upon the “Khanties”. This partly aesthetizes the issue, and by dissolving the tragedy of Khanty fate in the great local trauma it veils over the fact that the natives are finitely lumpenized in the everyday life. What appears in the newly accessible forums of publicity is adjusted to the general stereotypes and not to local experience.

The potential implied by the rediscovery of the Khanties only appears in culture at the moment, but there is possibility to profit by it in politics and economy, in gaining access to resources. That, in turn, might have considerable influence on the everyday life of the people concerned. This tendency might also revise the unified image of the aborigines that the cultural brokers elaborated to make it presentable. That, again, might exert a great influence on the identity of the “Khanties” in the long run. Since, however, that is a matter of future years and decades, I’d better not make any predictions.

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Sámi language toponymy in linguistic landscapes. The function of place names in language policy

Kaisa Rautio Helander

1 Introduction

In this chapter, I shall discuss, through an examination of onomastic landscapes, place name policy in Sámi areas. The aim is to show, by way of examples, how place name policy is implemented in Sámi areas, and the extent to which Sámi place names have been respected in the implementation of place name policy, particularly in one specific area of official use, i.e. road signs. Road signs are defined as public signs, and their use and choice of language are affected by laws and political decisions. Road signs constitute a major part of the linguistic landscape in Sámi areas, thus the use of names and choice of language on road signs has great significance for the visibility and linguistic rights of the Sámi languages (cf. also Salo 2012).

Sámi communities are traditionally rural societies, with some smaller urban centres, but even the toponymy in linguistic landscapes outside urban areas, especially along main roads, has an important function in promoting and visualizing a minority language.



Fig. 1. The Sámi languages and traditional settlement area in the Nordic countries and in the Kola Peninsula in Russia. 1 – South Sámi, 2 – Ume Sámi, 3 – Pite Sámi, 4 – Lule Sámi, 5 – North Sámi, 6 – Inari Sámi, 7 – Skolt Sámi, 8 – Áhkkil Sámi, 9 – Kildin Sámi, 10 – Ter Sámi. (Map edition by Johan Isak Siri)

Use of Sámi place names, as part of linguistic landscapes, is crucial in promoting a language which has only a short history of acceptance as a written language, especially in official use. Therefore, Sámi place names in linguistic landscapes strengthen the position of the language in an official domain, hence breaking a history of silencing. Use of place names also aids visual learning of the language, thus promoting standardization of the Sámi languages. The use of Sámi toponymy in public spaces is also a significant contributory factor in the revitalization process in areas where the language is endangered and in a critical situation. The visibility of the Sámi languages has a positive effect on the status of minority languages and promotes the idea of a multilingual and multicultural society. Recognition of Sámi place names constitutes an important part of the linguistic rights of the Sámi people, in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Article 13 (UN Declaration 2007).

Sámi place names are gradually gaining greater recognition in official use, as well as in the linguistic landscape. There are, however, still regional differences regarding the recognition of Sámi place names, and in many areas, official use is still sporadic, even contentious (cf. Helander & Johansen 2013; Helander 2016). In order to examine in more detail how place name policy works in practice with regard to Sámi place names, I am proposing an adaptation of a language policy model for the purpose of place name policy research.

2 Linguistic landscape and onomastic landscape

Linguistic landscape is defined as, “language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces” (Shohamy & Gorter 2009: 1; see also Puzey 2011). Linguistic landscape research that focuses specifically on names could even form its own separate sub-category, which might be termed *onomastic landscape*. Linguistic landscape research focuses on the visibility of languages, the role of languages in the formation of linguistic landscapes and the meaning of language or languages in social and political relations (Puzey 2011: 211). When studying linguistic landscapes, we also focus on the status of languages and the use of power. (See e.g. Landry & Bourhis 1997: 26–27; Lanza & Woldemariam 2009; Marten et al. 2012; Gorter et al. 2012).

In linguistic landscape research, a frequent subject for study are the linguistic environments of large urban areas, and for that reason, some researchers have proposed that, instead of the term linguistic landscape, the term *linguistic cityscape* could be used (e.g. Backhaus 2007: 1; Coulmas 2009:

14; Landry & Bourhis 1997: 25; Spolsky 2009: 66–67.) It is though, in my view, important to remember that research on linguistic landscape cannot, and indeed must not be confined exclusively to the study of urban environments, but should equally include the study of linguistic landscape in rural environments (see also Helander 2013).

Shohamy (2006: 110) notes that the display of languages transmits symbolic messages as to the legitimacy, relevance, priority and standards of languages and the people and groups they present. The public space is therefore a most relevant arena to serve as a mechanism for creating de facto language policy. It is precisely such policy, though in this instance, the de facto place name policy practiced in Sámi areas, that I shall be discussing in this chapter.

3 The current situation with regard to the legal status of the Sámi languages

In order to provide an analysis of place name policy in Sámi areas, I shall first give a brief explanation of the legal framework as background. It is important to bear in mind, that contemporary toponymic legislation regulating Sámi place names starts from a situation in which place names in official national languages already have rights, or are often already in official use in Sámi areas, as a result of naming practices strongly linked to the political aim of creating monolingual nation states.



Fig. 2. Norwegian place names on road signs. Signs displaying the parallel Sámi names, *Stuorravuonna* and *Rávttošnjárga* have not yet been erected. (Photographs: Yngve Johansen)

The silencing of Sámi place names, particularly in linguistic landscapes, has been instrumental in assimilation policy, and until recently, place names on signs have usually been written in the national state language, as shown by the examples in Figure 2 (Helander 2008; 2009).

The Sámi languages are officially recognized in the Nordic countries through legislation in the form of various Language Acts. In Finland, the Sámi Language Act came into force in 1992, with a revision in 2003, while in Norway, the language provisions of the Sámi Act (often referred to as the Sámi Language Act) also came into force in 1992 (Saamen kielilaki 2003; Sameloven

1987). Hence, the Sámi Language Acts in Finland and Norway have been on the statute books for over 20 years. In Sweden, the Minority Language Act came into force in 2010 (Lag om minoritetsspråk 2009), replacing previous legislation pertaining to the Sámi language.

In the Nordic countries, as a consequence of the Sámi Language Acts, Sámi Language Administrative Areas have been established. In Finland, this area is called, the Sámi Domicile Area, and covers North, Inari and Skolt Sámi areas in the 4 northernmost municipalities (Saamen kielilaki 2003: § 3–3).

In Norway, according to the Sámi Act (§ 3–1), this area is known as, the Sámi Language Administrative District, and has been gradually extended from the North Sámi area to also include municipalities in both Lule and South Sámi areas, and the Sámi Language Administrative District currently consists of 10 municipalities. It is, however, important to note, that the Sámi area in Norway is much wider than this designated administrative area. In Sweden, the Sámi Language Administrative District consists of 19 municipalities in northern Sweden (Lag om minoritetsspråk 2009: § 6–3; Förordning 2009).

Hence, the Sámi languages have regional official status in the Nordic countries, although they do not have official status throughout the whole of the Sámi area. In Russia, there is as yet no legislation that gives legal protection to the local Sámi languages, and Russian has exclusive status as the official language in the Kola Peninsula (cf. e.g. Zamyatin 2014).

Currently, official use of Sámi place names is also based on national legislation. Norway is the only one of the Nordic countries with a Place Name Act, which came into force in 1991, with amendments in 2006 (Lov om stadnamn 1990). Hence, the recognition in law of Sámi place names is based on the Place Name Act, and it is worth noting that the Place Name Act protects Sámi toponymy in all areas where they are part of vernacular use, thus not only in the Sámi Language Administrative District (Lov om stadnamn 1990: § 9–2).

Place names in Sweden are protected in law through the Swedish Heritage Conservation Act of 1988 (Kulturmiljölag 1988). In the Act, emphasis is placed on the importance of preserving place names as a part of the nation's cultural heritage. It is explicitly stated in § 4 that Swedish, Sámi, Meänkieli and Finnish names shall, as far as possible, be used in parallel on maps and also for signs and other marking in multilingual areas. (Nyström 2012: 119–120, 131.)

It is significant, that in the Sámi Language Administrative Districts of both Norway and Sweden, Sámi place names have double legal protection, since both countries' Sámi Language Acts, as well as the Place Name Act in Norway and the Heritage Conservation Act in Sweden, secure the right of Sámi place names to official use.

In Finland, the Sámi Language Act of 1992 is used as a legal basis for the recognition in law of Sámi place names in the Sámi Domicile Area. Place names are not specifically mentioned in the Act, but they are regarded as a part of the official information and announcements which shall also be rendered in the Sámi language within the Sámi Domicile Area (Saamen kielilaki 2003). In Russia, there is no toponymic legislation that regulates official use of Sámi place names.

In the Nordic countries, the aim is gradually to transform hitherto monolingual majority-language onomastic landscapes in Sámi areas into equal onomastic landscapes by adding monolingual signs displaying previously silenced Sámi names, but also, to introduce bilingual and even multilingual signs into the public space.



Fig. 3. Sámi place names on road signs in Norway, Finland and Sweden. (Photographs: Yngve Johansen; Nils Ø. Helander)

4 Language and place name policy research

As Shohamy (2006: 59) writes, “laws are especially powerful mechanisms for affecting language practices.” However, “as is often the case, the mere act of declaring certain languages as official does not carry with it much meaning in terms of actual practice in all domains and it does not guarantee that officiality will be practiced.” (Shohamy 2006: 61.)

Hence, an investigation, at the general level, of place name policy does not give a true picture of the current state of Sámi linguistic rights. However, through a more detailed examination of place name practices, ideologies and management, it is possible to provide information on society’s actual language and place name policy, and on the agents that play a crucial role in power use.

As Zamyatin (2014: 48) points out “the distinction between the public and private sphere is important in the context of the official status of language. An official language not merely is, but has to be used in the work of the public bodies. Therefore, in a multilingual context, its official status in effect demands the compulsory use of certain languages in the public sphere.”

When examining place name policy in its own right, the issues most relevant to specifically place name policy may be emphasized in even greater detail. For this reason, I here propose, on the basis of the model for language policy, a three-way division for place name policy, following which I shall give examples of de facto place name policy in different Sámi areas.

4.1 Place name policy as part of language policy

Language policy can be approached and studied in many ways. Nor, indeed, does language policy research have only one specific theoretical model (see e.g. Johnson 2013: 5–25). I have chosen to use the following three components of language policy as a starting point: *language practices*, *language ideologies* and *language management* (cf. Spolsky 2004, 2009, 2012; Shohamy 2006).

The terms here used to designate the components of place name policy have been adapted from the terminology used in language policy, thus dividing place name policy into the three corresponding components, *name practices*, *name ideologies* and *name management*.



Fig. 4. The elements of place name policy.

This three-way division is a useful tool in approaching and considering the various different elements of place name policy. In practice, these elements are not always clearly defined as separate entities, but rather interlocked in a constant mutual interaction, as illustrated in Figure 4 (see also Spolsky 2004: 6–7). Language, place names and language- and place name policy all exist in highly complex, interactive and dynamic contexts. Indeed, real world

circumstances actually involve very complex interrelationships between a large number of variables (cf. Halonen et al. 2015; Spolsky 2004: 6–7).

Place name policy, like language policy, functions hierarchically on all levels of society, on the state (macro-) level, regional (meso-) level and the local (micro-) level, extending right down to the family and to individual persons. These levels of social hierarchy do not, however, function on an equal plane, but, rather, each has its own potential, both to influence and promote place name policy, as well as to prevent this policy actually being achieved in practice.

4.2 The components of place name policy

In the following section, I shall briefly discuss the three components of place name policy, giving examples of their application in the Sámi context.

Name practices comprise oral and written use of the Sámi language and Sámi place names as well as personal names, both within the language community itself, but also, in addition, in all the various different official contexts. Sámi place names have, traditionally, always been in the Sámi language, though the influence of the main national languages has gradually increased, also in oral name practices. The parallel name practice with regard to place names might include, for example, such variables as, how consciously do Sámi speakers use Sámi place names rather than their main language equivalents. Often, those names that have been in use as part of the linguistic landscape, i.e. exclusively in the main national language, are more readily used in their majority language loanforms, as, for example, in the phrase, *Mun manan Øksfjuri* (Nor. 'Øksfjord'), instead of the Sámi, *Mun manan Ákšovuutni* 'I'll go to Ákšovuotna'. Consequently, use of Sámi toponymy in onomastic landscapes is crucial in the effort to strengthen name practices in the Sámi languages.

Attitudes and views regarding the value and use of the Sámi language and of Sámi place names form part of **name ideology**. It is the language and place name ideologies of the nation state that have, over time, also influenced the official use of Sámi place names, shaped name and language policy and significantly impacted name practices in the Sámi areas (e.g. Helander 2008, 2009, 2014).

The earlier policy of assimilation of Sámi place names is a typical example of the **name ideologies** that still strongly affect official use and acceptance of Sámi toponymy. There has, of late, been much discussion in the Sámi areas of Norway, both in the mainstream media and more recently also on social media, about the use of Sámi place names, including arguments against their official

use. What comes through in this discussion, particularly in these arguments against official use, is the local majority language speakers' name ideology, at the core of which is an exclusive acceptance of only majority language place names in official use, thus maintaining a monolingual onomastic landscape that has been built up over generations (For more detail, see Helander 2014). This is an example of how majority language peoples' name practices are intertwined with name ideologies supported by name management.

Name ideologies are found on all levels of society, and they clearly influence, through top-down mechanisms, even the name practices of individual persons. This, in turn, in local-level name ideological contexts, has a clear bearing on the name ideology of the local authorities, particularly with respect to name management (Helander 2016).

Name management comprises, as an example, the Place Name Act, which constitutes a central component of national place name policy. Name management is though, not just about whether laws get passed or not. The central question with regard to name management is, how name-related matters as a whole are decided and how those decisions are implemented and respected, particularly at regional and local level. Laws and place name related recommendations are state or macro-level examples of name management, but at the local level, all the various regional and municipal authorities have a significant role when it comes to the way in which name ideology is formed in its specific name management expression, and there is also the question of to what extent name practices are taken account of in name management. Also, the important question with respect to name management concerns the matter of how Sámi name advisory bodies are organized in order to meet increasing name management issues.

Language policy and its various components are not neutral, but contain a significant use of power (cf. e.g. García 2012: 82; Shohamy & Waksman 2009). The effects of this power are not only felt in legislation and political decisions, but on all levels of language policy, including language practices, ideologies and beliefs (García 2012: 86–87). In the Sámi context, the minority–majority relations have, of course, a crucial effect on both language and place name policy.

5 The current name political situation in Sápmi

We do not have a lot of exact data about how systematically Sámi place names have hitherto been recognized in the different Sámi areas. The only systematic research is from the Norwegian North Sámi area, and I shall present some of

the results of this research later in the chapter. The description of the Finnish, Swedish and Russian situation is based purely on observation, and not on any systematic research.

Generally, it may be said, that the use of Sámi place names in onomastic landscapes has been recognized to the greatest extent in the North Sámi areas, even though a systematic use of Sámi toponymy is not yet in place in all North Sámi areas either (cf. Helander & Johansen 2013). Signage in other Sámi languages than North Sámi is now gradually expanding, but is still at an initial stage.

In Finland, the process for official recognition of Sámi toponymy seems to be working well, and Sámi place names are used systematically on maps as well as on signs (cf. also Helander 2016). Since the Sámi Language Act came into force in Finland in the 1990s, the shift in the linguistic landscape in Sámi areas from monolingual Finnish signs to bilingual signs with Finnish and Sámi names has been more systematic. This change has happened relatively quickly since the Sámi Language Act came into force. As a result, both traditional Sámi names of towns and villages, as well as street names connected to town planning are now recognized on signage in Sámi areas of Finland (Helander 1999, 2016).



Fig. 5. Bilingual road signs in Skolt, Inari and North Sámi. (Photographs Nils Ø. Helander)

Signs in the Sámi areas of Finland are based on vernacular use of Sámi place names, hence Sámi language name practices are being taken account of in official name management. As the examples in Figure 5 show, bilingual signage is common in all sign categories, on distance and direction indication signs as well as on regular place name signs.

It is obvious that the very well established use of bilingual Finnish and Swedish place names in bilingual areas of coastal municipalities in Ostrobothnia and southern Finland has served as a good model when establishing the official use of Sámi place names in Finland. Hence a good, well established model of name management in the bilingual Finnish–Swedish area has been successfully transferred to the Sámi areas of Finland (cf. Helander 2016).



Fig. 6. Bilingual road signs in Finnish and Swedish in Finland. (Photographs by the author)

We do not have any exact research data from Finland, but the current situation in Finnish Sámi areas at least provides an example of the most systematic place name management when compared to Sámi areas in the other Nordic countries and Russia. It is also worth mentioning that in Finland, there are no strong name ideological arguments against the parallel use of Sámi toponymy in linguistic landscapes, as is often the case in Norway and Sweden.

In Sweden, discussion about the introduction of bilingual signage in Sámi areas began in 1980s, but the idea was, for a long time, opposed by the Swedish Public Roads Administration (Mattisson 1993: 40–43).



Fig. 7. Sámi name with an obsolete spelling and a current spelling. (Photograph by the author)

The first road signs displaying Sámi place names were gradually erected during the 1990s in the North Sámi areas. However, many of these initial bilingual road signs consisted, in practice, of only one Sámi place name written with two different spellings: an obsolete Sámi language spelling, as a “Swedish” name form, and another spelling using the current North Sámi orthography as shown in Figure 7. This is a result of the majority-language name ideological attitude of not recognizing any signage using only valid Sámi language spellings, but

demanding, in addition, the retention of obsolete orthographic forms, as “majority-language” names.

We do not have exact data on how systematic name management is in the Sámi areas of Sweden, but since the Minority Language Act came into force in 2010, bilingual signposting in Sweden has gradually been expanded from North Sámi to also include Lule and South Sámi areas as well. This means that local and regional authorities are now fulfilling their responsibilities as name management authorities. It is worth noting, however, that in Sweden, adding Sámi place names on signs has led to strong opposition in many areas, especially the Southern Sámi areas.

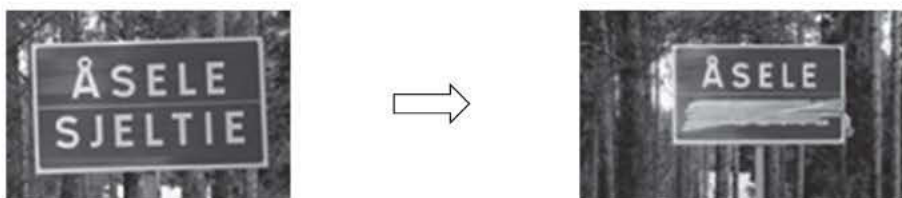


Fig. 8. The South Sámi parallel name, *Sjeltie*, covered as a protest. (Photographs SVT Sápmi)

The typical way of showing opposition has been to cover the Sámi parallel name on the sign as shown in Figure 8. These protests are an expression of majority language name ideologies, which oppose Sámi language name practices and the Sámi people’s right to have hitherto firmly silenced toponymy restored to official use.

In Russia, only some Sámi names of natural features, such as the names of lakes and rivers, are displayed on road signs. These names seem to be taken from official maps.



Fig. 9. Sámi names of lakes in the Kola peninsula. (Photographs Jevgenij Jushkov; Jon Todal)

Settlement names in the Sámi languages of the Kola Peninsula, such as the Kildin Sámi centre, *Lovozero*, are not recognised in the linguistic landscape, and indeed, work with Sámi place names in linguistic landscapes does not seem to be a regular part of Russian place name management. We shall, however, need more exact data and a more thorough investigation of the real situation in the Russian Sámi areas in order to be able to ascertain precisely how de facto place name policy is functioning.

In Norway, signage displaying Sámi place names has the longest tradition in the North Sámi areas. In 1984, The Ministry of Cultural Affairs recognized, for the first time, around 20 Sámi town and village names in core North Sámi areas. This restoration of original Sámi names was well received, since it was the first time that Sámi village names had been correctly spelled on road signs. It is, however, important to bear in mind that the signs were only put up in the core North Sámi areas of Guovdageaidnu and Kárášjohka, as well as a few in Deatnu. All other town and village names in the Norwegian part of the Sámi region were, with respect to official use, still only in Norwegian, as shown by the examples in Figure 2, which demonstrates that, even in North Sámi areas, the use of Sámi place names on signs is far from systematic (cf. Helander & Johansen 2013).

In the North Sámi area of Norway, there now exists, for the first time, systematic statistical data that describes the language situation on road signs (Helander & Johansen 2013). The research area of the study comprises the six municipalities in the counties of Finnmark and Troms: Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), Kárášjohka (Karasjok), Porsáŋgu (Porsanger), Deatnu (Tana), Unjárga (Nesseby) and Gáivuotna (Kåfjord), which constitutes the strongest North Sámi area in Norway. These six municipalities were the first to join the Sámi Language Administrative District, and are thus the municipalities where Sámi has been an official language for the longest period of time, i.e. just over twenty years. Hence, this study of the language on road signs also provides relevant data on the time perspective involved.

Figure 10 contains data on the use of Sámi and Norwegian names as a percentage for the three categories of road sign in the research area of 6 municipalities.

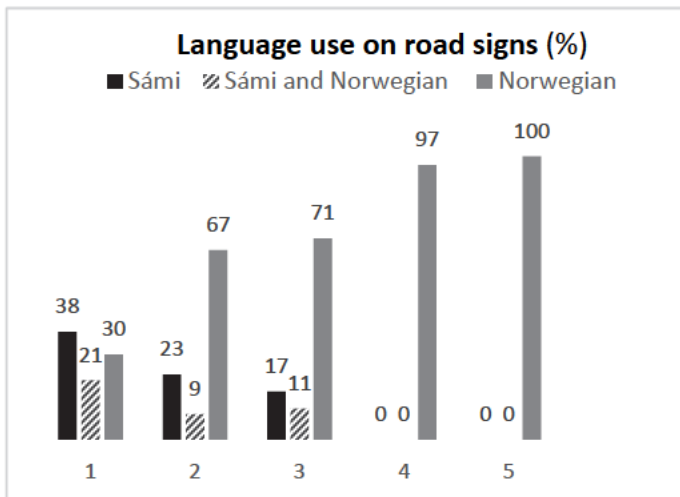


Fig. 10. Use of Sámi and Norwegian place names on road signs in six municipalities in North Norway (cf. Helander 2015).

The graphics in Figure 10 indicate choice of language. The table-data is not exactly a hundred percent for each category, as Kvæn names in Norway, and Finnish names with direction indication towards the Finnish side of the border, have not been included as part of the data. The vertical groups are defined as follows:

1. Common place name signs.
2. Direction indication signs, whose place names point towards the Sámi Language Administrative District.
3. Distance indication signs, whose place names point towards the Sámi Language Administrative District.
4. Direction indication signs, whose place names point away from the Sámi Language Administrative District.
5. Distance indication signs, whose place names point away from the Sámi Language Administrative District.

The data shows, that the use of monolingual Sámi place names on road signs is gradually diminishing, since for common place name signs, 38% of signs contain the Sámi name, while for direction and distance indication signs, the numbers are 23% and 17% respectively. Also bilingual name use (Sámi and Norwegian) on direction and distance indication signs is only half of what it is on common place name signs.

Figure 10 shows that those direction and distance indication signs (4 and 5) in the six municipalities, whose place names point to areas outside the Sámi

Language Administrative District, have not yet had Sámi place names adopted on the signs at all, and the language on the road signs remains exclusively Norwegian, despite the fact that the Place Name Act also covers municipalities outside the Sámi Language Administrative District.

When comparing the three categories of road sign, common place name signs, direction indication signs and distance indication signs, it is clear that there are also notable differences between the sign categories themselves, with regard to the recognition or not, of Sámi place names on road signs. When the written form of a place name is approved, it should be recognized on all the various categories of sign, and the Public Roads Administration should erect signs displaying the recognised names. Most often, only on the common place name sign (on the left in Figure 11) has the Sámi name been recognized, but not on the distance or the direction indication sign.



Fig. 11. Three main categories of road signs in Norway. The Sámi parallel name is only recognized on the common place name sign on the left. (Photographs Yngve Johansen)

The results of the analysis of road signs in six municipalities in North Norway show that although the Place Name Act has now been in force for just over 20 years, the Public Roads Administration has not fulfilled its official function as place name manager, and the treatment of Sámi place names still remains far from systematic. There are also clear indications that the established name practices of monolingual majority language name use and majority language name ideology are still affecting place name management in Norwegian Sámi areas.

The analysis also shows that there are significant differences among the various municipalities in the research area (cf. Helander & Johansen 2013). Although common place name signs now often include localities' Sámi language names, powerful name ideologies and local opposition have still had a strong influence on many municipalities' place name management.

In the Lule Sámi area of Norway, the municipality of Divtasvuodna recognized Lule Sámi village names as early as 1995. None of these names,

however, have yet been adopted in signage, and names on road signs are still only in Norwegian – fully 20 years after the spellings were approved in accordance with the Place Name Act. The Public Roads Administration in the county of Nordland still continues to leave Sámi names off road signs, revealing serious problems in name management. This clearly shows how local authorities, as place name managers in Norway, are able to ignore the Place Name Act, thereby using political power against Sámi rights (see also Helander 2016).

On the other hand, in the same county of Nordland, the same county Public Roads Administration set up in 2011 a bilingual town name sign, *Bodø* (Norw.) and *Bådåddjo* (Lule Sam.) (Figure 12). The treatment of Sámi names on signage in this county seems to be very unsystematic, which clearly indicates a lack of name management routines.

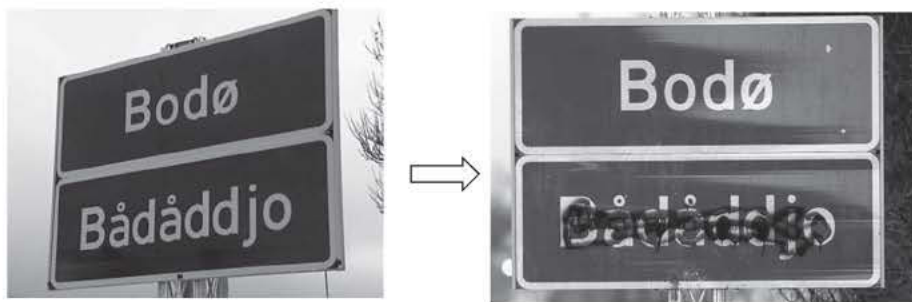


Fig. 12. The Lule Sámi parallel name, *Bådåddjo*, is recognized on the road sign, but has been painted over several times. (Photographs Harald Krogtoft, NRK; Tom Melby)

The name on the sign, which is the Sámi parallel to the Norwegian name, *Bodø*, has been painted over many times, and the bilingual name use has caused a huge debate on both mainstream and social media. Some of the participants in this debate have even encouraged others to continue vandalizing the Sámi name on the sign. Such reluctance to accept the parallel Sámi name reveals very strong majority language name ideological attitudes.

In the South Sámi area of Norway, initial steps are being taken with respect to Sámi names on signage, with the South Sámi name, *Snåase*, being added as a parallel name on the sign displaying the name of the village and municipality. There has been no similar name ideological discussion to that in the South Sámi area of Sweden with regard to public acceptance of these names.

6 In conclusion

If we examine language and place name policy in the Sámi areas on a purely general level, then we might say that the Nordic countries have a language and place name policy that respects Sámi linguistic rights. Place name policy, particularly in the Nordic countries, has now changed on the macro-level (among the central authorities), so that also Sámi names now have legal protection, and must therefore also be used in official contexts, in parallel with other place names.

Although laws and signposting recommendations provide a clear framework for the execution of legislation, place name policy has, nevertheless, not yet been properly implemented in all Sámi areas, while power has now transferred from central to local- and regional-level authorities. Even in the strongest Sámi areas, the current situation in Norway shows that regional authorities such as the Public Roads Administration, and often also the municipal authorities, still use this power to maintain a long heritage of toponymic silencing, since Sámi place names are still not being systematically recognized and respected as required by law. There are clear indications that the established name practices of monolingual majority language name use and majority language name ideology strongly impact place name management in Norwegian Sámi areas.

The Norwegian research material also contains examples of local discussion about place names and of the significant role played by name ideological prejudice in the question of whether Sámi place names are accepted into the linguistic landscape or, whether the name management authorities let society's views influence them in their official function, thus maintaining a name practice contrary to approved place name policy (Helander 2016; see also Ben-Rafael 2009: 47; Hornsby & Vigers 2012: 71).

Blommaert (2013: 32–34) discusses the normative expectation in the relationship between signs and particular spaces, which means that one expects certain signs in certain places. This raises questions of ownership of the place, and it shapes expectations of 'normalcy' in such places. According to Blommaert (2013: 33), "it is the connection between space and normative expectations, between space and 'order', that makes space historical, for the normative expectations we attach to spaces have their feet in the history of social and spatial arrangements in any society."

Adding Sámi names to signs reveals the ethnic complexity of local societies. Until now, this complexity has been hidden by only using names in the nation-state language, hence creating a representation of a homogenous, monolingual society. At the same time, silencing Sámi place names in public

spaces is a part of the power structures used to maintain the status quo when it comes to the ownership of history and identity. Displaying Sámi names on signs can be understood as disturbing normative expectations, as Blommaert (2013) puts it, especially among majority language speakers.

Halonen et al. (2015: 15) point out the contextualisation of language policy by stressing the multi-sited nature of all political discourse, in that it characteristically takes place simultaneously at different, but interconnected fora, and that both the macro-level structures and micro-level actors play a role in the discursive processes of politics.

Place name policy research provides useful tools to analyse place name policy on a more detailed level, and to understand the complexity of name policy in different Sámi areas. We therefore need more detailed research in order to obtain more contextual analyses. This is important for language and place name policy research, but especially for gaining research based information, in order to achieve better place name policy in Sámi areas.

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Ditransitivity in the Ob-Ugric languages¹

Katalin Sipőcz

1 Introduction

In this paper I am going to discuss a sub-area of transitivity, namely the ditransitivity in the Ob-Ugric languages.

Transitivity is one of the most investigated areas of syntax and it is a central issue in Uralic syntactic research as well. Numerous studies (e.g. works of Hajdú, Havas, Honti, Janhunen, É. Kiss, Klumpp, Mikola, Nikolaeva, Pusztay, Skribnik, Virtanen, etc.), including some monographs (Keresztes 1999; Körtvély 2005) have focused on the transitive clauses of the Uralic languages both from diachronic and synchronic aspects.

Rather great attention has been paid to the Ob-Ugric languages although there have not been any monographs focusing on the Mansi or Khanty transitivity. However, these languages prove to be more interesting than many other Uralic languages in this respect. First, these languages have both subject and object agreement in their verbal paradigm, what is not present in all Uralic languages. Furthermore, differential object agreement and differential object marking can also be observed in the Ob-Ugric languages. There is ergativity in Eastern Khanty dialect. Additionally, the alternation of ditransitive clauses in these languages is an exceptional feature within the Uralic language family. Ob-Ugric languages have namely an alternation between two different kinds of ditransitive constructions. In my paper I am going to study only this latter type of transitive clauses. Let's see an example for it from both languages!

(1) NM

tōrəm naŋən(n) matər mi-s
God you.DAT sth. give-PST.3SG
'God gave you something.'
(Munkácsi IV: 338)

¹ This work was supported by OTKA K 101652.

(*nanən*) *χūrəm-sat* *sajt-əl* *mīy-ləm*
 (you.ACC) three-hundred rubel-INSTR give-SG.1SG
 'I give (you) 300 rubles.'
 (Munkácsi IV: 334)

(2) EK_h

āŋki *ńēwrem-a* *ńāń* *mə-λ.*
 mother child-LAT bread give-PRS.3SG
 'Mother gives bread to the child.'

āŋki *ńēwrem-əl* *ńāń-at* *məj-təγ*
 mother child-3SG bread-INSTR give-PST.SG.3SG
 'Mother gave bread to the child.'
 (Ugradat)

These constructions have been widely investigated in Ob-Ugric linguistics, but the term “ditransitive” was applied for the phenomenon only in the latest decades. Traditionally these constructions have been considered as an exotic feature of the Ob-Ugric languages that is absent from the other related languages. Recently, pragmatic studies on transitivity in the Ob-Ugric languages (Nikolaeva 2001; Skribnik 2001) shed new light on these constructions. The ditransitive alternation of Ob-Ugric languages has not yet been studied typologically. In my paper I would like to fill this gap.

It is worth to mention that the same two structures are attested in the Selkup language as well (3). However, this fact is lesser-known and the constructions have not been studied extensively. Rare examples can be found from Northern Samoyedic languages, too (4). Cf.:

(3) Selkup

qopi-m *əsi-ti-nik* *tatti-mpɔɔ-tit.*
 fur-ACC father-3SG-LAT give-PST.NAR-3PL
 'They gave the fur to their father.'
 (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 178)

kətsat-ti *mi-ŋi-ti* *čunti-sä.*
 grandchild-3SG give-CO-3SG.O horse-INSTR
 'He/She gave a horse to his/her grandchild.'
 (Kuznecova et al. 1993: 43/41)

(4) Tundra Nenets

t'uku^o *n'enec'*^{ə-n}^o *mən*^o *kniga-m* *m'iqqa-d*^o*m*
this person-DAT I book-ACC give-1SG
'I gave the book to this man.'

t'uku^o *n'enec'*^{ə-m} *mən*^o *kniga-xəna* *m'iqqa-w*
this person-ACC I book-LOC give-1SG
'id.'

(Nikolaeva 2014: 237)

In this paper, I discuss ditransitivity from a typological perspective. I consider this useful for the following reasons: first, ditransitive constructions have been extensively studied in typological research in the past decade, several studies and books focused on ditransitivity (e.g. Malchukov et al. 2010). These cross-linguistic studies provide an apt framework for the analysis of the Ob-Ugric languages. Second, I consider the typological perspective useful for the following reason. Mansi and Khanty transitivity and to lesser extent ditransitivity have been studied from several theoretical aspects, using historical, descriptive, functional grammatical and information-structural theoretical frameworks. However, there have not been any typological descriptions of the Ob-Ugric ditransitive constructions.

The sources of the linguistic data used in this paper are rather heterogeneous both as regards their age and genre. The Khanty data are mainly based on examples from studies on the Khanty language and transitivity. Also in the case of Mansi, I relied on linguistic data presented in the literature on this topic to some extent. However, the main source of the Mansi data was my own database which comprises around 300 Northern Mansi and around 100 Southern Mansi ditransitive constructions. These were collected from folklore texts from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (Munkácsi, Kannisto), from literary texts from the last decades (Dinislamova 2007), from the Mansi newspaper (Luima Seripos) and from data recorded from native speakers. My database is a selected database from more hundreds ditransitive clauses. Compiling this selected database the repetitions of the same verbs and similar contexts were avoided and full structures (i.e. structures with more arguments) were preferred. (Bíró & Sipőcz 2013.)

It can be seen from the sources that in my paper I focus mainly on the Mansi language, especially on its Northern dialect, the only variety of Mansi which is still spoken today. While it would be interesting to study all Mansi and Khanty dialects, as they show significant alternations with respect to ditransitivity (e.g. the presence or absence of the accusative suffix in Mansi or

ergativity in Eastern Khanty), the detailed discussion of both languages would go beyond the scope of this paper.

2 Ditransitivity, ditransitive construction, ditransitive verb

Ditransitivity is a special case of transitivity. Similarly to defining transitivity, it is expedient to take both formal and semantic aspects into account also when defining ditransitivity. On the basis of this, ditransitive constructions are defined as an argument structure required by the ditransitive verb, containing the verb itself, the agent (A), the recipient (R) and the theme (T) (Malchukov et al. 2010: 1). Compare:

English			Hungarian		
<i>Mary gave</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>a book.</i>	<i>Mari könyvet adott</i>	<i>Jánosnak.</i>	'id.'
<i>Mary told</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>a story.</i>	<i>Mari mesét mondott</i>	<i>Jánosnak.</i>	'id.'
A	R	T	A	T	R

Ditransitive verbs are three-argument verbs which typically denote physical transfer (*give, send, bring, etc.*). If other verbs with similar semantic features are also used in similar constructions, they are included in the group of ditransitive verbs as well. For instance, such verbs are verbs of communication, as seen in the examples above. Neither the formal nor the semantic approach is sufficient in itself. First, because ditransitive-like syntactic structures can also be required by other verbs. E.g. in this Hungarian example – *Nekitámasztom a hátamat a falnak.* 'I am leaning my back against the wall.' – the argument structure is the same, but anyway I would not say, that this is a ditransitive clause. Second, the definitions of recipient and transfer seem also rather “loose” if we take into account ditransitive constructions in several languages. There are prototypical ditransitive constructions and verbs, and there are less prototypical ones. I will address this matter in detail later on (cf. 3).

2.1 Main typological groups of the ditransitive constructions

Typological categorization of ditransitive constructions is based on the comparison of ditransitives with categorization of monotransitive constructions. We differentiate between construction types taking into account whether the T or the R argument of the ditransitive verb occurs in the same position as the patient (P) of the monotransitive construction. On the basis of this, we can differentiate between 3 main construction types: (1) **indirect object**

construction (IOC), in which marking of the P and T is the same, (2) **secondary object construction (SOC)**, in which marking of the P and R is the same, and (3) neutral alignment (**double object construction DOC**), in which both T and R are marked the same way as P. (Malchukov et al. 2010: 2–8.) Cf.:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Mari gave money to her son.</i> | T = P (≠ R) Cf.: <i>Mari is counting money.</i> |
| T | P |
| 2. <i>Mari supplied the guests with food.</i> | R = P (≠ T) Cf.: <i>Mari is expecting guests.</i> |
| R | P |
| 3. <i>Mary gave John a book.</i> | R = T = P Cf.: <i>Mary saw John.</i> |
| R T | P |

There are further types as well (tripartitive (T ≠ R ≠ P) and horizontal (T = R ≠ P) constructions, serial verb construction (**SVC**) and the possessive construction (**POS**)), but as they occur rather infrequently, I will not discuss them further. Except for the possessive construction which is worth mentioning, because it is used in the Northern Samoyedic languages, making these languages typologically special as far as this feature is concerned. In the Nganasan example below (5) the R argument of the construction is coded on T with a possessive suffix following a destinative suffix.²

- (5) Nganasan
mənə kʰiŋga-ðə-mtu mi-ʃiə-m
 I book-DST-ACC.3SG give-PST-1SG
 'I gave him/her the book.'
 (Wagner-Nagy & Szeverényi 2013: 28)

2.2 Ob-Ugric ditransitive constructions

Mansi and Khanty belong to languages having more than one ditransitive constructions. These constructions are:

1. Indirect object construction, where the theme (T) of the ditransitive construction is the object, and the recipient (R) is encoded with the LAT (lative-

² There is a chapter on ditransitive constructions in WALS (Chapter105), and some of the Uralic languages are also mentioned in it: Finnish, Saami, Hungarian, Udmurt, Khanty and Selkup. As it is to be expected, Finnish, Saami, Hungarian, Udmurt use indirective (dative) constructions. Khanty uses a mixed type construction, i.e. there are two constructions alternating in the language. I think, the Selkup data are incorrect, because alternation is also present in Selkup, similarly to the Ob-Ugric languages.

dative) suffix. The object is in NOM-case or in ACC-case.³ The verb can be in the subjective or objective conjugations.

(6) NM

Pjotr Gavrilovič ānəmn tʲit kassēta-γ tʲēt-əs.
P.G. I.DAT two cassette-DU send-PST.3SG

'Pjotr Gavrilovich sent me two cassettes.'

(Dinislamova 2007: 5)

(7) NKh

Tam nepak-em ma pilneŋ-em-a ma-s-em.
that book-1SG I girlfriend-1SG-LAT give-PST-SG.1SG

'I gave that book to my girlfriend.'

(informant's data)

2. Secondary object construction, where the R of the ditransitive construction is the syntactic object and the T is marked with the instrumental or instructive suffix, or in Northern Khanty with the LOC suffix, which is the mean of INSTR-case in this dialect. In this construction the verb is almost always in the objective conjugation.

(8) NM

Mañ piγ-əmə nē-γəl viγ-ləm.
Little son-1SG woman-INSTR take-SG.1SG

'I will find a wife for my youngest son.'

(Munkácsi IV: 324)

(9) EKh

Λüw Λüw-at tʲūt-at mə-Λ-təγ.
s/he s/he-ACC that-INSTR give-PRS-SG.3SG

'S/he gives it to her/him.'

(Ugradat)

³ There is no accusative case in Khanty and Northern Mansi. In non Northern Mansi dialects the object can get the ACC suffix. In both languages the personal pronouns have a distinct accusative form.

2.3 Alternation

Several languages have more than one ditransitive constructions. This phenomenon is called alternation, and is well-known from English (it is often called also *object shift*), e.g.: *Mary gave a pen to John. / Mary gave John a pen.* In English the indirective and the neutral alignments alternate.

In the Ob-Ugric languages we can see the alternation of the indirective and secundative types. This type of alternation is cross-linguistically more common than the alternation found in English. (Malchukov et al. 2010: 18.) Concerning alternations the important question is the following: what factors determine the choice between the different constructions. On the basis of findings in typological studies several factors can be mentioned: the markedness of the arguments, the prominence differences between the T and R arguments, the topicality of the arguments, there may be semantic difference between the alternating constructions, etc. It is also common that several factors work together in a language. (Malchukov et al. 2010: 20–21.)

As it was mentioned, in some languages the alternation is related to topicality. Ob-Ugric languages seem to belong to this group. There is a diversity of statements about the Ob-Ugric alternation in the literature. I would like to mention only some of them. They concern the alienability or inalienability of the object (Honti 1999: 37), or the partiality/totality of the object (Honti 1969: 119). According to Rombandeeva (1979: 99–115), the only native Mansi linguist, the choice is influenced by the definiteness of the object and by the fact how emphasized the object is. In my opinion, some of the earlier assumptions are incorrect and some of them are not complete.

Kulonen discusses these constructions in connection with Dative Shift and she claims that the aim of switching from one construction to the other is to promote the recipient to direct object position, from where it could also be promoted to subject position with the help of passivization (Kulonen 1999). The connection between the use of different conjugations, constructions and topicality was studied by Nikolaeva in Khanty, and by Skribnik in Mansi (Nikolaeva 2001; Skribnik 2001). They refuted the statement prevailing in previous research that the main function of the objective conjugation is to mark the definiteness of the object. They claimed that the main function is rather the marking of the topicality of the object, i.e. the element familiar from earlier

discourse triggers the objective conjugation.⁴ According to this new view based on the information structure, the function of promoting the recipient to direct object position is to express the relative topicality of different noun phrases within a clause. As a result, T and R occur alternately in the object position the topicality of which is marked by the definite conjugation of the verb. In the example (10) all arguments are new information except the A, consequently the predicate agrees only with the subject expressing the A (thus the verb is in subjective conjugation). The example (11) represents the case in which the A and the T are given participants, and the R is the new information. Thus the verb must agree with the A and the T. Consequently, the IOC is used where the T is the syntactical object, the verb agrees with it in the objective conjugation. And in the example (12), besides the A the R is also a given participant, and the T is the new information. Consequently the SOC is used, in which the R is the syntactical object which the predicate in the objective conjugation agrees with.

(10) NM

Pjotr Gavrilovič ānām jurt-ane jot t'it kassēta-y t'ēt-əs.
 P.G. I.LAT friend-PL.3SG PP two cassette-DU send-PST.3SG
A = TOP [IOC + Subj. agr.]

'Pjotr Gavrilovich sent me two cassettes by his friends.'

(Dinislamova 2007: 5)

(11) NM

(tan) al-ne χul-anəl gosudarstwə-n miγ-anəl
 (they) kill-PTCP fish-3PL state-LAT give-SG.3PL
A + T = TOP [IOC + Obj. agr.]

'They give the fish they catch to the state.'

(Kálmán 1976: 136)

⁴ This pragmatic approach provided an explanation for the problem why a definite object (e.g. an object with a possessive suffix) can be accompanied by a verb in the subjective conjugation. However, it also needs to be mentioned that earlier grammatical descriptions, partly because they were written earlier, could not have applied the theoretical framework based on information structure which brought about the breakthrough in the study of Ob-Ugric transitivity. The claim in earlier studies that the definiteness of the object triggers the use of the objective conjugation is understandable if we consider the fact that definiteness and topicality of the object coincide in the majority of the cases.

(12) NM

Nēnan am šopr-šonaχ-əl wāri-jaγəm.

you(DU).ACC I silver-cup-INSTR do-DU.1SG

R + A = TOP [SOC]

'I make the two of you silver cup.'

(Kálmán 1976: 70)

The same phenomenon from Khanty can be seen in the examples (13–15).

(13) NKh

(ma) Juwan-a ān ma-s-əm

I John-LAT cup give-PST-1SG

A = TOP [IOC + Subj agr.]

'I gave a cup to John.'

(14) Nkh

(ma) (ān) Juwan-a ma-s-em

I cup Juwan-LAT give-PST-SG.1SG.

A + T = TOP [IOC + Obj agr.]

'I gave the cup to John.'

(15) NKh

*(ma) (Juwan) ān-na ma-s-em/*ma-s-əm*

I Juwan cup-LOC give-PST-SG.1SG / give-PST-1SG

A + R = TOP [SOC]

'I gave John a cup.'

(Nikolaeva 2001: 32–35)

The following Mansi examples collected from a native speaker confirm the correlation between the information structure and the use of the different constructions. If T or R occurred as contrastive topics, the native speaker used the indirective construction in the case of T (16), and secundative construction in the case of R (17). Cf.:

(16) **T as contrastive topic:**

Wi-s-lum nań os šakwit, šakwit oma-m-(n) mi-s-lum.

buy-PST-SG.1SG bread and milk, milk mother-1SG-LAT give-PST-SG.1SG

'I bought bread and milk, I gave the milk to my mother.'

(informant's data)

(17) **R as contrastive topic:**

Uwśi-m tor-əl mi-s-lum,
sister-1SG kerchief-INSTR give-PST-SG.1SG
kaŋk-um sup-əl mi-s-lum.
brother-1SG shirt-INSTR give-PST-SG.1SG

'I bought a kerchief for my (elder) sister and a shirt for my (elder) brother.'
(informant's data)

Finally an interesting aspect of alternation is worth mentioning. While working with native speakers they were asked that what kind of difference they feel between the two structures, more of them commented, that there is some kind of tense and modal differences between them. Cf. (18) and (19):

(18) **NM IOC:**

Am xusap-ət tawen t'ēt-eyəm.
I package-PL s/he.LAT send-1SG
'I send him/her packs.' (and s/he gets it)
(informant's data)

(19) **NM SOC**

Am tawe xusap-əl t'ēt-eyəm /t'ēt-iləm.
I s/he.ACC pack-INSTR send-1SG/SG.1SG
'I will send him/her a pack.' (maybe some day)
(informant's data)

It seems, that the TAM category of the verb affects the choice of the construction. Similar tendency has been mentioned in connection with Khanty ditransitive clauses by Sosa (2015). The phenomenon needs further investigation.

2.4 Passivization

In order to have a full picture of the alternating constructions, we have to study the passivization of ditransitive constructions as well. In the Ob-Ugric languages if the discourse topic or the primary clausal topic is not in the Agent role, then it is promoted to subject position, i.e. passivization is used. This is in fact the main function of Mansi and Khanty passivization.

Concerning the passivization of ditransitive verbs, the question is which argument (T, R) can passivize. On the basis of this, three primary alignment

types can be distinguished (similarly to the main alignment types of active ditransitive constructions):

1. Indirective passivization: T passivizes, but R does not;
2. Secundative passivization: R passivizes, but T does not;
3. Neutral alignment: both R and T passivize (Malchukov et al. 2010: 27–30).

As it is to be expected, the alignment of passivization often follows the general alignment of encoding. If a language uses secundative constructions, then most probably it will use a secundative alignment in passivization as well. On the basis of cross-linguistic evidence, we can claim that passivization of the indirective construction leads to T-passivization (20–21) and passivization of the secundative construction always results in R-passivization (22–23) in Ob-Ugric languages. Cf.:

T-passivization from an indirective construction:

(20) NM

(am) *jarm-ən ta-ke maj-we-s-əm*

(I) poverty-LAT that-PTCL give-PASS-PST-1SG

T R V

'I was given/handed over to poverty.'

(Munkácsi IV: 330)

(21) Ekh

*mā-nə nūḡati jārnas jōnt-Λ-i.*⁵

I-LOC you.LAT shirt sew-PRS-PASS.3SG

'A shirt was sewn for you (by me).'

(informant's data)

R-passivization from a secundative construction:

(22) NM

(tan) *tōnt tax ōs akw Buran-əl mi-w-et.*

(they) then PTCL PTCL one Buran-INSTR give-PASS-3PL

R T V

They got (they were given) one more new Buran.

(Dinislamova 2007: 11)

⁵The Agent of the Passive construction is marked by LOC suffix in Khanty and by LAT in Mansi.

(23) EK_h

āŋki-nə ŋēwrem ŋāŋ-at mə-ʌ-i
mother-LOC child bread-INSTR give-PRS-PASS.3SG

‘The child gets bread from the mother.’

(Ugradat)

The following sentences were recorded from a Mansi native speaker and they were uttered in a row. The first sentence (24) contains T-passivization, the word ‘dress’ is the topic, the dress was given to the informant as a present. In the next sentence (25), she talks about herself as the recipient, someone who was given a present, so she uses R-passivization:

(24) NM

Ti maŋši sup podruška-m-n mujlupt-awe-s.
this Mansi dress girlfriend-1SG-LAT present-PASS-PST.3SG

‘This Mansi dress was given (to me) by a friend as a present.’

(informant’s data)

(25) NM

Tor-el os mujlupt-awe-s-um.
kerchief-INSTR also present-PASS-PST-1SG

‘I was given a kerchief as well.’

(informant’s data)

Typological findings confirm that R-passivization is generally more frequent than T-passivization. The reason for this can be found in the function of passivization, namely the topicalization of the object. Since in a ditransitive construction R tends to be more topical than T, it is understandable that “R-passivization is generally preferred over T-passivization.” (Malchukov et al. 2010: 30). Also my corpus supports this claim: in Mansi mainly the secundative construction is passivized (R-passivization) but there are a few examples for the passivization of the indirective alignment as well (T-passivization).

2.5 Summary

The following table (Table 1.) shows the results of the statistical analysis of the Mansi database. These numbers provide very little information if we do not take into account the context of the texts. However, we can still draw several conclusions on the basis of the frequency of the data itself. First of all, both constructions can be considered equally frequent. In accordance with the

typological data, R-passivization is typical in passive constructions, while T-passivization is rather rare. In the case of the SOC constructions, the use of the subjective conjugation is almost insignificant. This is in correlation with the fact that SOC is used with topical R which functions as a syntactic object in this construction and triggers the use of objective conjugation. Another interesting statistical fact is that in Mansi the ratio of active and passive sentences is far more balanced in ditransitive clauses than in monotransitive clauses. Although passive is used in Mansi very frequently, the ratio of passive constructions was under 10% in surveys containing 2000 transitive clauses (Skribnik 2001). In the corpus of Mansi ditransitive clauses this ratio was considerably bigger: 34%. This could be in correlation with the interaction between the constructions and the informational structure: in a three-argument construction there are two arguments which can rival for the subject position. (Bíró & Sipőcz 2013.)

Table 1. The statistics of the Mansi database

Construction	%
R-passivization	34%
IOC (Subj agr.)	28%
SOC (Obj agr.)	20%
IOC (Obj agr.)	10%
T-passivization	6%
SOC (Subj agr.)	2%
Total	100%

Finally I would like to mention that alternation works as a tendency and perhaps it is not at all surprising. My database, especially the written sources cannot provide all the necessary pragmatic details. For instance, they lack emphasis and the correlation between reality and the actual situation. In the corpus, there are several examples in which the use of the given construction is hard to explain. The examples (26) and (27) were uttered in similar situations, the constructions are still different.

(26) NM

Ānəm tē-ne matər tot-en, sim-əm ētxel-aw-e!
 I.DAT eat-PTCP.PRS something bring-IMP.2SG heart-1SG starve-PASS-3SG
 'Give me something to eat, my heart is starving.'

take), verbs of caused motion (e.g. *send, post*), and ballistic verbs (*throw, roll, cast*), verbs of creation typically with a beneficiary (e.g. *build, create, cook*), communication verbs (e.g. *say, tell, sing*) and verbs generally following the instrumental strategy (e.g. *feed, hit, supply*). Typological research studied the characteristics of structural choice by analyzing these categories.

The size of the ditransitive verb group, i.e. how widespread the ditransitive construction is, varies from language to language. There are languages in which ditransitive verbs formulate a closed group with few members. There are other languages, however, which have an abundance of verbs occurring in ditransitive constructions. The Ob-Ugric languages seem to belong to the latter category. In the following part of my paper I intend to answer the question how widespread ditransitive verbs are in the Ob-Ugric languages, and whether their semantic groups show some kind of tendency for the choice of structure, i.e. for lexical split. The examples will be from the Mansi language. Regarding some statement in the earlier literature, these languages are characterized by the equality of the constructions:

In Ob-Ugric languages, on the other hand, we find such indirect object promotion as a regular grammatical device practically independent of lexical or semantic limitations. (Skribnik 2001.)

The language is unusually liberal in allowing extensions of a particular strategy into another domain. Thus, the indirective strategy is found not only with ‘give’ verbs but also with ‘feed’ verbs, one step down the scale, while the secundative instrumental strategy is found not only with canonical ditransitives like ‘give’ verbs, but also with verbs like ‘cook’ with an optional benefactive. “Syntactically both groups behave identically...” (Nikolaeva 1999: 40). (Malchukov et al. 2010: 50.)

3.1 Transfer verbs

As regards their meaning, transfer verbs are the most typical ditransitive verbs. Within this group the semantic distinctions are gradual. Transfer verbs can refer to changes in possession (*give, sell*) or they can simply refer to a change in T's location (*hand over, take*). The verbs of caused motion (*send*) are also categorized as transfer verbs. Ballistic verbs are also close to the category of transfer verbs (*throw, roll*). A further similar category is formed by verbs in which the action is not momentary (like *throw*), but continuous (*press/push*).⁶

⁶ These groups show associations with different event schemas (Levin 2008)

a. give-type verbs: caused possession only

The question is the following: to what extent ditransitive constructions which are defined on the basis of their canonical verbs (*give*) may extend to other transfer-verbs types. As a consequence of the extension Goal and Locative thematic roles can appear in the position of Recipient even with [-HUMAN] semantic component.

According to typological research, several languages display differences between the subtypes of transfer verbs (Figure 1). The following weak implication can be formulated: if the verbs ‘send’ and ‘throw’ can occur in DOC in a language, then ‘give’ types of verbs can also, but not the other way round: DOC ‘send, (throw’) → DOC ‘give’. (Malchukov 2014.)

	‘give’ >	‘send’ >	‘throw’
English DOC	-----	-----	-----
German (Dative)	-----		
Icelandic (<i>till</i>)		-----	
Chinese (DOC)	-----		

Fig. 1. Encoding of ‘transfer verbs’ in Germanic (Malchukov et al. 48–9, Malchukov 2014).

In Mansi these verb classes do not differ syntactically, verbs from all of the subgroups of transfer verbs equally alternate, both their indirective and secundative use is possible in active and in passive voice as well. Cf.:

‘give’

(28) NM

tōrəm naŋən matər mi-s
 God you.DAT something give-PST.3SG

‘God gave you something’

(Munkácsi IV: 338)

(29) NM

akw ēt ūnl-en-ən m̄āγəs χūrəm-sat sajt-əl m̄īγ-ləm
 one night sit-PTCP.PRS-2SG PP(for) three-hundred ruble-INSTR give-SG.SG1

‘I give you 300 rubles for sitting (watching) here one night.’

(Munkácsi IV: 334)

b. throw-type verbs: activity, caused motion, caused possession
 c. send-type verbs: caused motion, caused possession

'bring'

(30) NM

Ta xōtal am oma-m palt tīt lēḡən os tīt tīsūp tot-s-um.
that day I mother-1SG PP (to)two squirrel and two mallard bring-PST-1SG
'I brought two squirrels and two mallards to my mother that day.'
(Dinislamova 2007: 67)

(31) NM

nānan am tēnut-əl toti-yl-as-anəm
you.(PL)ACC I food-INSTR bring-FRQ-PST-PL.1SG
'I brought you food.'
(informant's data)

'send'

(32) NM

Pjotr Gavrilovič ānemn jurt-ane jot tīt kasētta-y tēt-əs.
P. G. I.LAT friend-PL.3SG PP(with) two cassette-DU send-PST.3SG
'P.G. sent me two cassettes by his friends.'
(Dinislamova 2007: 9)

(33) SM

Nājār-āw-nā tīni-kar-l kīt-ānt-iw.
prince-girl-LAT food-thing-INSTR send-PRS-PASS.3SG
'The princess sends him/her food.'
(Kannisto III.161.)

'throw, shoot'

(34) NM

Tonton-ojka piy nāl liy (tēnatenn).
T.-old son arrow shoot.SG3 they(DU).LAT
'The son of Old Tonton shoot his arrow (towards them).'
(Kálmán 1976: 64)

(35) NM

(tēnten) nāl-əl liy-aymēn.
they(DU).ACC arrow-INSTR shoot-DU.DU1
'We (the two of us) shoot them (the two of them) with arrows.'
(Kálmán 1976: 64)

3.2 Benefactive verbs

Another, cross-linguistically attested phenomenon is the **benefactive extension**. In this case the extension leads from recipients to beneficiaries (and possibly further to possessors). In some languages the typical beneficiary differs from the recipient (cf. *build sth for sb*), in other cases they coincide. (In Hungarian a postposition can be used in this case besides the dative construction, cf. *Ételt adtam a fiúnak* (DAT) ~ * *a fiú számára* (boy + PP ‘for’). ‘I gave the boy some food.’/ *Ételt készítettem a fiúnak* (DAT) ~ *a fiú számára* (boy + PP ‘for’). ‘I made some food for the boy.’) A weak implicational correspondence can be found here as well: if a benefactive verb can occur in DOC in a language, then ‘give’ types of verbs can also, but not the other way round: DOC benefactive → DOC ‘give’. (Malchukov 2014.)

On the basis of the Mansi examples, we can claim that if either a recipient or a typical beneficiary occurs in the construction, both the SOC and the IOC are possible.

(36) NM

Xōn-nə manər jomas wār-iył-as-əm?
prince-LAT what good do-FRQ-PST-1SG
‘What good have I done to the prince?’

(Munkácsi IV: 337)

(37) NM

nēnan am šopr-šonaχ-əl wāri-jaγəm
you(DU).ACC I silver-cup-INSTR do-DU.1SG
‘I make (the two of) you silver cup.’

(Kálmán 1976: 70)

There is a remarkable tendency in the examples with benefactive meaning: the postpositional construction R + PP *māγəs* ‘for somebody’ is significantly more frequent in newer data for the marking of the beneficiary. This obviously involves IOC constructions. Such use of the postposition is rare in older folklore texts. This might be the result of Russian influence, because Russian also has indirective alignment and a prepositional benefactive argument (e.g. *dl’a d’etej* ‘for children’).

(38) NM

Nē sāw wārmal'-t takwi pāwl-əŋ χōtpa-ne māγəs wār-i.
women many thing-PL own village-ADJ man-PL.3SG PP (for) do-3SG
'The woman has done a lot of thing for the people living in her village.'
(Dinislamova 2007: 45)

3.3 Instrumental verbs

One more type of extension is the extension of the instrumental strategy. This means that the prototypical instrumental verbs (*hit*, *beat*) can spread to the ditransitive domain, thus the thematical roles T and Instrument practically coincide. Cf. Figure 2.

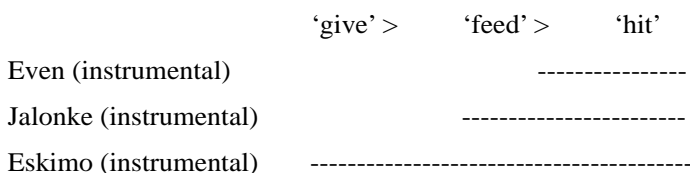


Fig. 2. Ditransitive-instrumental cline (Malchukov et al. 50).

In Mansi the SOC (with the INSTR-strategy) occurs unusually freely. Practically all ditransitive verbs allow the secundative-type construction. The use of the SOC is possible with all groups of transfer verbs (40) and with benefactive verbs (41), too. The example (39) shows the prototypical INSTR use of the causative verb *titti-* 'feed, give sb sth to eat'. Cf.:

(39) NM

Manər-əl mēn naγən ti-tt-ilāmēn.
what-INSTR we (DU) you.ACC eat-CAUS-SG.1DU
What should we feed you with?
(Munkácsi IV: 151)

(40) NM

Ań mōlal kit ēlm-ip kasaj-il maj-la-s-ləm
then earlier two edge-ADJ knife-INSTR give-PST-SG.1SG
'And then I gave him a two-edged knife.'
(Munkácsi I: 21)

(41) NM

Ōma, naŋən sūp-əl junt-ilum.
Mother you.ACC dress-INSTR sew-SG.1SG

'Mother, I will sew a dress for you.'

(Dinislamova 2007: 45)

3.4 Verbs of communication

As I have already mentioned in the majority of languages, the verbs of communication are also characterized by ditransitive constructions. In these cases the transfer is some kind of mental transfer. In Mansi the group of mental transfer verbs occurring in both ditransitive constructions is strikingly wide ('say', 'tell', 'tell a story, a tale', 'sing', 'think', 'name', 'dance' etc.). In my opinion, there are two main reasons why they are so widespread. First, they show the analogical influence of the ditransitive constructions which are governed by the information structure. Second, they could have spread from folklore, and they occur mainly in folklore and literary texts more frequently. They form a figura etymologica construction which is typical in Ob-Ugric folklore. Figura etymologica constructions contain a T argument which is the same word as the verb stem (like *dance a dance*, *think a thought*, etc.).

(42) NM

lātəŋ mānawn lawi-ŋla-s-ən
word we.LAT say-FRQ-PST-2SG

'You said us something.'

(Dinislamova 2008: 10)

(43) NM

latəŋ-l naŋən lawi-t'e-luw
word-INSTR you.ACC say-DIM-SG.1PL

'We say you something.'

(Dinislamova 2008: 10)

(44) NM

Pjotr Gavrilovič mānawn potr-ət potert-as, ēry-ət ēry-əs.
P. G. we.LAT tale-PL tell-PST.3SG song-PL sing-PST.3SG

'Pjotr Gavrilovič told us stories and sang us songs.'

(Dinislamova 2007: 15)

(45) NM

ńōtne *ēry-əl* *ēry-il-iləm*

beautiful song-INSTR sing-FRQ-SG.1SG

'I sing a beautiful song for you.' (Dinislamova 2008: 80)

3.5 Conclusion

The lack of the lexical split and the alternation which can be considered complete implies that pragmatic structuring was a major structuring force which presumably through analogy spread the two types of argument structures to practically all ditransitive-like constructions beyond the scope of prototypical cases.

Mansi:

hit > feed > give > send > throw > make

SOC

IOC

Fig. 3. The extension of the constructions in Mansi

4 Historical background of the Ob-Ugric ditransitive constructions

Earlier studies frequently raised the question whether ditransitive alternation of the Ob-Ugric languages is the result of common heritage or parallel innovation?

An interesting feature of the Ob-Ugric languages is that despite the differences in their morphology, their syntax displays significant similarities.

Although the modal elements are not always the same, the syntax of the two languages is often entirely parallel even in details. (Kálmán 1988: 408.)

From a historical perspective it can be considered controversial that syntactic structures and usage rules, which are identical even to the details, are usually realized by using different morphological means. This concerns different sub-areas of syntax, and is clearly visible e.g. in the objective conjugation, the passive and ditransitive constructions. The following diachronic question arises from this phenomenon: if these syntactic phenomena based on common principles result from common origin, i.e. from the Ob-Ugric protolanguage, then why are they morphologically so different. Then again, if the morphological difference results from a separate development, then can the great number of syntactic matches be explained by later (continuous) Mansi-

Khanty areal contact? In my opinion, there is no generally valid answer for this question which would explain all syntactic phenomena. (Or at least our current knowledge is not sufficient for formulating such a synthesis.) Consequently, I intend to provide an explanation only regarding the ditransitive constructions.

Kulonen (1990, 1999: 68–70) claims that ditransitive verbs in both Ob-Ugric languages create identical sentence structures, doing it partly by using the same morphemes. That is why she considers the reconstruction of an Ob-Ugric “dative-movement mechanism” possible. Cf.:

NP₁ [Ag] [Subj] [Nom] – NP₂ [Pat] [Obj] [Nom/Acc] – NP₃ [Rec] [Adv] [Dat/Lat] >

NP₁ [Ag] [Subj] [Nom] – NP₃ [Rec] [Obj] [Nom/Akk] – NP₂ [Pat] [Adv] [Instr/Lok/Instr.-Fin]

Kulonen (1990: 53) suggests the reconstruction on the basis of the common morphological traits in the ditransitive constructions of the two Ob-Ugric languages. According to her hypothesis, there were three nominal cases participating in this mechanism for marking the object: the nominative (for the A and T), the accusative (for the T and R), and the instrumental (for the T). In the Ob-Ugric languages (dialects) today more case suffixes are used for this purpose. Out of these two suffixes can be considered ancient: the **m* accusative and the instrumental suffix containing a **-t* element which can be traced back to the Ob-Ugric protolanguage.

I think that the identical mechanisms of the Mansi and Khanty ditransitive constructions do not necessarily mean that they have a common origin. Still, differences in their morphology do not make it impossible to assume that the current ditransitive constructions originate from the Ob-Ugric period. On the basis of the typological background, the two types of constructions seem typical, the alternation of these constructions in the same language is also common. Grammatical markers in the constructions are also non-arbitrary, they are required semantically (cf. 3). If the alternation of the two construction types already existed in the Ob-Ugric protolanguage, grammatical markers in the constructions were the case markers “available” in the protolanguage (nominative, accusative, lative-dative, and instrumental) or postpositions having the same function. We should not assume that these are grammaticalized ditransitive markers of Theme or Recipient, which the Ob-Ugric languages preserved unchanged to this day.

The actual grammatical markers which were attached to the arguments of the ditransitive construction could have changed along with evolvement of the nominal declination paradigms in the Mansi and Khanty dialects.

Abbreviations

A	agent of a (di)transitive clause
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective marker
CAUS	causative marker
CO	coaffix
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
DOC	double object construction
DST	destinative
DU	dual
EKh	Eastern Khanty
FRQ	frequentative
INSTR	instrumental
IOC	indirect object construction
LAT	lative
LOC	locative
NAR	narrative
NKh	Northern Khanty
NM	Northern Mansi
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PP	postposition
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
R	recipient
SG	singular
SM	Southern Mansi
SOC	secondary object construction
T	thema
V	verb

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Модифицированная модель лингвоэтногенеза пермян

Евгений Цыпанов (Jevgeni Tsypanov)

Summary: Modified model of linguo-ethnogenesis of the Permian people

Now as well as previously nobody doubts concerning close relationship of the Permian languages and their common origin. Their typological peculiarities and distinctions in phonetics and grammar were briefly depicted by Robert Austerlitz in his article “The Permian centre”, having shown small difference in their dialects: “In general, we can say with confidence that Komi dialect distinctions are insignificant. In the Udmurt language they are even less. This makes appreciable contrast with some other Finno-Ugric languages, especially the Ersian, Saami, Mari and Ob-Ugrian languages”. (Austerlitz 1985: 100–101.) For historians of the language this circumstance testifies to rather recent splitting of languages and dialects. The lexical affinity between the Permian languages is clear even for non-specialists. According to Alo Raun data, in the list of Svodesh the etymologically common vocabulary in the Komi and Udmurt languages makes 70% that is the maximum number in paired comparisons in the table. According to Sándor Csúcs, in vocabulary of languages there are 1554 common primordial bases, with that 671 of them have parallels only in the neighbouring Permian languages that makes 43% of total number of words. This speaks of importance of the common-Permian period in development of the Permian languages among which Komi dialects have preserved ancient linguistic riches better (ibid.). Obviously, this can be explained by much more intensive and long influence of the Turkic and Russian languages on the Udmurt language that resulted in mass borrowings within centuries.

In the Finno-Ugristics the model of divergence of the Permian languages, proposed by Yrjö Wichmann and V. I. Lytkin is the most spread. The latter explained the disintegration of the parent language as follows: “The common-Permian language-base disintegrated about IX–X centuries, while movement of Komi ancestors to the north (possibly, at first to closer north) started even earlier... How long did the common-Komi period last? Apparently, it did not last long, only one-two centuries somewhere about IX–XI centuries: in advance to the north the Komi ancestors quickly settled among dense woods of the Northern Dvina and Mezen basins, on the one hand, and the middle and upper Kama basin, on the other hand; close connection between territorially disintegrated parts of the Komi people which is necessary for an integrated processes in the language, stopped” (V. I. Lytkin). Such version of divergence of the Permian people seems very simple and schematical, however it reflects scientific level of historical-linguistic analysis of the beginning of last century. For many years the position presented above was classical, in many modern generalizing works it is taken as a basis.

In works of the Finno-Ugrians (Mikko Korhonen, Juha Janhunen, et al.), with no doubt concerning common-Permian parent-language nature, the time of disintegration of the Finno-Permian parent language and occurrence of common-Permian parent language, becomes even more ancient and goes back to 1500–2000. On the other hand, in most works the time of disintegration of the common-Permian parent language does not go through special reevaluation.

The aim of the modified model of linguo-ethnogenesis of ancient Permians, constructed on the analysis of linguistic reality of the modern languages, is to eliminate sketchiness and primitiveness of the course of divergence of the common-Permian

parent language under Wichmann-Lytkin theory. Possibly, from the very beginning the common-Permian parent language differed by unity and unification, which results are well kept in the modern languages. The ancestral home of the Permians originally was compact, however then it began to extend both for the internal reasons, and under the pressure of the neighbouring ethnic formations (the Domaris, ancient Hungarians, possibly others). Predecessors of the Komis were initially localized to the north of predecessors of the Udmurts, on the basis of these zones corresponding dialect groups have gradually developed. Possibly, the differentiation of two common-Permian protodialects began long ago, while splitting of the parent language occurred gradually and did not result in territorial division of languages. On the contrary, two dialect groups and protolanguages were in close contact and interaction. Nevertheless, possibly, the consciousness of the proto-Komis and proto-Udmurts has already been formed long since, of which testify traditional ethnonyms-self-names of the Komis and Udmurts, and there are not any mixed Udmurt-Komi dialects.

Such a long and gradual way of crystallization of the Permian languages also explains that the Komi language also has integrated systemic character, which cannot be explained by two-three centuries of the common-Komi period, according to traditional point of view. According to similar scheme three basic groups of Komi dialects were distinguished (Permian, Zyryan and Yazva-Ural): slowly, not suddenly, in the course of interferences. However the localization territory of the proto-Komi, possibly, was initially more than that in proto-Udmurts and represented an extended from west to east oval, that can be explained by various historical-demographic factors, for example, migration and pressure of masses of proto-Udmurts on the proto-Komi population. The proposed modified model of divergence of parent-Permians confirms and strengthens the migratory scheme of ethnogenesis of the Komi-Zyryans as people which not earlier than 1000 years ago gradually occupied at first southwest territories of the present Republic of Komi, parts of the Kirov and Arkhangelsk areas, and then in the course of development of northern territories they further colonized open spaces of the Northeast of the European part of Russia and Western Siberia.

30 лет назад еще в СССР, в г. Сыктывкаре состоялся VI Международный конгресс финно-угроведов, который объединил тогда 736 ученых из 17 стран. Это был второй подобный конгресс, проведенный в СССР и первый форум, который был организован в одной из финно-угорских регионов РСФСР, в столице Коми АССР. Состав участников конгресса был очень солидным: приезжали в Сыктывкар ныне уже покойные авторитеты уралоистики Роберт Аустерлиц (США), Петер Хайду, Карой Редעי, Петер Домокош (Венгрия), Пертти Виртаранта, Микко Корхонен (Финляндия), Б. А. Серебренников, К. Е. Майтинская, И. С. Галкин и др. (СССР). Многие участники этого конгресса в качестве темы своих выступлений выбрали пермские языки или иные уральские языки в связи с пермскими. На пленарном заседании Роберт Аустерлиц выступил с интересным докладом на тему «The Permian centre» (Пермский центр), повторное прочтение которого инспирировало меня выбрать заявленную тему для моего выступления. Р. Аустерлиц в своем докладе сначала кратко обрисовал общие типологические особенности удмуртского и коми языков, которые объединяют языки и одновременно которые не

характерны для остальных уральских языков, затем одним из первых, выявил несистематические и непредсказуемые соответствия между удмуртским и коми-зырянским материалом, поставив следующий основной вопрос: что обусловило 1) типологическую универсальность пермских языков, 2) сравнительную изоморфию среди коми и удмуртских диалектов, 3) исключительно обширную территорию, занятую коми (зырянами) с момента оставления ими территорию первоначального обитания (Austerlitz 1985: 101). В нашем докладе мы попытаемся осветить вопросы дивергенции пермских языков с точки зрения поставленной Р. Аустерлицем проблемы, т.к. с 1985 г. появилось много научных трудов, прямо или косвенно затрагивающих интересующую нас тему (работы Ш. Чуча, Р. Бартенс, К. Редеи, А.-Р. Хаузенберг, Р. Ш. Насибуллина, М. Г. Атаманова, А. И. Туркина, С. К. Белых, В. В. Напольских и др.). На основе анализа результатов далее сделаем попытку представить модифицированную модель дивергенции пермских языков.

Традиционная теория дивергенции общепермского праязыка

Необходимо признать, что классическая теория дивергенции пермских языков, предложенная еще Юрьё Вихманом, до сих пор популярна и поддерживается многими уралолистами, не сомневающимися ни в датировке, ни в определении прародины (Р. Бартенс, Ш. Чуч, К. Редеи, В. К. Кельмаков и др.). Многие финно-угроведы в первую очередь выделяли большую схожесть удмуртского и коми языков на всех языковых уровнях. «Вообще, можно с уверенностью сказать, что коми диалектные различия очень небольшие. В удмуртском их еще меньше. Это составляет заметный контраст с некоторыми другими финно-угорскими языками, особенно эрзянским, саамским, марийским и обско-угорскими языками» (Austerlitz 1985: 100–101). Для историков языка это обстоятельство свидетельствует об относительно недавнем расщеплении языков и диалектов.

По подсчетам Ало Рауна, в списке Сводеша этимологически общая лексика в коми и удмуртском языках составляет 70 %. По данным Шандора Чуча, в лексике языков насчитывается 1554 общих исконных основ, причем из них 671 имеют параллели лишь в соседних пермских языках, что составляет 43 % от общего количества слов. Это говорит о важности общепермского периода в развитии пермских языков, среди которых коми диалекты, по мнению Ш. Чуча, лучше сохранили древнее языковое богатство.

Пермские языки (их литературные варианты) имеют совершенно одинаковый фонетический состав: 7 гласных и 26 согласных. В прапермское время появились звонкие смычные *b, d, g*, фрикативные *z, z', ž*, языки характеризуются единими четырьмя аффрикатами, противопоставлением согласных по палатальности *d' – d, z' – z, l' – l, n' – n, s' – s, t' – t*. Вокалическая система в прапермский период изменилась в сторону исчезновения переднеязычных гласных *ä, ii*, появления среднерядных гласных – орфографических *ö* и *ы*, а также исчезла прауральская гармония гласных, конечные гласные основы слова начали выпадать. Морфологическая система языков строго агглютинативная с практически одинаковыми небольшими флективными включениями, в языках появились флективоподобные глагольные суффиксы 3 лица и ряд падежных форм, морфологические чередования в основе имеют незначительный характер в удмуртских диалектах и большее распространение в коми языке. Одинаково образуются формы множественного числа, большинство падежных и глагольных суффиксов сформировалось в прапермском языке-основе и похожи в современных языках, основной словообразовательный инвентарь также идентичен.

Идея о былом существовании прапермского языка-основы выдвинута и обоснована финским языковедом Юрьё Вихманом на основе изучения им обоих пермских языков и особенно на исследовании древнебулгарских заимствований (Wichmann 1903: 145–147). Далее она была дополнена и подробнее изложена В. И. Лыткиным в своей «Исторической грамматике коми языка» (Лыткин 1957: 24–25).

Датировку возникновения общепермского праязыка относили или к 1500 гг. до н.э., или в более поздних работах передвигали на 500 лет раньше (Csúcs 2005: 19). Однако по этому вопросу особых разногласий и споров у финно-угроведов не было. Другое дело сложилось с определением времени распада праязыка на дочерние языки. Еще Ю. Вихман считал, что проникновение древнебулгарских заимствований в общепермский язык могло иметь место только с VIII в. н.э., поэтому распад материнского языка на самостоятельные языки, по нему, мог быть спустя некоторое время после этой даты, т.к. количество общепермских общих булгаризмов немного, оно не превышает 20–22 единиц (Wichmann 1903: 145–147). Однако важно то, что большинство булгаризмов распространены во всех коми диалектах.

В. И. Лыткин раскрывал распад общепермского праязыка следующим образом: «Общепермский язык-основа распался ок. IX–X вв., а движение предков коми на север (возможно, сначала на более близкий север) началось еще раньше... Как долго длился общекоми период? Он, по-

видимому, продолжался недолго, всего одно-два столетия когда-то около IX–XI вв.: в своем поступательном движении на север предки коми быстро расселились среди дремучих лесов бассейна Северной Двины и Мезени, – с одной стороны, и бассейна средней и верхней Камы, – с другой, в связи с чем прекратилась между территориально раздробленными частями коми народа та тесная связь, которая необходима для протекания единых процессов в языке» (Лыткин 1957: 24–25).

Долгое время представленное выше положение являлось классическим, да и во многих современных обобщающих работах она принимается за основу, например, в монографиях по истории пермских языков Р. Бартенс и Ш. Чуча (Csúcs 2005: 19; Bartens 2000: 13). К примеру, Р. Бартенс, отмечает, что «различие археологических культур ещё не означает выделения разных языков. Прапермский период продолжался еще до середины I тыс. и даже дольше» (Bartens 2000: 11). Подобная трактовка представлена и в работах А. И. Туркина (1977а: 10).

Мысль о миграционном процессе как механизме выделения коми-зырян как особого этноса была и остается популярной в научной литературе. Венгерский финно-угровед К. Редей, как и другие финно-угроведы, в одной из своих последних работ прямо связывает миграции и становление пермских протоэтносов с приходом булгар: «В последнее столетие протопермского периода, т.е. в VIII–IX вв. н.э. началось движение прапермского народа из центральных районов Поволжья на периферию. Тогда же они начали контактировать с обосновавшимися на территории между Казанью и Самарой волжскими булгарами (т.е. болгаро-тюрками, жителями т.н. Магна Болгарии). В последнее столетие протопермского периода к северу от удмуртов поселились коми. Общие предки коми (зырян) и пермяков под влиянием болгаро-тюрков переселились на север – свою нынешнюю этническую территорию» (Редей 2009: 36–37). Естественно, передвижения и миграции, вероятно, не были столь прямолинейными и резкими, взрывными, т.к. предки коми, очевидно, уже изначально формировались на основе северной зоны прапермской общности задолго до самой дезинтеграции этнической общности.

Р. Аустерлиц в своей статье «Пермский центр» идею постепенной миграции коми на северо-запад от пермского центра ставит во главе угла двух своих гипотез, объясняющих быстрое расширение территории проживания в VIII–X вв., соответственно, из-за внешних или внутренних причин (Austerlitz 1985: 105–107).

Список древнечувашских заимствований в коми языке не является закрытым. Методологической ошибкой предыдущих историков языка

было то, что относительно небольшое количество выявленных болгарских заимствований в современном коми языке (20–22) ученые считали индикатором древнего праязыкового состояния, т.е. переносили это соотношение в праязыковые времена. Общепринято, что лексика меняется быстро, в праязыковом срезе в докоми диалектной зоне это количество очевидно было ббольшим. Происхождение некоторых лексем языковеды связывают с болгарским влиянием. Так, в одной своей статье 1964 г. Г. Берецки полагал, что коми слово *vodž* «зимняя рыболовная запряда из кольев» представляет собой чувашское заимствование от *vadža* (Bereczki 1964: 117–121). М. Гейслер слова к. *урӧс*, *урӧд*, удм. *ур*, в *ур карыны*, *урод* «плохой» считает древнеболгарским заимствованием, связанным с культурным феноменом, удмуртским праздником Акашка (Geisler 2005: 89). Г. В. Федюнева происхождение ряда коми диалектных слов (*кӧрша*, *мор*, *сёр*, *сан*, *аньӧмакӧ*) объясняет имевшими место болгарско-пермскими или даже болгарско-докоми контактами (2012: 128–129). Вполне возможно, этимологии других коми слов также можно объяснить древнеболгарским влиянием.

Иные теории пермского лингвогенеза

В работах других исследователей, археологов и лингвистов предпринимались попытки обновить изложенную теорию, а также предпринимались попытки её полной ревизии, и прежде всего это относится к освещению дивергенции, разделения прапермского языка-основы. Далее рассмотрим взгляды исследователей по двум основным параметрам: 1) по предполагаемой датировке существования праязыка, 2) по предполагаемой прародине носителей праязыка, древних пермян.

Некоторые археологи и лингвисты пошли по пути удревления периода распада прапермского единства и, соответственно, праязыка. Так, археологи Р. Н. Голдина и Э. А. Савельева утверждают, что ананьинская археологическая культура, с которой связывали прапермскую этнолингвистическую общность, распалась уже в конце III в. до. н.э. (Голдина 1987: 10–11; Савельева 1995: 13), т.е. на тысячу лет раньше, чем предполагали Ю. Вихман и В. И. Лыткин. Эти авторы лишь на основе данных археологии также расширили территорию прапермской прародины. В частности, по мнению Э. А. Савельевой, территория распространения прапермян (протоэтнуса предков удмуртов и коми) занимала обширную зону, доходя на севере до Печоры и Вычегды. Она отмечает: «Археологи пришли к выводу, что прапермские племена сформировались на гораздо более широкой территории чем бассейн

нижней Камы и Вятки» (Савельева, Королев 1990: 28). О принципиальной ошибочности таких экстраполяций отмечает В. В. Напольских: «сам по себе археологический материал не содержит никакой информации о языке и этнической принадлежности этих групп» (Напольских 1997: 179).

Лингвистические данные археологи вообще не привлекают, не упоминают общепермские болгаризмы, считая этот материал, вероятно, несущественным в своих теоретических штудиях. Положения археологов некоторые лингвисты восприняли как истину и, уже опираясь на них, стали выдвигать свои новые теоретические постулаты, подводя данные языков под предложенные положения.

Точка зрения Р. Ш. Насибуллина

Р. Ш. Насибуллин, основываясь на мнение археологов о том, что до прихода болгар в Среднее Поволжье пермяне занимали обширные территории от устья р. Уфы на юге до р. Мезень на северо-западе, выстраивает длинную цепочку пермских диалектов и считает, что коми переняли болгаризмы не непосредственно от болгар, а от южнее проживающих удмуртов. Он полагает, что болгаризмы «вместе с реалиями преодолевали огромный путь от берегов Нижней Камы да Северного Ледовитого океана», затем русские заимствования вытеснили из коми языка другие, ранее освоенные болгаризмы (Насибуллин 1990: 155–157). Последнее предположение вполне очевидно, т.к. например, болгарское заимствование *õныр* «седло» сохранилось лишь в лузско-летском диалекте коми языка, в других же употребляется уже русское заимствование *седлõ*, болгарское заимствование *коба* «прялка» встречается в коми-пермяцких диалектах, а в зырянских диалектах имеет исконно-языковое соответствие *печкан* «прялка», образованное от глагола *печкыны* «прясть» с помощью суффикса *-ан*. По мнению Р. Ш. Насибуллина, причиной распада общепермской языковой общности кроется в неравномерном развитии отдельных диалектов и звеньев общепермского языка-основы в течение всего общепермского периода, самостоятельными языки становятся уже с III–I вв. до н.э. (Насибуллин 1990: 157). Данная точка зрения уже не раз подвергалась критике самими удмуртскими лингвистами, в частности, В. К. Кельмаковым, который обоснованно полагал, что в те далекие времена немногочисленные пермские племена никак не могли поддерживать однородную языковую среду на столь огромных пространствах. Добавим сюда, что непрерывной языковой среды не было у коми вообще, нет ее и сейчас. Теория Р. Ш. Насибуллина никак не объясняет, почему

большинство булгаризмов известно во всех коми диалектах, зырянских и пермяцких, фонетически и семантически не отличаясь.

Точка зрения М. Г. Атаманова

М. Г. Атаманов в одной из последних статей, полностью поддерживая мнение археолога Р. Д. Голдиной о распаде общепермской общности в III вв. до н.э., делает смелый вывод о том, что удмуртский язык самостоятельно развивается уже 2300–2200 лет (Атаманов 2011: 18). Затем его исторические поиски идут дальше: на основе схожих по звучанию топонимов в разных местах Европейского Севера (*Тойма, Сума, Пог ~ Пога, Кез ~ Кега* и др.) он утверждает, что прапермское ананьинское население, т.е. прямые предки современных удмуртов, проникли в северо-западные части России, вплоть до Карелии, Фенноскандии, островов на Белом, Баренцевом морях и оставили там после себя многочисленные топонимы (Атаманов 2011: 19). Иными словами, он расширил прародину древних пермян, точнее прямых предков удмуртов до глобальных размеров. Здесь не может быть никаких комментариев в силу полностью фантастического характера выдвинутой версии, причем автор неправомерно употребляет слова прапермяне и удмурты в качестве абсолютных синонимов.

Точка зрения А.-Р. Хаузенберг

А.-Р. Хаузенберг как лингвист обращает внимание на общие ареальные особенности коми-зырянских диалектов и прибалтийско-финских языков, с одной стороны, и соответствующие различия между коми и удмуртским материалом. Например, несоответствие личных местоимений 3 лица мн. числа, коми **на, найӧ** и удм. **соос** «они», различие в порядке компонентов простого предложения, SOV в удмуртском и SVO в коми языке. За отправную точку исследователь также принимает отмеченное мнение археологов и в своих трудах проводит мысль о том, что разделение пермских языков произошло гораздо раньше VIII в. н.э., ещё до н.э. и что древние коми рассеянно заселили обширные северо-западные территории, на которых начали контактировать с прибалтийско-финскими племенами, в результате которых образовались сходные ареальные языковые особенности (Hausenberg 1990). В другой своей работе она предполагает былое существование исчезнувших звеньев, прибалтийско-финских языков, от которых получили влияние коми диалекты на рубеже тысячелетия н.э. в бассейне Северной Двины, Сухоны и Юга (Hausenberg

2001: 318), так как влияние прибалтийско-финских языков имело место преимущественно уже на коми-зырянские диалекты и не имело сколь значимого влияния на предков удмуртов и коми-пермяков. По мнению А. И. Туркина, предки вепсов и карел проникли в Северо-Восточную Европу примерно в XI в. и встретились с встречным потоком переселенцев-зырян (Туркин 1985: 14). Вполне возможно, предки коми-зырян встретили на новой родине уже отдельные поселения прибалтийских финнов, которые затем постепенно озырянились и оставили след в виде легенд о чуди, первоначальное значение слова было название аборигенного народа. Следы языка этого народа имеет в коми языке субстратный характер. Прибалтийско-финские заимствования, которых насчитывается в коми диалектах около 70, а по А. И. Туркину, 104 слова, крайне неравномерно распределены по зырянским диалектам, что говорит о взаимовлиянии разной интенсивности. Однако, есть мнения о более древних коми- и даже общепермско-прибалтийских контактах (об этом подробнее см. в работе Янне Саарикиви (Saarikivi 2006: 33). Последний выявил ряд дополнительных прибалтийско-финских заимствований в коми языке (Saarikivi 2006: 34–37).

Точка зрения С. К. Белых

Точка зрения Сергея Константиновича Белыха на ход дивергенции пермского праязыка построена на результатах исследования современных пермских диалектов и литературных языков и знаменует новый шаг в изучение темы. Их выводы по хронологии распада праязыка направлены в совершенно другую сторону, на максимальное приближение времени распада общепермского языка-основы к современности. Эти исследователи не считают выводы отмеченных археологов истинными и ставят во главу угла прежде всего языковые данные, говорящие о большой близости коми и удмуртского языков, что дает основания сомневаться в утверждениях о том, что пермские языки обособились более чем 2000 лет назад. Если бы это было действительно так, то современные языки разошлись бы чрезвычайно далеко друг от друга, образовались бы многие небольшие языки, подобно прибалтийско-финским, а коми диалекты образовали бы разношерстную совокупность, вроде современных хантыйских и саамских диалектов, которые многие исследователи уже квалифицируют в качестве самостоятельных языков.

Для уточнения датировки распада общепермского праязыка в некоторых работах применили т.н. метод глоттохронологии, введенный американским лингвистом М. Сводешом в 40-х гг. XX в. Исходным

тезисом в основе метода является следующее: чем больше слов в 100-словном списке базовой лексики имеют общее происхождение в парах языков, тем ближе они друг другу и тем позднее они разошлись. Время разделения языков или глоттогоническую датировку рассчитывают по математической формуле, что дает не относительную, а абсолютную хронологию дивергенции языков. С. К. Белых в своей монографии на основе анализа двух списков Сводеша пришел к выводу, что пермские языки стали самостоятельными к рубежу X–XI или в первые десятилетия XII в. (Белых 2009: 54). Однако в заключении монографии он выводит абсолютно иную датировку (с XII в. по XIV в.). Считаю указанную последнюю датировку неверной, т.к. метод М. Сводеша как раз наоборот н.э., скорее омолаживает время расхождения языков.

По его мнению, общепермский континуум только начал разрушаться с XI–XII вв., а окончательное разделение прапермян на пракоми и праудмуртов произошло лишь в XIV–XV вв., причем главным фактором в этом процессе послужила христианизация коми и заселение русскими территории, которая окончательно разделила два пермских народа (Белых 2009: 120–121). Почти такую же датировку представляет в одной из статей В. В. Напольских: «...окончательный распад прапермского единства следует датировать XIII–XIV вв. (Напольских 2010: 19). Последний пункт ученых является совершенно неверным уже лишь потому, что сохранившиеся древнекоми письменные памятники, датируемые как раз XIV–XVI вв. демонстрируют нам наличие уже самостоятельного старокоми литературного языка, совершенно отличного от удмуртского, что наглядно показали в своих работах В. И. Лыткин, А. С. Сидоров, Р. Бейкер, К. Редери и другие исследователи.

На основе данных, полученных методом лингвистической палеонтологии, С. К. Белых локализует территорию прапермского ареала в Среднем Прикамье между 57 и 58 параллелями северной широты, ныне это Пермский край, добавляя, что «прапермская общность накануне распада была весьма компактно расселенной и не занимала большой территории» (Белых 2009: 62, 66). Далее автор допускает логически противоречащие вышеизложенному высказывание, т.к. принимает точку зрения уже упоминавшихся выше археологов. Здесь уместно просто процитировать самого автора: «в начале II тыс. н.э. пермские племенные группировки расселились на огромной территории от Вычегды и Печоры на севере до Нижней Камы на юге, от р. Юга Вятско-Ветлужского междуречья на западе до Урала на востоке. Однако, любые соседние племенные группы пермян по-прежнему сохраняли тесные связи и максимальную культурную близость друг к другу, говорили на весьма

сходных диалектах» (Белых 2009: 120). Это также неверное положение, т.к. на основе точных исторических сведений установлено, что коми-зыряне заселили долины Ижмы, Печоры, Усы, верхней Вычегды относительно поздно, лишь в XVI–XVII вв. и даже позже. Совершенно не объясняются причины такого взрывного расширения прародины пермян, когда прямые предки удмуртов быстро заселили более южные территории, а предки коми — северные. Объяснение автора тяготением докоми и доудмуртов к славянскому и тюркскому мирам кажется неправдоподобным.

Теории Насибуллина-Атаманова, Белых-Напольских, а также А.-Р. Хаузенберг имеют, таким образом, свои слабые места. Это говорит о том, что полностью достойной альтернативы для замещения классической теории дивергенции общепермского праязыка, выдвинутой Ю. Вихманом и В. И. Лыткиным, пока в языкознании не выдвинуто. Коми диалекты очень близки до сих пор, коми-пермяки и зыряне свободно общаются между собой без привлечения языка-посредника. Ни один исследователь-финно-угровед не сомневается в близком родстве коми и удмуртов. Если же предки двух коми этнических групп обособились друг от друга много раньше VIII–IX вв. н.э., мы бы имели или совершенно различные языковые образования, или очень разнящиеся диалекты наподобие современных хантыйских.

Сделанный обзор точек зрения различных исследователей наталкивает на необходимость создания модифицированной модели дивергенции пермских языков, которая бы учитывала последние результаты изучения особенностей коми и удмуртского языков и максимально непротиворечиво объясняла развитие современных языков. Модифицированная модель лингвоэтногенеза древних пермян, построенная на анализе лингвистической реальности современных языков, имеет целью устранить схематичность и механицизм хода дивергенции общепермского праязыка по теории Вихмана-Лыткина. Вероятно, с самого начала своего формирования общепермский праязык действительно отличался единством и унификацией, что хорошо сохраняется в современных языках. Далее в ходе постепенного расширения территории проживания постепенно выделились два протодиалекта, из которых в течение веков сформировались две языковые системы, при этом территория прародины также увеличивалась. На это наталкивает существование такие языковых особенностей, которые разъединяют два пермских языка. На важность системных отличий пермских языков указал Роберт Аустерлиц, который привел некоторые факты т.н. некоторых непредсказуемых и несистемных различий, а именно: различный фонетический облик общей лексики,

отсутствие в удмуртском ряду соответствий финно-угорских / финно-пермских по происхождению слов (к. *эитыны* «успевать», ур «белка»), и т.д. Большие расхождения в современных пермских языках он обнаружил в группе названий рыб и птиц (Austerlitz 1985: 102–103). К сожалению, Р. Аустерлиц не продолжил выдвинутую им же программу систематического исследования лексических соответствий в коми и удмуртском языках.

Список языковых расхождений можно дополнить: отличия в системах наклонений, глагола, различия в образовании презенса, лично-числовой суффиксации, особенно у отрицательных глаголов, в частотности, в характере изафетных конструкций, строении сложноподчиненных предложений, уже упоминавшемся порядке компонентов простого предложения. Вряд ли все расхождения можно объяснить лишь поздним влиянием тюркских языков на удмуртский и русского языка на коми, как это представляется в работах многих авторов.

Далее представим для обсуждения и оценки ряд положений, являющиеся косвенными свидетельствами предлагаемого нами хода дивергенции пермских языков.

1. Системная целостность коми и удмуртского языков, отсутствие переходной диалектной зоны, смешанных диалектов и говоров.

Такой долгий и постепенный путь выделения пермских языков объясняет и то, что и коми язык также имеет единый системный характер, чего нельзя объяснить двумя-тремя столетиями общекоми периода, по традиционной точке зрения. По подобной схеме постепенно выделились и три основные группы коми диалектов (пермяцкие, зырянские и язьвинско-уральские): медленно, не внезапно, в процессе взаимовлияний.

Удмуртский языковед С. А. Максимов изучил севернoudмуртско-коми ареальные лексико-семантические параллели и пришел к выводу, что с распадом общепермской этнолингвистической общности связи между удмуртами и коми не прекратились, дивергенция не привела к территориальному размежеванию близкородственных народов, интенсивные связи между которыми прекратились не ранее XIV в. (Максимов 1999: 17–18). Общая лексика в севернoudмуртских и южнокоми диалектах представлена архаизмами (61 %), инновациями ареально-генетического характера (18 %) и заимствованиями (21 %) (Максимов 1999: 16). Эти положения отвергают тезис о резком и быстром территориальном разделении двух пермских языков, к тому же предки коми-пермяков и коми-язьвинцев ни на какой север с территории Прикамья не уходили. Тем не менее, работа С. А. Максимова свидетельствует и о том, что коми и удмурты всегда проживали разрозненно, не образуя ни

смешанных диалектов, ни говоров. Это свидетельствует о том, что протоудмурты и протокоми имели четкую этническую самоидентификацию.

2. Существование единых этнонимов-самоназваний для всех удмуртов и коми, издавна объединяющие этнические коллективы.

Характерно, что практически все этнографические группы удмуртов и всех коми объединяют соответствующие самоназвания: у удмуртов это *удмурт, одморт, удморт* и т.д, у коми это *коми морт, коми йӧз/войтыр*, кп. *коми отир*. Структурно самоназвания основаны на определительном словосочетании, основным словом которого является лексема *морт/мурт*, этимология которого бесспорна, это древнее индо-иранское заимствование. В компоненте коми, возможно, кроется название реки Кама, что предполагал еще в свое время Ю. Вихман. Здесь уместно привести встречающийся у коми-зырян топоним *Комму* (сокращенная форма от сочетания Коми му), которым обозначали прикамские земли вокруг г. Чердынь (коми название Чердін). Это свидетельствует о том, что, вероятно, самосознание протокоми и протоудмуртов уже издавна было сформировавшимся, что сохраняется и поныне. Можно предположить, что в период до распада прапермской этноязыковой общности общепермского диалектного континуума уже не существовало, а были в действительности докоми и доудмуртские наречия.

3. Коми-зырянская исконная лексика природного окружения, свидетельствующая о былом более южном проживании народа.

Как ясно из вышеприведенного обзора мнений и теоретических подходов, в рассмотренных теориях дивергенции пермских языков особое внимание уделялось на анализ заимствованной лексики, в то время как на характер исконной лексики необходимого внимания не уделялось. Тем не менее, важным представляется выяснение картины мира общепермского и общекоми этнических коллективов по данным языка.

Далее даны к рассмотрению лексемы, обозначающие реалии природного мира (флоры и фауны), или вовсе не распространенные на территории современной Коми республики, или охватывающие лишь крайне южную периферию расселения современных коми-зырян. Условно мы такую лексику назовем «южной». Хотя некоторые лексемы уже были приведены в монографии С. К. Бельха в главе о пермской прародине (*туну* «дуб», *сирпу* «вяз»), далее они также представлены.

нинпу «липа», **нинкӧм** «лапоть». Слово общепермского происхождения (КЭСК 192), в удмуртском *нинпу* имеет значение «молодая

липа» (УРС 464). Идентичное значение слово имеет в коми-пермяцких диалектах: Молодая липка, *нин ну* (Рогов 1869: 275). Употребляется в большинстве коми-зырянских диалектов: вв. вс. иж. лл. нв. сс., *нин бадь* иж. — липа (ССКЗД 242). Значение первого компонента *нин* «лыко», от этого же корня образовано слово *нинкӧм* «лапоть». Известно, что коми-зыряне традиционно пользовались кожанной обувью, однако слово *нинкӧм* бытует во всех зырянских диалектах, в основном в текстах сказок, напр., *Оліс-выліс Нёрымӧ-дядьӧ. Коркӧ сійӧ нинкӧм кыис да мӧдӧдчис базарӧ вузавны* (сказка о Нёрымѐ) «Жил-был дядя по имени Нёрым. Однажды он сплёл лапти и отправился на базар продавать». Хотя липа распространена очень широко, в умеренной и субтропической зонах северного полушария, на территории РК дерево произрастает лишь на крайнем юго-западе республики в составе осинового подроста в виде небольшого дерева или кустарника, обычно не цветет и не плодоносит (С. Дегтева) (ЭРК Т. 2: 215–216). Слово *нинкӧм* употребляет в своем стихотворении «Закар ордын» (У Захара) основоположник и классик коми литературы Иван Куратов: *Локтас Кась Вась, нинкӧм кыысь* (Куратов 1979: 116) «Придет Кась Вась, плетельщик лаптей». Вероятно, в первой половине XIX в. южные (сысольские, летские и прилузские) коми еще занимались плетением лаптей из лыка. Это слово устойчиво сохраняется в языковой памяти коми, являясь, по нашему мнению, доказательством относительно недавней локализации предков зырян в более южной зоне, где это дерево растет повсеместно и имеет промысловое значение. К примеру, у коми-пермяков изготовление лаптей из липы имеет всеобщее распространение, см. **нинпу** липа | липовый; **нинкӧм** лапоть; ~ **мез кӧмавны** обувь лапти; **кыйись** тот, кто плетет лапти; ~ **чаркилӧ абу ёрт** погов. лапоть башмаку не пара; соотв. гусь свинье не товарищ (КПРС 274–275).

веснін, веснінпу «липа». Слова в этом значении зафиксированы во втором варианте русско-зырянского словаря Н. П. Попова, отражающего живую коми речь первой половины-середины XIX в. (Туркин 1977: 295). Происхождение первого компонента сложного слова *вес* неизвестно. Вероятно, в то время слова были еще известны в языковой памяти населения, так же как, например, такие лексемы как *н'ан'суктан тӧлысь* «август», *сераку* «плакат», *дӧшла* «мяч» и др., которые для современного носителя языка уже абсолютно неизвестны.

оржы, оржыпу «осокорь». Слово зафиксировано в русско-зырянском словаре Н. П. Попова — *оржі, оржіпу* (Туркин 1976: 298). Г. С. Лыткин в своем словаре приводит следующие лексемы *оржы* диал. тополь, *оржыпу* (КЭСК 207), в ССКЗД есть указание на бытование лексемы лишь в нижневыхегодском диалекте (ССКЗД 260). Слово обозначает дерево,

которое на территории Республики Коми почти не встречается. Осокорь или тополь черный растет в европейской части России на севере от Нижегородской области, Кирова, Перми до Крыма и Кавказа на юге. Тем не менее А. И. Туркин приводит топонимы с этим компонентом: луг *Оржидав* 'тополиная роща' (Тентюково), урочище *Оржалыва* 'тополиные пески' (Сторожевск), луг *Оржыа* 'с осокорью' (Вездино), заводь *Оржыкуръя* 'тополиная курья' (Кырс) (Туркин 1972: 280). Просисхождение слова общепермское: удм. *уржыпу* бот. 'осокорь', ср. эрз. *иржания* 'жесткий, грубый' (КЭСК 207). «В основу пермского ботанического термина мог быть положен такой характерный признак тополя, как грубая, потрескавшаяся, толстая кора» (КЭСК 207).

сирпу «вяз или ильм». Слово также бытует в некоторых коми-зырянских диалектах, печорском и верхневычегодском, обозначая собственно вяз, ильм (ССКЗД 337). Слово известно и в коми-пермяцких диалектах: **сирпу** уст. вяз (КПРС 430), а также бытует в удмуртском языке (УРС 601). В XIX в. в коми-пермяцких диалектах слово употреблялось ещё широко: Вязь, *сир*, *сир пу* (Рогов 1869: 232). По происхождению слово финно-пермское, ср. удм. *сирпу* «вяз», мар. *шөрва* «яшень», фин. *sarapii* «яшень» (КЭСК 257). Вяз произрастает в подзоне широколиственных лесов европейской части России. На территории Коми республики вяз, как известно, не растёт, слово же устойчиво сохраняется в языковой памяти.

тупу «дуб». В современных коми-зырянских диалектах слово не бытует, однако сохраняется в составе некоторых топонимов на Нижней Вычегде, напр., *Тупи-ты*, *Тупи-орд*, *Тупи-туй* (топонимы в окрестностях дер. Туискерос) (КЭСК 286). Однако ещё в XIV-XV вв. *тупу* употреблялось в языке, свидетельством чему являются древнекоми тексты, где слово употребляется в значении «дуб»: *сэс' велмӧсс'ис йэн авраму мамбри тупу дорын* (Лыткин 1952: 39) «и явился бог Аврааму у мамбрийского дуба». Слово по происхождению допермское финно-пермское, имеет параллели во множестве языков: удм. *тыны*, морд. *тумо*, мар. *тум*, фин. *tammi* (КЭСК 286). Дуб растёт в местностях с умеренным и субтропическим климатом, в России к югу от Ленинградской области, Кирова и Перми. В природе на территории Коми республики не произрастает, однако коми язык сохранил слово как свидетельство более южного проживания далеких предков.

панпаз «клён». Это слово с пометой мез. (мезенское) приводит А. И. Туркин в дополнение к диалектному словарю в монографии «Удорский диалект коми языка» в своей рецензии на указанный труд В. А. Сорвачевой и Л. М. Безносиковой (Туркин 1992: 64). Этимология слова неизвестна, слово зафиксировано в ходе диалектологической экспедиции

А. И. Туркина в 1978 г. в мезенские села. В удмуртском языке для обозначения этого дерева есть слово *бадяр*, однако это разнокорневая лексема (УРС 55). Клён распространен в умеренных широтах Европы, в Сибири не произрастает. На территории РК он также не растет.

гадя «цапля». Лексема *гадя* в значении «аист» приводит Г. С. Лыткин в его русско-коми словаре (Лыткин 1975: 293). Н. Рогов в своем словаре слово дает в значении «чайка»: *гадја, чері гадја* (Рогов 1869: 408). В XIX в. эта лексема, вероятно, ещё бытовала в коми-зырянских диалектах. В коми-пермяцких диалектах оно встречается и в наши дни, слово дано под пометой устойчивое выражение *чері гадя* (КПРС 532). Слово образовано путем субстантивации артибутивного сочетания *гадя лэбач* «грудастая птица, птица с зобом». В удмуртском языке есть прямое соответствие *гадь* «зоб птицы». Соответствия в удмуртском разнокорневые: *ванем* диал. зоол. 1. аист 2. цапля 3. выпь; *какся* зоол. цапля (птица) (УРС 106, 274). Цапля широко обитает в умеренном климате мест Европы и Азии, в мелководье рек, озер, морей, на территории РК в природе не зафиксирована.

колип, колипкай «жаворонок, соловей». Слово *колипкай* обозначает жаворонка в нескольких южных коми-зырянских диалектах: вв. (Пом.) печ. скр. сс. (ССКЗД 162), значение «соловей» в диалектном словаре не зафиксировано. В литературном коми языке слова *колип, колипкай* обозначают соловья (КРК 285). Соловей прилетает на лето лишь в южные районы Коми республики. Н. А. Остроумов считал возможным появление птицы в южных районах республики двух видов – восточного соловья и соловья-красношейки (Остроумов 1972: 193–195). А. Естафьев указывает на бытование трех видов перелетных соловьев (ЭРК Т. 3: 67). В последнем словаре коми языка *колип* и *колипкай* «соловей» считаются литературной нормой (КРК 285).

боян «аист». Слово также имеется в русско-зырянском словаре Н. П. Попова в форме *бојан (bojan)* (Туркин 1976: 298). Происхождение слова неизвестно. Аисты обитают по всей территории Европы и Азии, но в местах с умеренно-теплым климатом, в России от территории Ленинградской области на восток, гнездятся на низменных местностях и болотах. В ССКЗД зафиксировано удорское диалектное слово *боян* в значении «плавательный пузырь рыбы» (ССКЗД 75). Вероятно, это разные лексемы.

кый «пиявка озерная». Слово в нижневыхегодском диалекте в говоре дер. Кырс в значении «пиявка» зафиксировал А. И. Туркин, он приводит также топоним озеро *Кыйты* (Нёбдино). Слово вышло из употребления в большинстве диалектов из-за того, что змеи на севере не обитают, в

южных районах республики изредка лишь встречаются ужи. Слово *кый* «минога» допермское, ср. удм. *кый* «змея», мар. *кишке*, эрз. *зуй*, фин. *куу*, венгр. *kídyó* (КЭСК 412). В коми языковой памяти лексема, пусть и с изменившимся значением, сохранилась, указывая на южные корни в древней истории народа. «Когда змеи жили южнее, вероятно, слово *кый* обозначало змею, а затем по сходству предмета название перенесли на пиявку» (Туркин 1972: 279).

косму (тöлысь) «апрель». Древнекоми название месяца апрель содержится в церковном Уставе 1608 г. в форме *космоуь*, вместе с названиями месяцев на римском, египетском, еврейском, эллинском, русском языках. Древнекоми язык в уставе именовался *пермским*. Многими специалистами и писателями, краеведами указывалось на явное несоответствие значения названия месяца северным реалиям, когда в апреле земля на территории Республики Коми ещё вовсе не сухая. Г. С. Лыткин расшифровывает запись как *куш му* «обнаженная земля», А. С. Сидоров и В. И. Лыткин дают другое прочтение — *кос му* «сухая земля» и *космысь му* «высыхающая земля», добавляя следующий вывод: «Слову *космоуь* можно дать и другую расшифровку — *кос'мыс'му* 'высыхающая земля'. При таком чтении устраняется неувязка между названием месяца и состоянием природы: в это время под яркими лучами солнца действительно высыхает земля» (Сидоров, Лыткин 1966: 127). По нашему мнению, такая неувязка никак не устраняется и при допущении предложенного В. И. Лыткиным варианта. Однако ситуация вполне объяснима иными причинами, а именно тем, что древнекоми календарь как система сложился в те далекие времена, когда коми совместно проживали ещё гораздо южнее, а Прикамье, где климат был гораздо мягче, весна была более ранняя и в апреле земля действительно была уже сухая, высыхала. Значение названия месяца указывает на более южную древнюю прародину всех коми.

Естественно, не все приведенные лексемы пока имеют убедительное объяснение с точки зрения их происхождения и былого употребления, например, лексемы со значениями «клён», «аист». Тем не менее, считаем, что в языковой памяти коми они остаются своеобразными памятниками-индикаторами былого более южного пребывания в составе общекоми и общепермской общностей.

4. Лексические расхождения в базовом словарном составе пермских языков.

Хотя ученые в глоттохронологических исследованиях акцентируют внимание на лексическом тождестве или близости пермского материала,

близкородственные удмуртский и коми языки в современном состоянии демонстрируют и значительные расхождения в разных тематических группах лексики. На это обратил внимание уже упомянутый Р. Аустерлиц на примере названий рыб и птиц. Далее приводятся в таблицах слова разных тематических групп, взятые из литературных языков. Жирным шрифтом выделены этимологически общие лексические элементы, сохранившие идентичное значение в трех литературных языках, курсивом выделены единые общекоми элементы. Расхождения говорят о долгом самостоятельном развитии лексических систем пермских языков, с одной стороны, и о системном единстве коми-зырянских и коми-пермяцких диалектов, которых до сих пор многие российские исследователи считают отдельными языками, что, на наш взгляд, абсолютно неправомерно.

Таблица 1. Названия рыб и средств рыболовства.

значение	удмуртский язык	коми-пермяцкий	коми-зырянский
рыба	чорыг	чери	чери
плотва	чабак, гордсин	<i>кельчи</i>	<i>кельчи</i> , вирсин
окунь	юш	ёкыш	ёкыш
ёрш	хогьясь, ёрш	дарга	йёрш
щука	чипей	<i>сир</i> , щука	<i>сир</i>
карась	карака	тыпыв, карась	гыч
пескарь	чукырна	пескан	дарга
язь	язь	<i>сын</i>	<i>сын</i>
лещ	пая	ёді, лёш	ёді
хариус	кыны	ком , хариус	ком
икра	мызь	<i>пёк</i>	<i>пёк</i>
удочка	визнан	вугыр <i>шаты</i>	<i>шатын</i> , вугыр <i>шаты</i>
сеть	сак	<i>кулём</i>	<i>кулём</i>
невод	бадрым сеть, невод	невод	тыв
бредень	калтон	недотка	кёлтым
верша	мурдо	верша	гымга
дорожка, блесна	блесна	<i>кысна(н)</i>	<i>кыснан</i>

Таблица 2. Названия промысловых животных и средств охоты.

значение	удмуртский язык	коми-пермяцкий	коми-зырянский
медведь	гондыр	<i>ош</i>	<i>ош</i>
волк	кион	кёин	кёин
лиса	ричы	руч	руч
заяц	лудкеч	кёч	кёч
соболь	нвзь , соболь	низь	низь
куница	сёр	<i>тулан</i>	<i>тулан</i>
белка	коньы	<i>ур</i>	<i>ур</i>
олень	пужей	<i>кёр</i>	<i>кёр</i>

значение	удмуртский язык	коми-пермяцкий	коми-зырянский
лось	койык, лось	йбра, лола, вёрмӧс	йбра, лола
стрела	ньӧл , пукых вень	ньӧвьёсь	ньӧв
копье	шибоды	шы	шы
нож	пурт	пурт	пурт
слопец	нальк, налык	чӧс	чӧс, нальк
петля	кых	петля	петля

Таблица 3. Названия растений и сельскохозяйственных инструментов.

значение	удмуртский язык	коми-пермяцкий	коми-зырянский
пшеница	чабей	<i>шогді</i>	<i>шобді</i>
рожь	рег	рудзӧг	рудзӧг
ячмень	йыды	ид	ид
овес	сезьы	<i>зӧр</i>	<i>зӧр</i>
горох	кӧжы	<i>анькытш</i>	<i>анькытш</i>
репа	сяртчы	сёртни	сёркни
редька	кушман	кушман	кушман
лук	сугон	лук	лук
морковь	кешыр, хуж кушман	морков	морков
лен	етӧн	лӧн	шабді
соха/плуг	геры	гӧр	гӧр
борона	усы	<i>пиня</i>	агас, <i>пиня</i>
серп	сюрло	чарла	чарла
лопата	лопата	<i>зыр</i>	зыр
вилы	санник, лобыт	вила	лэбын , вила
грабли	мажес	<i>куран</i>	<i>куран</i>
коса	кусо	литовка	коса

Таблица 4. Названия домашних животных, птиц и основных средств передвижения,

значение	удмуртский язык	коми-пермяцкий	коми-зырянский
лошадь	вал	вӧв	вӧв
жеребец	уж, ужпи	уж	уж
корова	скал	<i>мӧс</i>	<i>мӧс</i>
бык	ош , пороз	ӧшка , пороз	ӧш
собака	пуны	пон	пон
овца	ыж	<i>баля</i>	ыж , <i>баля</i>
баран	така	баран	меж
кошка	кохыш, писэй	<i>кань</i>	<i>кань</i>
коза	кеч, гурт кеч	кӧза	кӧза
курица	курег	курӧг	курӧг, чипан
сани	дӧды	дадь	додь
телега	уробо	телега	телега
плот	пур , плот	плот	пур
лодка	пыж	пыж	пыж

значение	удмуртский язык	коми-пермяцкий	коми-зырянский
лыжи	куас	лыжжез	лызь
верхом на лошади	вордрен	верзьёмён	верзьёмён

Представленный в таблицах материал свидетельствует о многовековом обособленном пути развития доудмуртов и докоми, что повлекло значительные лексические расхождения в традиционной лексике различных лексико-семантических групп.

5. Влияние лексики пермских языков на контактирующие языки.

Далее предпринято сравнение коми и удмуртского языков по параметру их лексического влияния на окружающие языки, т.е. выявленному количеству заимствований в языках-реципиентах. Данные основаны на опубликованных исследованиях различных ученых. В пермистике гораздо лучше описаны результаты иноязычных влияний на пермские языки, однако речь коми и удмуртов вовсе не была похожа на простую впитывающую губку, она сама повлияла на контактирующие языки, а вместе с языком происходило также культурно-хозяйственное влияние.

Таблица 5. Влияние лексики коми-зырянских диалектов на контактирующие языки.

язык-реципиент	количество	начало	исследователи темы
	заимствований	хронологии контактов	
мансийский	338	X–XI в. н. э.	К. Редди
хантыйский	375	X–XI в. н. э.	Ю. Тойвонен
русский	свыше 400	XI–XII вв. н. э.	Я. Калима, А. К. Матвеев, С. А. Мызников и др.
ненецкий	46	XII в. н. э.	А. И. Туркин
вепсский	8	XI в. н. э.	А. И. Туркин

Таблица 6. Влияние лексики удмуртских диалектов на контактирующие языки.

язык-реципиент	количество	начало	исследователи темы
	заимствований	хронологии контактов	
чувашский	35	VIII в. н. э.	И. В. Тараканов
татарский	32	XIV в. н. э.	И. В. Тараканов
башкирский	32		И. В. Тараканов
марийский	67 (всего пермских) 11 (удмуртских)	??	И. С. Галкин
русский	??	XIII–XIV вв. н. э.	??

Таблицы наглядно показывают, что коми-зырянские диалекты повлияли на окружающие языки во много раз интенсивнее, чем удмуртские диалекты

на контактирующие языки, примерная разница составляет коэффициент 10. Это обстоятельство также можно объяснить былыми межъязыковыми контактами коми с соседними языками на более обширной территории, на более западных территориях (влияние на русские диалекты) и на более восточных территориях от пермского центра (влияние на обско-угорские языки).

6. Топонимические данные.

Многие исследователи-топонимисты (А. К. Матвеев, А. С. Кривошекова-Гантман, А. И. Туркин, Янне Саарикиви и др.) выделяли широкий пласт топонимов коми происхождения в обширных районах, ныне заселенных русскими, в Пермском крае, Архангельской, Кировской, Вологодской областях. Кроме того, есть многие факты зеркальной топонимики, когда есть параллели топонимов в Верхнем Прикамье и Республике Коми, а также и в других российских областях, например, реки *Весляна* (левый приток Камы и левый приток Выми), *Вишера* (правый приток Вычегды и левый приток Камы), *Колва* (правый приток Вишеры и правый приток Ижмы) и т.д. Это прямое свидетельство активных миграций пермян. В одной недавней статье финский топонимист Паули Рахканен на данных пермских, по его мнению, гидронимов вообще предлагает выделять особую группу западных пермян, проживавших далеко к западу от традиционно выделяемой прародины (Rahkanen 2014: 364). Даже не принимая последнюю точку зрения за непреложную истину, пермские (особенно коми) топонимические данные говорят о гораздо более западной локализации древних коми до начала их контактов с прибалтийскими финнами и далее прибывающим русским населением, что в итоге заставило коми изменить затем направление миграции на противоположный (на восток и северо-восток).

Заключение

Прародина пермян первоначально была компактной, однако затем стала расширяться как по внутренним причинам, так и под давлением соседних этнических образований (домарийцев, древних венгров, возможно иных). Предшественники коми изначально локализовались к северу от предшественников удмуртов, на основе этих зон постепенно развились соответствующие диалектные группы. Вероятно, дифференциация двух общепермских протодиалектов началась довольно давно, а само расщепление праязыка происходило постепенно и не привело к

территориальному разделению языков. Наоборот, две диалектные группы и далее протоязыки находились в условиях контакта и взаимодействия.

Однако территория локализации протокоми, предположительно, была изначально больше чем у прото-удмуртов и представляла собой вытянутый с запада на восток овал, что объясняется, вероятно, различными историко-демографическими факторами, например, миграцией и давлением масс протоудмуртов на протокоми население. Накануне распада общепермского праязыка прародина пермян, вероятно, имела вид перевернутой шляпы, в основании которой предположительно проживали предки удмуртов, а по полям шляпы предки коми, которые расширяли территорию проживания в западном и восточном направлениях, что далее привело к интенсивным контактам с обскими уграми на востоке и прибалтийскими финнами на западе. Предложенная модифицированная модель дивергенции прапермян подтверждает и усиливает миграционную схему этногенеза коми-зырян как народа, который постепенно заселил довольно обширные земли. Миграции пермян-предков коми, а затем древних коми, вероятно, не были инспирированы болгарским вторжением, а происходили еще раньше и носили постоянный и постепенный характер. Здесь уместно привести мнение Р. Аустерлица, который предполагал не просто центробежный характер миграции древних коми, но и циклический, т.е. обратный, от окраины к центру, что объясняет сравнительную унификацию пермских диалектов: «Относительная однородность удмуртских и коми диалектов должна также рассматриваться в свете этих центробежных и центростремительных сил» (Austerlitz 1985: 107). На основе данного положения современные факты коми диалектов вполне могут объясняться многочисленными миграциями древних коми, происходившими в течение веков в разных направлениях.

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Приложения



Рис. 1. Точка зрения Юрьё Вихмана и В. И. Лыткина.



Рис. 2. Точка зрения Р. Ш. Насибуллина.



Рис. 3. Точка зрения М. Г. Атаманова.



Рис. 4. Точка зрения С. К. Белых.

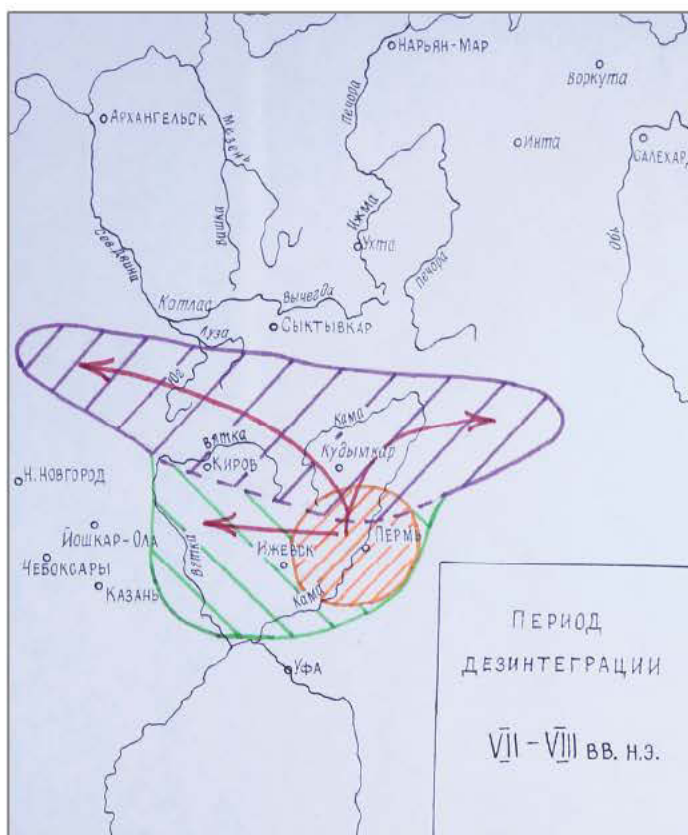


Рис. 5. Предлагаемая точка зрения.