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BJÖRN COLLINDER

SURVEY OF THE URALIC LANGUAGES

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OF THE URALIC LANGUAGES

COMPILED BY

BJÖRN COLLINDER

IN COLLABORATION WITH OTHER

SCHOLARS



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PREFACE

As has been mentioned in the Introduction to my 'Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary', I planned, several years ago, a comparative grammar of the Uralic (Fenno-Ugric and Samoyed) languages. These languages are little known, and most of them have hardly anything to offer to the students of literature or political history. On the other hand, this linguistic family has been thoroughly investigated, and the results achieved by scholars in this field are important to general linguistics.

These considerations have prevailed upon me to compile, as a *prodromus* to the comparative grammar, a descriptive survey of the chief languages of the Uralic family. This is a bold endeavour, notwithstanding the fact that I have had recourse to the assistance of competent specialists. I must apologize in advance for the mistakes I have not been able to avoid.

The Uralic family—subsequently we shall use the signum U for Uralic—comprises the Fenno-Ugric languages (FU) and Samoyed (abbreviation: sam).

The Fenno-Ugric group consists of nine units.

1. The Baltic-Fennic languages, spoken chiefly in Finland, in the Karelian-Finnish Soviet Republic, in the region between lake Ladoga and lake Onega, in the historical province of Ingermanland, in Estonia, and (possibly) on the tip of the Kurland peninsula in Latvia.

Finnish (fi), the chief national language of Finland, has a literature from Bishop Agricola († 1557) downward. The dialects spoken in the Karelian-Finnish Soviet Republic are called Karelian (kr, in the north) and Olonets (ol, in the south). Veps is spoken southeast of the Olonets territory, southwest of lake Onega. Lude (ld), spoken in the region west of lake Onega, is a kind of intermediary between Olonets and Veps.

Vote (vt) once was the vernacular of the inhabitants of Ingermanland; now it is almost extinct.

Estonian (est) has written records from the twenties of the sixteenth century. There are considerable differences between the northern (estN) and the southern dialects (estS). Modern Literary Estonian is founded upon the northern dialects.

Livonian (lv) is dwindling away.

2. Lappish is divided in three branches: Northern, also called Central or Western, Southern (lpS), and Eastern (lpE).

Northern Lappish, taking the term in a wide sense, is spoken in Finnish Lapland (by reindeer-breeding Lapps), in the Norwegian provinces Finnmark and Troms, and in the Swedish province of Norrbotten (and the adjacent districts in Norway), with the exception of the southernmost zone (Arvidsjaur and the southern half of Arjeplog). In this book, the abbreviation lpN means the Finnmark dialect as codified in Nielsen's Lapp Dictionary. The other dialects of Northern Lappish are called lpTornio, lpLule, and lpPite.

lpS is chiefly spoken in southernmost Norrbotten and in the administrative provinces of Västerbotten and Jämtland (and in the adjacent districts in Norway). The signum lpS before a word in broad transcription (spaced bold) means that the word is quoted from the Lexicon Lapponicum by Lindahl and Öhrling.

The sub-dialects of Eastern Lappish are lpInari (spoken by the fishing Lapps of Inari), lpSkolt, and lpKola.

3. Mordvin (md) is spoken in many enclaves to the south of the latitude of Kazan, between the line Murom-Tambov in the west and the Ural mountains in the east. The Mordvin language is split up into two main dialects, and each of them has its own literary standard form; the northern is called Erza (mdE), the southern is called Moksha (mdM).

4. Cheremis (ch, in the vernacular: *Mari*) is spoken in two areas, one situated north and west of Kazan, chiefly between the rivers Vetlyuga and Vyatka, the other chiefly situated to the north of the river Ufa. In this book, chW denotes the dialect of the so-called Hill Cheremis of Kozmodemyansk, living on the right bank of the Volga; all the other dialects (except the dialect of Yaransk) are

included under the heading chE. When two forms of a Cheremis word are quoted without specification, the first form is chW, the second chE. Sometimes the dialect of Malmyž is quoted because of its conservatism in the matter of consonants.

5. Votyak (vty, in the vernacular: *Udmurt*) is chiefly spoken in the area between the rivers Vyatka and (nether) Kama.

6. Ziryene (zr, in the vernacular: *Komi*) is spoken in an immense area, from the neighbourhood of the Votyaks almost all the way north to the Artic Sea; there are Ziryenes even in the Kola peninsula. The southernmost dialect is called Permyak. Ziryene has written records from the time of the missionary Stephen (second part of the fourteenth century).

Votyak and Ziryene are closely related; they are called Permian languages.

7. Vogul (vg, in the vernacular: *Mansi*) is spoken along the western tributaries of the rivers Ob and Irtysh (from the Sosva and its tributary Sigva in the north to the Tavda in the south).

8. Ostyak (os, in the vernacular: *Hanti*) is chiefly spoken along the river Ob and its eastern, northern and southern tributaries. There are three main dialects: osN is spoken from the Arctic Sea (Obdorsk) to Nizyam, osS from Nizyam (inclusive) to the confluence of the Ob and the Irtysh and farther south along nether Irtysh, and osE is spoken along upper Ob (and its tributaries all the way east to the Tomsk district). Phonetically, the easternmost dialects (Vasyugan, Vah, etc.) are the most conservative.

9. Hungarian (hu, in the vernacular: *Magyar*) has a longer history than any of the other Uralic languages. Single proper names and other words have been recorded from the tenth century; the oldest text is the Funeral Sermon (*Halotti Beszéd*, abbreviated: HB) from about 1200.

Vogul, Ostyak, and Hungarian are called Ugric languages: vg and os are called Ob-Ugric.

The Samoyed languages are divided in two groups: samN and samS.

The northern group comprises Yurak, Tavgi, and Yenisei Samoyed.

a. Yurak Samoyed (yr, in the vernacular: *Nenets*) is spoken in most of the coastal region from the Kanin peninsula in the west to the Yenisei in the east, including the Yamal peninsula, and in the southern half of the Novaya Zemlya. In addition to this, the Forest dialect is spoken along the upper course of the river Pyr and its tributaries. Recently, a few Yuraks have settled in the Kola peninsula.

There is consonant gradation ($t \sim d$, etc.) in yr, at least in one or two of the Forest dialects.

It is worth noticing that the Yuraks and the Lapps are neighbours. In the first millennium their relations may have been still closer.

b. Tavgi (tv, in the vernacular: *Nganasan*), the northernmost of all the languages of the Eurasian continent, is spoken in the Taimyr peninsula. It has consonant gradation.

c. Yenisei Samoyd (yn, in the vernacular: *Enets*) is spoken along the lower reaches of the Yenisei. It is represented by the dialects of Hatanga (ynH) and Baiha (ynB).

The southern group of Samoyed languages comprises Selkup and Sayan Samoyed.

d. Selkup (sk, also called Ostyak Samoyed) is spoken along the river Tas south of the Arctic Circle and farther south down to the river Ket (tributary of the Ob). It is split up into many dialects. The dialects of Ket and Nats-Pumpokolsk have consonant gradation.

e. One of the dialects of Sayan Samoyed, namely, Kamassian (km), was moribund at the time of the first world-war; the other—Koibal, Motor (or Mator), Karagas, Taigi—are known only from records previous to the middle of the nineteenth century.

This survey comprises the following languages: Finnish (including the modified Karelian of the Kalevala); Estonian; Lappish (Northern and Southern); Mordvin (Erza); Cheremis (Western); Votyak; Ziryene; Vogul; Ostyak (Northern); Hungarian; Yurak Samoyed; Selkup (Ostyak Samoyed); Kamassian.

For each language I give one text or more, with English translation and meticulous commentary, grammatical, lexical and etymolog-

ical. This kind of presentation is not new.[1] Prokof'ev, the eminent specialist in Samoyed languages, has applied this method to the Selkup language, and apart from the etymological references, I owe almost everything to him as far as the Selkup text is concerned. (Incidentally, I have commented upon a Yukagir text along the same lines in my book 'Jukagirisch und Uralisch', Uppsala, 1940.)

In order to avoid tedious reiterations and cross references, I have referred to FUV for the etyma of such words as are treated there. Those readers who are not interested in etymology, need not consult my etymological dictionary. For their convenience, I shall here repeat, until page XIII, what I have said in FUV about the orthography—or orthographies—which I have adopted here.

Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian words should be written in conformance with the established orthography of the respective languages, with the following exceptions:

In estS, the glottal stop is symbolized by the *spiritus lenis* ['] ; in Hungarian words, the difference between the two unrounded non-high fore-tongue vowels, which is extinct in the Budapest usage and neglected in script, is kept up; the higher (more closed) variant is symbolized by *ë*: *mën-* 'go', but *men-* 'escape'.

Lappish words are written in the orthography adopted by Konrad Nielsen in his Lapp Dictionary, with the following modifications: The letter *o* in the first syllable is pronounced like English *o* in *forty*, in the second syllable it is pronounced like *oo* in English *food*. In this book, the letter *ǫ* is used only in the second syllable. The letter *g* has been substituted for the *g* with a crossrail. *í*, *ó*, and *ú* are 'etymologically long', i.e., they are half-short, half-long, long or extra-long according to prosodic conditions, whereas *i*, *o*, and *u* are etymologically short (in the first syllable), i.e., they are short (or half-short) in most of the dialects. It should be noted that etymologically short *a* is written *â*, whilst the letter *a* without diacritic denotes the etymologically long variant of *a*. I have omitted

[1] I may refer to O. J. Gumaelius, 'Hebräisk läsebok för begynnare', 2nd ed., Uppsala, 1827, where the first ten Psalms have been analysed in about the same way.

the horizontal stroke by which Nielsen symbolizes the full length of a vowel, writing, for instance, *čares*, 'coarse, stiff' (Nielsen *čāres*). It has not been possible to be quite consistent in transcribing Eastern Lappish.

For the other languages the so-called FUF transcription system has been used (see Setälä's article in Finnisch-ugrische forschungen, 1), with some modifications.

Before indicating the value of each of the letters in the different languages—keeping to the essentials—I shall give all the letters in their alphabetical order. When two or three letters in this list are separated only by a comma, their mutual order is relevant only in arranging two (or three) words in which all the other letters are identical.

a, *å*, *å*; *ä*, *æ*; *b*; *c*, *ć*; *č*; *d*, *đ*, *ð*, *δ*; *e*, *ë*, *ε*; *ə*; *f*; *g*, *γ*; *h*; *i*, *ï*; *j*; *k*, *q*; *l*, *ľ*, *ł*; *m*; *n*, *ń*, *ñ*; *ŋ*, *ŋ́*; *o*, *õ*; *ö*, *œ*; *p*; *r*; *s*, *ś*; *š*; *t*, *ť*; *þ*, *ƀ*; *u*; *ü*; *v*, *w*; *z*, *ź*; *ž*; *ʒ*, *ʒ́*; *ǯ*.

Now to the phonetic values of these letters!

å in broad script = *o*; otherwise (in Vogul and in southern Samoyed, for instance), it denotes a labialized variant of *a*.

æ in Lappish, = *ä*; in Vogul, Ostyak, and Yurak, it denotes an intermediary between *a* and *ä*.

b stands for unvoiced labial stop in Estonian; in Lappish it is usually (more or less) unvoiced—*bb* is unvoiced, *b*|*b* entirely or partially voiced in most of the dialects—; in Yurak, *b* is often unvoiced; in Selkup, *b* after a voiced consonant denotes half-voiced stop.

c = *ts* (affricate); in Lappish *cc* is = unvoiced vowel (*h*) + *ts*.

ć = the affricate *tś*, *t̓š* (English *ch* in *cheese*).

č = the affricate *tš*, *ṭš* (apico-alveolar, apico-cacuminal); in Lappish, usually = *tś*. Lappish *čč* = unvoiced vowel + *tś*. In Selkup the affricate is palatalized according to Prokof'ev; Donner seems to have *tś*, *-dź-* < **j*, but *ṭš*, *-ḍž-* < **tš*.

d: in Finnish pronounced as in English (postdental, or slightly apico-alveolar voiced stop); in Estonian, voiceless stop; in Lappish everything that has been said of *b* is valid for *d*, *mutatis mutandis*; in Cheremis, *d* in the position after *n* denotes voiced stop, in other positions it stands for the voiced fricative (FUF *δ*); in the Obdorsk

dialect of Ostyak, *d* denotes the voiced stop, in the other dialects, the voiced fricative; in Yurak, *d* is more or less fricative; in Selkup, *d* after a voiced consonant denotes half-voiced stop.

ð. In Lappish, voiced dental fricative (FUF *δ*); in Yenisei Samoyed, an intermediary between *r* and FUF *δ*. (In Lappish words, we shall preferably use *đ* instead of *ð*.)

e is usually pronounced as in French *été*, or (e.g. in Finnish) a trifle lower (more open); in Hungarian, *e* = *ä* (short), *é* = *e* (long).

ë. In mdE, a back variant of *e* (not implying palatalization of the preceding consonant); for Kamassian, see under *õ*.

ɛ. An open (comparatively low) variant of *e*.

ə usually denotes a slightly rounded, middle-high middle-tongue vowel (unstressed); in Ostyak, there are an anterior and a posterior variant (in the FUF transcription, *ə* and *ə̂* respectively; cf. sub *õ*).

f. In Samoyed sometimes bilabial (FUF *φ*).

g. In Estonian, voiceless stop; in Lappish, in initial position usually voiceless stop, in lpS half-voiced or voiced, between vowels in lpN Polmak, Karasjok, lpE (with the exception of Ter) voiced fricative (= FUF *γ*), Ter voiced stop, in all the other dialects unvoiced or half-voiced stop (as to *gg* and *g'g*, see sub *b*); in Cheremis, *g* in the position after *ŋ* denotes voiced stop, in other positions it stands for a voiced fricative; in Vogul, = Cheremis; in the Obdorsk dialect of Ostyak, voiced stop, in all the other dialects voiced fricative; in Yurak, voiced fricative (as a rule); in Selkup, *g* after a voiced consonant denotes half-voiced stop; in Kamassian, *g* usually stands for a voiced fricative, except after *ŋ*; in the other languages, *g* is pronounced as in English *go, give*.

γ. Voiced palato-velar fricative.

h stands for unvoiced palato-velar fricative (= FUF *χ*) in lpSkolt, lpKola, Mordvin (*h'* in md denotes the unvoiced counterpart of a non-syllabic *i*), Cheremis, Vogul, Ostyak, and Kamassian; in Yurak it denotes an intermediary between *χ* and *h*; in the other languages it is more or less like English *h*; it should be noted that *h* occurs also before a consonant, e.g. in Finnish and in lpInari.

i. Like English *i* in *machine*.

ï. In mdE, a posterior variant of *i* (not implying palatalization

of the preceding consonant); in Selkup, an unrounded high middle-tongue vowel, a kind of intermediary between *i* and *y* (*vide infra*).

j. Non-syllabic *i*; in some idioms (e.g., in tv) it is a fricative.

k. In western Ostyak and (more often than not) in Kamassian, *k* is aspirated. In Lappish it is aspirated when it occurs in initial position; in lpInari it is aspirated in the interior of the word after a voiced sound, in the other Lappish dialects before a consonant. In the other languages it is unaspirated.

q. In Vogul and in Selkup, *k* and *q* are kept apart by Černecov and Prokof'ev respectively, *q* being a decidedly velar stop.

l. Dental (predorso-gingival) *l* with low back-tongue.

ĺ. Palatalized *l*.

l̩. (In Ostyak) apico-cacuminal *l* (= *ḷ*).

n. Dental (predorso-gingival) *n*.

ń. Palatalized *n*.

ñ. Apico-cacuminal *n*.

ŋ. Palato-velar nasal (as in *sing*, *long*).

ŋ́. Palatalized (mouillé) variant of *ŋ*.

o. Middle-high rounded back-tongue vowel.

õ. This letter, belonging to the Estonian alphabet, I have substituted for FUF *ę* in transcribing Veps, Vote, Livonian, Votyak, Ziryene, Vogul, and Yurak, and for FUF *ə̂* in transcribing Mordvin and Cheremis. As to Yurak, I have written *a* instead of the sequence *ɒə̂*, which occurs only in one or two dialects. In Kamassian words I have used *õ* for *ę*, and *ë* for *ə̂*.[1] (In Ostyak words I have written *ə* instead of *ə̂*.)

FUF *ę* stands for a middle-high (or more than middle-high) unrounded back-tongue vowel, whereas *ə̂* stands for a posterior variant of a slightly rounded middle-high middle-tongue vowel. Some people would say that *ə̂* is a 'reduced' or 'imperfectly articulated' variant of *ę*.

ö. Middle-high rounded front vowel (= German *ö*).

œ. An intermediary between *o* and *ö*.

p. Aspirated in Kamassian in initial position (many exceptions).

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[1] In FUV, I have written *õ* for *ę* and *ə̂* without distinction.

In Lappish it is aspirated when it occurs in initial position; in lpInari it is aspirated in the interior of the word after a voiced sound, in other Lapp dialects often before a consonant.

r. Apico-alveolar tremulant.

s. Dental (predorso-gingival) *s*.

ś. Palatalized (mouillé) *s*.

š. Apico-cacuminal (or apico-alveolar) sibilant.

t. Dental (predorso-gingival) *t*, aspirated in the Tremyugan dialect of Ostyak and in initial position (not always) in Kamassian. In Lappish it is aspirated when it occurs in initial position; in lpInari it is aspirated in the interior of the word after a voiced sound, in other dialects often before a consonant.

ť. Palatalized *t*.

þ. In transcribing Ostyak dialects, *þ* has been substituted for FUF ʌ and L, fricatives which are (from the viewpoint of articulation) the unvoiced counterparts of FUF ʎ (= l_u) and *l* respectively. For the dialect of Likrisovskoe, Karjalainen adopted the letter *þ*, which is pronounced like English *th* in *think*.

þ̌. A palatalized variant of the sound(s) symbolized by *þ*.

u. Like German *u*, or French *ou*.

ü. Like German *ü*, or French *u*, or (in yr, tv, and km, and sometimes in the Malmyž dialect of Cheremis) an intermediary between German *u* and *ü*.

v. Labiodental, as in English.

w. In Votyak and Ostyak, and mostly in Lappish, *w* stands for non-syllabic *u* (FUF *u̯*); it is a fricative (FUF *β*) in Cheremis, Vogul, Yurak, Yenisei, and Kamassian. In Selkup, some dialects have *u̯*, other dialects have an intermediary between *u̯* and *β*.

[*x*. Unvoiced palato-velar fricative (= FUF *χ*).]

y. High, unrounded back-tongue vowel (Russian *jery*, FUF *i̯*).

z. The voiced counterpart of *s*.

ź. The voiced counterpart of *ś*.

ž. The voiced counterpart of *š*.

ʒ. The voiced counterpart of *c*.

ʒ́. The voiced counterpart of *ć*.

ǯ. The voiced counterpart of *č*.

Each of the thirteen chapters of this chrestomacy begins with a morphological sketch. The first chapter, though, gives more than that. I have thought it appropriate to treat one of the Uralic languages more thoroughly, so that it may serve as a paradigm, representing the whole family. I have chosen *Finnish* as the most conservative of those Uralic languages which have attained a high level of literary development. The grammar and the texts of the first chapter would enable any studious reader to achieve a good reading ability in Finnish. The fourteen first (synthetic) texts were written by the late K. B. Wiklund; they constitute, together with the references to the grammar, a progressive elementary course. Nos. 15–21 were taken from Lauri Laiho's 'Suomen kansan kaskuja', with one or two slight modifications. No. 30 is from Aarni Penttilä's 'Aapiskukko' (after Zachris Topelius). Otherwise, Literary Standard Finnish is represented by Nos. 22–28. No. 29 is the third canto of Lönnrot's Kalevala. Those who do not wish to learn Finnish should concentrate upon No. 30.

The *Estonian* chapter is essentially the work of Mr. Joh. Aavik, the unrivalled master of Literary Estonian, and the text is his choice.

Lappish texts. lpN: Johan Turi, 'Muittalus samid birra', Stockholm, 1910. (Normalized by Konrad Nielsen: 'Lærebok i lappisk', 1, Oslo, 1926.) lpS: Björn Collinder, 'Lappische Sprachproben aus Härjedalen', Uppsala, 1942.

The lpN text is scanty, but there are other texts in my book 'The Lappish Dialect of Jukkasjärvi', Uppsala and Leipzig, 1949.

Mordvin texts. H. Paasonen, 'Mordwinische Chrestomathie', Helsinki, 1909; 'Mordwinische Volksdichtung, gesammelt von H. Paasonen, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Paavo Ravila', 3, Helsinki, 1941.

Cheremis texts. 1. 'Tscheremissische Märchen aus dem Kreise Jaransk, gesammelt und herausgegeben von Ödön Beke' < 'Tartu, Õpetatud Eesti Selts, Aastaraamat', 1937: 2. 2. Yrjö Wichmann, 'Tscheremissische Texte mit Wörterverzeichnis und grammatischem Abriss', Helsinki, 1923. Id., 'Volksdichtung und Volksbräuche der Tscheremissen', Helsinki, 1931.

Votyak text. Yrjö Wichmann, 'Wotjakische Chrestomathie mit

Glossar', Helsinki, 1901; id., 'zweite, ergänzte Auflage, + Grammatikalischer Abriss von D. R. Fuchs', Helsinki, 1954.

Ziryene texts. 1. 'Syrjänische Volksdichtung, gesammelt und herausgegeben von Yrjö Wichmann', Helsinki, 1916. T. E. Uotila, 'Syrjänische Chrestomathie mit grammatikalischem Abriss und etymologischem Wörterverzeichnis', Helsinki, 1938. 2. Uotila, 'Chrestomathie'; V. I. Lytkin, 'Drevnepermskij jazyk', Moskva, 1952. 3. Uotila, 'Chrestomathie'.

Dr. György Lakó has prepared the commentary to Text No. 1, and he has kindly revised the whole Ziryene chapter.

Vogul text. Bernát Munkácsi, 'Vogul népköltési gyüjtemény', 1, Budapest, 1902.

Fil. Mag. Matti Liimola has kindly prepared the commentary and revised the whole chapter.

Ostyak texts. 1. Wolfgang Steinitz, 'Ostjakische Grammatik und Chrestomathie', Leipzig, 1950. 2. Ib.; Steinitz, 'Ostjakische Volksdichtung und Erzählungen', 1, Tartu, 1939.

Hungarian texts. 2–4. György Lakó, 'Unkarin lukemisto', Helsinki, 1940.

Dr. Lakó and Dr. László Deme have taken the pains of revising the Hungarian chapter.

Yurak text. G. N. Prokof'ev, 'Samoučitel' nenėckogo jazyka', Moskva, 1936.

Selkup text. G. N. Prokof'ev, 'Sel'kupskaja grammatika', Leningrad, 1935.

Kamassian texts. 1. 'Kai Donners Kamassisches Wörterbuch nebst Sprachproben und Hauptzügen der Grammatik bearbeitet und herausgegeben von A. J. Joki', Helsinki, 1944. 2. Ib.; John Lotz, 'Kamassian Verse' < 'Journal of American Folklore', 67, 1954.

Dr. Aulis Joki has kindly revised the Kamassian chapter.

For the sources of the grammatical sketches—Finnish and Estonian excepted—see the Bibliography.

Fil. Mag. Sakari Vapaasalo, Lecturer of Finnish in the University of Uppsala, has read proofs of the Finnish chapter. Fil. Lic. Tryggve Sköld and Dr. Bo Wickman have been busy making fair copies and reading proofs, and so has my wife.

My heartfelt thanks to all those who have lent me a hand in performing this difficult task.

Uppsala, in October 1956

Björn Collinder

ABBREVIATIONS

abess. = abessive.
abl. = ablative.
acc. = accusative.
act. = active.
adess. = adessive.
adu = accusative dual.
all. = allative.
anter. = anterior(es).
apl = accusative plural.
appr(ox). = approximate(ly).
Arab. = Arabic.
art. = article.
asg = accusative singular.
attr. = attributive.
B = Baltic.
Balt. = Baltic.
C = M. A. Castrén.
ch = Cheremis.
char. = characteristic.
Chuv. = Chuvash.
com. = comitative.
cond. = conditional.
conj. = conjugation.
consec. = consecutive.
D = Kai Donner.
d = dual.
def. = definite.
dem. = demonstrative.
deriv. = derivative.
dial. = dialect (form).
dim. = diminutive.
du. = dual.
1du = first person dual.
E = East, eastern.
E, speaking of md, = Erza.
E, in mdE, = Erza.
egress. = egressive.
elat. = elative.
ess. = essive.
est = Estonian.
fi = Finnish.
frequ. = frequentative.
fric. = fricative.
FU = Fenno-Ugric (also a chapter in FUV).
FUF = Finnisch-ugrische forschungen (Helsinki).
fut. = future.
FUV = Collinder, Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary.
G = Germanic.
gen. = genitive.
ger. = gerund(ium).
gsg = genitive singular.
hu = Hungarian.
ib. = ibidem.
id. = idem.
IE = Indo-European (also a chapter in FUV).
ill. = illative.
imper. = imperative.
imperf. = imperfective.
ind. = indicative.
iness. = inessive.
inf. = infinitive.
instr. = instructive.
intr. = intransitive.
ipf = imperfect.
JSFOu = Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne (Helsinki).
K = Kalevala.
km = Kamassian.

kr = Karelian.
L = Lehtisalo.
lab. = labial.
ld = Lude.
Lit = Literary Standard language.
LLPN = The Languages and Literature of the Peoples of the North, 1, ed. Prokof'ev, Leningrad, 1937.
loc. = locative.
lp = Lappish.
lv = Livonian.
M = Moksha.
md = Mordvin.
mod. = modal.
N = North, northern.
nadu = nominative and accusative dual.
napl = nominative and accusative plural.
narr. = narrative.
ndu = nominative dual.
neg. = negative.
nom. = nominative.
non-l. = non-labial.
Norw. = Norwegian.
npl = nominative plural.
nsg = nominative singular.
NyK = Nyelvtudományi Közlemények (Budapest).
obj. = object; objective.
ol = Olonets.
os = Ostyak.
P = Prokof'ev.
p = plural.
p. = person.
part. = partitive.
pass. = passive.
pers. = person.
pf = perfect.
PFU = Primitive Fenno-Ugric.
pl(ur). = plural.
1pl = first person plural.
poster. = posterior(es).
preclus. = preclusive.
pred. = predicative.
process. = processive.
prol. = prolative.
prs = present tense.
prt = preterite.
PScand. = Primitive Scandinavian.
PT = Pyrerka and Tereščenko: see Bibliography.
ptc = participle.
PU = Primitive Uralic.
Px = possessive suffix(es).
R = Russian.
rel. = relative.
S = South, southern.
s = singular.
sam = Samoyed.
Scand. = Scandinavian.
sep. = separative.
sg = singular.
1sg = first person singular.
sk = Selkup (Ostyak-Samoyed).
son. = sonorae.
sur. = surdae.
Swed. = Swedish.
Tat. = Tatar.
termin. = terminative.
trans. = transitive.
transl. = translative.
Turk. = Turkish.
tv = Tavgi Samoyed.
U = Uralic (also a chapter in FUV).
UA = Ural-Altaic (also a chapter in FUV).
vg = Vogul.
vty = Votyak.
W = West, western.
yk = Yukagir (Odul).
yn = Yenisei Samoyed.
ynB = the Baiha dialect of yn.
ynH = the Hatanga dialect of yn.
yr = Yurak Samoyed.
zr = Ziryene.

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FINNISH

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

Letters

Finnish uses 23 (24) letters: *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *s*, (*š*), *t*, *u*, *v*, *y*, *ä*, *ö*.

b, *f*, and *š* are used only in words of foreign origin, also *g*, except in the combination *ng* (see below); e.g. *biologia* 'biology', *filosofia* 'philosophy', *šekki* (usually *shekki*) 'check, cheque'.

b, *d*, *f*, *g*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*, and *v* are pronounced in much the same way as in English. *g* is pronounced as in *go*, not as in *ginger*. *ng* stands for the palato-velar sound in English *sing*, but it is always pronounced *long*, even in unstressed position, as in *kuningas* 'king'. As in English, the same sound is written *n* before *k*, e.g. *penkki* 'bench'. *s* is always voiceless as in *sing*, not voiced as in *wise*.

k, *p*, *t* are pronounced as in French (without aspiration).

r is a strongly trilled tongue-tip tremulant, as in the Scottish dialects of English, or even more so.

š is pronounced like *sh* in English *shoe*, and usually this sound is written *sh*, e.g. *shekki*.

It is not easy to describe the qualities of the Finnish *vowels* to English-speaking readers.

i is pronounced in about the same way as English *i* in *machine*, and *u* as *oo* in *root*. As to vowel quantity (length), see below.

a is pronounced like *a* in *class*, as this word is pronounced in Standard English, not as it is pronounced in America, or approximately like *a* in *balm*.

e is pronounced like the first (syllabic) component of the diphthong in *fate*, as pronounced in Standard English, not so open as

in American English, and *o* is pronounced like the syllabic vowel in *no* in American English.

ä is pronounced like French *ai* in *faire*; this vowel is more narrow than the vowel of English *hat* and more open than the vowel of English *met*.

y is pronounced like French *u* in *nul* or German *ü* in *Mütze*.

ö is pronounced like French *eu* in *feu* or German *ö* in *Hölle*.

Such words as *aika* 'time', *laulu* 'song', and *höyry* 'steam' are disyllabic, not trisyllabic. As a rule, *i*, *u*, and *y* are non-syllabic after another vowel, i. e., they form the second component of a *diphthong*. *ai* is pronounced approximately as English *i* in *like*, and *au* is pronounced approximately as Standard English *ow* in *now*. Non-syllabic *y* is a little difficult to pronounce—do not forget the lip-rounding! *Täytä* 'fill!' should not be pronounced like *täitä* 'lice'.

Such words as *tie* 'way, road', *suo* 'marsh, bog', and *yö* 'night' are monosyllabic, not disyllabic; *siellä* 'there', *huono* 'bad', and *pyörä* 'wheel' are disyllabic, not trisyllabic. *ie*, *uo* and *yö* (occurring only in the first syllable) form diphthongs. The main stress is on the first element of the diphthong; on the other hand, this first element, *i*, *u*, and *y* respectively, is very short.

System of speech sounds

VOWELS

Finnish has the following vowels:

u	*ü*	*i*
o	*ö*	*e*
a	*ä*	

ü (which we shall write *y* in accordance with Finnish orthography) and *ö* differ from *i* and *e* respectively only insofar as they are strongly labialized (like *u* and *o*).

Many speakers of Standard Finnish have two variants (allophones) of *i* and *e* respectively; e.g. *si̯lta* 'bridge' ~ *si̯ltä* 'from that', *ke̯lta* 'yellow colour' ~ *ke̯ltä* 'from whom'. Etymologically, *e̯* corresponds

to Vote and Estonian ę (written õ in est). In the pattern of vowel harmony (see § 36), i̯ and ę̯ function in the same way as back vowels. One may also distinguish between the diphthongs i̯ę̯ and i̯ę (corresponding to est õõ and *ee* respectively).

There are three diphthongs with rising sonority: *uo*, *üö*, and *ie*. They occur only in the first syllable (of non-compound words).

In the position after a (short) vowel, the high vowels *u*, *ü*, and *i* may be regarded as asyllabic (although *i*, after an *u* of the first syllable, often seems to be pronounced syllabic). i̯ occurs after any vowel, u̯ after back vowels, *i* (: i̯), and *e* (: ę̯); ü̯ occurs after front vowels (seldom after *i* or *e*).

There are no diphthongs with a long first component, and no triphthongs in Standard Finnish.

NOTE.—Sequences of up to five or six vocalic sounds occur, e.g. i̯uoi̯a (written: *juoja*) 'drinker'; but non-syllabic *i* is not regarded as a diphthong component unless it occurs before a consonant or at the end of the word. Thus, in the gpl i̯uoi̯ai̯n (written: *juojain*) there are, according to the current nomenclature, two diphthongs: *uo* and ai̯.

CONSONANTS

Standard Finnish has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Labiodentales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales		Glottales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae . . .	(*b*)	*p*			*d*	*t*							(*g*)	*k*		ʾ
Fric. blaesiformes			*v*	(*f*)							*j*					*h*
Fric. sibilantes .						*s*		(*š*)								
Tremulantes . .							*r*									
Cryptofricativae .					*l*											
Nasales	*m*				*n*								*ŋ*			

The sounds that are put in brackets do not occur in genuine Finnish words.

d has been adopted in Standard Finnish through the intermediary of Swedish-speaking educated Finns. In genuine Finnish words it occurs only between vocalic sounds and after *h*. The most conservative dialects have *-ð-* instead.

v is usually bilabial in the neighbourhood of *u* and *ü*.

j is not of frequent occurrence, being a mere variant of non-syllabic *i*, especially at the beginning of a word before front vowels.

ŋ occurs only between vowels and before *k*; it is usually long (or half-long), except before *k* in syllables other than the first.

h is often more or less voiced in intervocalic position and before voiced consonants. Before unvoiced consonants (*k*, *t*) it makes another impression than English *h* because there is no abrupt transition into a following sound.

The glottal stop occurs only at the end of a word *in pausa*; but it is rather faint, and it is lacking in the pronunciation of many native speakers. The Finnish orthography has no sign for it. Wherever it occurs, it has come about by the loss of a final consonant (usually *k*). If a word with glottal stop is followed in a speech phrase by a word beginning with a consonant, then there is no glottal stop, but instead that initial consonant is lengthened. Even such speakers as do not distinguish between *saanko maksaa'* ('may I pay?') and *saanko maksaa* ('can I have liver?'), usually make a difference between *saanko maksaa ŧäällä* and *saanko maksaa ŧäällä*.

The glottal stop occurs:

almost always after a final *e*;

always after a final vowel that is preceded by a consonant in the weak degree (see §§ 5–12);

in the infinitive (see § 132), the 2nd person singular of the imperative (§ 120) and the negative verb base (§ 122), and in some isolated case forms of (defective) nouns, e.g. *taa'* '(to a place) behind'.

QUANTITY

If a letter is written double in a Finnish word, this means that the sound is *long*, whether it is a vowel or a consonant. The long

consonants of the Finnish language are very long. Try to pronounce Finnish *kk*, *tt*, and *ll* (in *kukka* 'flower', *katto* 'roof', *pullo* 'bottle') like *k+k*, *t+t*, and *l+l* in *book-keeper*, *what time*, *still longer*!

In Finnish it is vital to distinguish between short and long sounds. *Mato* means 'worm', but *matto* means 'carpet'; *kuka* 'who', *kukka* 'flower'; *kanat* 'the hens', *kannat* 'you carry' (speaking to one person); *veli* 'brother', *velli* 'gruel'; *kylä* 'village', *kyllä* 'indeed'; *siten* 'so, thus', *sitten* 'then, after that'; *tuli* 'fire', *tuuli* 'wind, breeze', *tulli* 'custom, the customs'; *kiitävät* 'they hurry', *kiittävät* 'they thank'; *muta* '(the) mud', *mutaa* '(some) mud', *mutta* 'but (on the other hand, nevertheless)', *muuta* '(something) else, other', *muutta* 'without any other', *muuttaa* 'to change, alter'.

STRESS

The main *stress* is on the first syllable.

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

§ 1. As in Latin and Russian, there is no definite and no indefinite article; thus, according to the context, *maa* may be rendered by 'country', 'a country', or 'the country'.

§ 2. Finnish has no inflexional gender, and it has the same word for *he* and *she*: *hän*.

SINGULAR

The fundamental cases

NOMINATIVE

§ 3. The nominative singular has no ending and as a rule is identical with the word stem (cf. § 15), e.g. *pää* 'head', *tie* 'way, road', *yö* 'night', *kirja* 'book', *rivi* 'line', *aamu* 'morning', *syksy* 'autumn', *isä* 'father', *päivä* 'day', genitive *pään*, *tien*, *yön*, *kirjan* etc. Cf. §§ 16—31.

GENITIVE

§ 4. The genitive singular has the ending *-n*. Cf. § 3.

NOTE.—The genitive forms of *me* 'we', *te* 'you' (more than one,

or a person whom one is not quite familiar with), and *he* 'they' are *meidän*, *teidän*, *heidän*.

GRADATION

§ 5. The genitive of *kukka* 'flower' is *kukan*. The genitive forms of *hattu* 'hat' and *loppu* 'end' are *hatun*, *lopun*. Here we have an *alternation* between a long (double) and a short (simple) *k*, *t*, *p*. One may speak of two *grades*, one long (*kk*, *tt*, *pp*), the other short (*k*, *t*, *p*). There is a rule for the occurrence of these two grades. The longer grade appears at the beginning of an *open* syllable (a syllable ending in a vowel), the shorter grade appears at the beginning of a *closed* syllable (a syllable ending in a consonant). The grade that appears at the beginning of an open syllable is called the *strong* grade, whereas the grade that appears at the beginning of a closed syllable is called the *weak* grade. The alternation is called *gradation*.

Examples of gradation in nouns: *akka* 'old woman' ~ genitive *akan*; *kirkko* 'church' ~ genitive *kirkon*; *viikko* 'week' ~ genitive *viikon*; *katto* 'roof' ~ gen. *katon*; *kortti* 'card' ~ gen. *kortin*; *niitty* 'meadow' ~ gen. *niityn*; *kuppi* 'cup' ~ gen. *kupin*; *korppu* 'rusk, biscuit' ~ gen. *korpun*; *piippu* 'pipe' ~ gen. *piipun*.

In all the cases of gradation mentioned above the strong grade has a long (double) consonant and the weak grade has a corresponding short (simple) consonant, but in many words the weak grade has a consonant of *other quality* than that of the strong grade, and in some words a consonant is *lacking* in the weak grade.

§ 6. *Tapa* 'manner, way, custom, habit' ~ gen. *tavan*; *haapa* 'aspen (tree)' ~ gen. *haavan*; *kylpy* 'bath' ~ gen. *kylvyn*; *kampa* 'comb' ~ gen. *kamman*.

If the strong grade has a short *p*, not preceded by *m*, the weak grade has *v*; if the strong grade has *mp*, the weak grade has *mm*.

§ 7. *Koti* '(the) home' ~ gen. *kodin*; *äiti* 'mother' ~ gen. *äidin*; *tahto* 'will, volition' ~ gen. *tahdon*; *ilta* 'evening (including the beginning of the night)' ~ gen. *illan*; *tunti* 'hour' ~ gen. *tunnin*; *parta* 'beard' ~ gen. *parran*.

If the strong grade has *t*, preceded by a vocalic sound or *h*, the

weak grade has *d*. If the strong grade has *lt*, *nt*, or *rt*, the weak grade has *ll*, *nn* or *rr* respectively.

§ 8. *Teko* 'act, deed' ~ gen. *teon*; *ruoka* 'food' ~ gen. *ruoan* (usually pronounced as *ruuan* and sometimes even written in this way); *aika* 'time' ~ gen. *ajan*; *jalka* 'foot' ~ gen. *jalan*; *härkä* 'ox' ~ gen. *härän*.

The general rule is that if the strong grade has a short *k*, preceded by a vocalic sound or a voiced consonant (*l* or *r*), *k* has no counterpart in the weak grade. Cf. §§ 9—11 (and § 12).

§ 9. *Puku* 'dress' ~ gen. *puvun*; *kyky* 'ability' ~ gen. *kyvyn*.

Between two *u*:s or two *y*:s the weak grade has *v*, if the strong grade has *k*.

§ 10. *Jälki* 'trace, footstep' ~ genitive *jäljen* (on *-i* for *-e* in the nominative see § 16); *järki* 'understanding, reason' ~ gen. *järjen*.

If the strong grade has *lk*, *rk*, *hk*, followed by *e*, the weak grade as a rule has *lj*, *rj*, and *hj* respectively. (Cf. § 70, note.)

§ 11. *Kenkä* 'shoe' ~ gen. *kengän*; *sänky* 'bedstead' ~ gen. *sängyn*.

If the strong grade has *nk* (pronounced as in English), the weak grade has *ng* (pronounced as in English *sing*).

§ 12. *Nahka* 'skin, leather' ~ gen. *nahan*; *sähkö* 'electricity' ~ gen. *sähkön*.

If the strong grade has *hk*, the weak grade as a rule has *h* or *hk*. (Cf. § 10.)

§ 13. There are several exceptions to the rule that the strong grade appears at the beginning of an *open* syllable and the weak grade at the beginning of a *closed* syllable. Thus we always find the strong grade before a long vowel, even if the syllable is closed, e.g. *vapaa* 'free', gen. *vapaan*. Cf. § 38, note, and § 161.

§ 14. Gradation occurs only in the position after a vocalic sound or a voiced consonant or *h*, not after *s* or *t*: *musta* 'black', gen. *mustan*; *matka* 'journey, trip, voyage', genitive *matkan*. And it occurs only before a syllabic vowel, not before a consonant: *patja* 'mattress', gen. *patjan*; *latva* '(tree-)top', gen. *latvan*; *täplä* 'spot, dot', gen. *täplän*.

THE WORD STEM

§ 15. That which remains when for instance the ending *-n* is separated from *pään* (gsg of *pää*, see §§ 3, 4) is called the *word stem*. But in such a word as *järki*, genitive *järjen*, it is not the sound-sequence *järje-*, but its *counterpart in the strong grade*, *järke-*, we have in view when we speak of the word stem; and this applies to all the words that have gradation.

When we deal with inflection (and derivation), we always start from the word stem.

DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE STEM AND THE NOMINATIVE

§ 16. At the end of a word, *e* (a short *e*) has developed into *i*. This means that almost all nouns, the stems of which are disyllabic and end in *e*, have *-i* in the nominative singular, e.g. *järvi* 'lake', *lapsi* 'child', *lumi* 'snow', *nimi* 'name', *talvi* 'winter', genitive *järven*, *lapsen*, *lumen*, *nimen*, *talven*.

§ 17. The nominative *veli* 'brother' has lost a *j* before *i*: genitive *veljen*.

§ 18. *Minä* 'I', *sinä* 'thou, you' (speaking to a person whom one is familiar with) and *hän* 'he, she' have the stems *minu-*, *sinu-*, and *häne-* respectively. Genitive: *minun*, *sinun*, *hänen*.

§ 19. *Sisar* 'sister', gen. *sisaren*; *tytär* 'daughter', gen. *tyttären*. In the nominative singular a short *e* has disappeared in the *third* syllable.

§ 20. *Sydän* 'heart', gen. *sydämen*. (This word has no gradation.) In a final position, *m* always becomes *n*.

§ 21. *Vesi* 'water', gen. *veden* (stem: *vete-*); *kansi* 'lid, cover, deck', gen. *kannen* (stem: *kante-*); *varsi* 'stalk, stem, shaft', gen. *varren* (stem: *varte-*).

Before *i*, *t* as a rule has developed into *s*, though there are many exceptions to this rule.

§ 22. Before *i*, *ks* may stand for *ht* (or *hd*): *kaksi* 'two', gen. *kahden* (stem: *kahte-*).

§ 23. In polysyllabic stems such as *nuoruute-* 'youth' and *terveyte-* 'health', *-te* has developed into *-si* (cf. §§ 16 and 21) and eventu-

ally *-i* has disappeared (cf. § 19); so we have got the nominative *nuoruus*, *terveys*.

§ 24. *Neljäs* '(the) fourth', gen. *neljännen* (stem: *neljänte-*). *-s* has developed from *-ns* (in Finnish there are no consonant clusters at the end of the word). This applies to all the ordinal numbers from *kolmas* 'third', upwards.

§ 25. In the cardinal number *tuhat* 'thousand', gen. *tuhannen* (stem: *tuhante-*), *-nt* has developed into *-t*.

§ 26. *Neljännes* 'fourth part, quarter', gen. *neljänneksen*. *-e* has disappeared in the nominative, and *-ks* has developed into *-s*. This is the case with many words ending in *-s*, e.g. *laitos* 'institution', gen. *laitoksen*; *vanhus* 'old man or woman', gen. *vanhuksen*.

§ 27. *Lyhyt* 'short', gen. *lyhyen* (stem: *lyhye-*). The stem earlier contained a *-t-*, which has disappeared in the position between two unstressed vowels. It is the same case with *ohut* 'thin', gen. *ohuen*, *olut* 'beer, ale', gen. *oluen*, and some other words ending in *-ut*, *-yt*.

Kevät 'spring, springtime', gen. *kevään*.

On the participles in *-nut*, *-nyt*, see § 142.

§ 28. *Lämmin* 'warm', gen. *lämpimän*; *onneton* 'unhappy' (cf. *onni*, gen. *onnen*, 'happiness'), gen. *onnettoman*; *sietämätön* 'unbearable, unendurable' (cf. *sietä-* 'endure'), gen. *sietämättömän*.

In *lämpimä-* and in all the adjectives ending in *-ttoma-* ~ *-ttömä-*, *a* and *ä* respectively have disappeared in the nominative and *-m* has developed into *-n* (cf. § 20).

Vasen 'left, sinister', gen. *vasemman* (stem: *vasempa-*).

On the comparative and the superlative of adjectives, see §§ 79, 81.

§ 29. *Kaunis* 'beautiful, pretty', gen. *kauniin*; *sairas* 'ill, sick', gen. *sairaan*.

Many disyllabic stems ending in a long vowel have a short vowel (of the same quality) + *-s* in the nominative singular.

§ 30. *Huone* 'room; house', gen. *huoneen*; *sade* 'rain', gen. *sateen*; *savuke* 'cigarette', gen. *savukkeen*.

Most of the words that end in *-e* in the nominative singular, have *-ee-* in the stem. The nominative forms of these words have the weak grade.

§ 31. A large group of words may be said to have a nominative

ending. The genitive of *nainen* 'woman' is *naisen*; the genitive of *toinen* 'another, the other, the second' is *toisen*; and the genitives of *ensimmäinen* 'the first', *ihminen* 'man, human being', *sellainen* 'such', *tavallinen* 'usual' (cf. *tapa* 'custom, habit, usage') and *viimeinen* 'the last' are *ensimmäisen, ihmisen, sellaisen, tavallisen* and *viimeisen* respectively. The stem of these words ends in *-se-*, but the nominative singular ends in *-nen*. The words enumerated above have *-i-* before *-se-* and *-nen*. Most of the words in *-inen* are adjectives. But there are a good many nouns (substantives) ending in *-nen* without a preceding *-i-* (mostly diminutives), e.g. *kukkanen*, gen. *kukkasen*, 'small flower, a little flower' (*kukka* 'flower').

ACCUSATIVE

§ 32. *Mikko saa kirjan.* Mike gets a book.

The accusative singular is identical with the genitive singular.

EXCEPTIONS: The accusatives of *minä* 'I', *sinä* 'thou, you' (cf. § 18), *hän* 'he, she', *me* 'we', *te* 'you' and *he* 'they' (cf. § 4), are *minut, sinut, hänet, meidät, teidät* and *heidät* respectively; the accusative of *ken* 'who' is *kenen* or *kenet*.

Adverbial cases

§ 33. Nine of the adverbial cases are called *local* cases; all of them can denote a position or a movement, and then their endings may be rendered by prepositions such as 'in, at, on, from, to', etc. The local cases are divided into three groups: *interior, exterior* and *general* local cases. The so-called general local cases mostly have non-local functions.

The non-local adverbial cases may be called *general* adverbial cases.

Interior local cases

INESSIVE

§ 34. *Minä asun Lontoossa.* I live in London. *Me elämme vapaassa maassa.* We live in a free country. *Isä on metsässä.* Father is in the forest.

The inessive (Latin *in* 'in' and *esse* 'to be') has the ending *-ssa* or *-ssä*, which may usually be rendered by the preposition 'in'.

NOTE.—*Siinä maassa* 'in that country'. The inessive of *se* 'that', ('this' = 'that spoken of'; sometimes 'he, she') is *siinä*. *Siinä* also means 'there'.

ELATIVE

§ 35. *Mikko tulee koulusta.* Mike is coming from school. *Isä tulee metsästä.* Father is coming from the forest.

The elative (Latin *e* 'out of, from', and *latus* 'brought') has the ending *-sta* or *-stä*, which may mostly be rendered by 'out of' or 'from'.

NOTE.—*Siitä maasta* 'from that country'. The elative of *se* (see § 34) is *siitä*.

VOWEL HARMONY

§ 36. The occurrence of *-ssa*, *-sta* and *-ssä*, *-stä* respectively depends on the quality of the vowels of the word stem.

If the stem has a *back* vowel (*a*, *o*, or *u*), the ending cannot have the *front* vowels *ä*, *ö*, *y*. If the stem has one of the front vowels *ä*, *ö*, *y*, then the ending cannot have the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u*. The front vowels *e* and *i* require a front vowel (*ä*, *ö*, *y*) in the ending only when they appear in the first and the second syllable alike, e.g. *nimessä* 'in the name', *verestä* 'from the blood'. If one of the vowels of a disyllabic stem is a back vowel, and the other is *e* or *i*, then the ending has *a* and not *ä*, e.g. *lumessa* 'in the snow', *kirjassa* 'in the book'.

This phenomenon is called vowel harmony.

ILLATIVE

§ 37. *Isä menee metsään.* Father goes to the forest. *Äiti menee kirkkoon.* Mother goes to church. *Mikko juoksee kouluun.* Mike runs to school. *Me matkustamme Suomeen.* We shall go (make a trip) to Finland. (*Suomi*, genitive *Suomen*, Finland.)

The illative (Latin *in* 'into' and *latus* 'brought') may mostly be rendered with the aid of the preposition 'to' (or 'into'). As far as *disyllabic* and *polysyllabic* stems ending in a *short* vowel are con-

cerned, one may say that the illative is formed by lengthening the final vowel of the stem and adding *-n*.

§ 38. *Viina menee päähän.* The brandy goes to the (one's) head. *Jos vihollinen hyökkää maahan.* If the enemy should invade (literally: 'rush at, into') the country. *Pystytkö tähän työhön?* Are you qualified for this job?

If we compare the stems *maa-*, *pää-*, *työ-* and *tä-* with the illatives *maahan*, *päähän*, *työhön* and *tähän*, we will find that the case ending consists of *-h-* + a short vowel + *-n*, and that the vowel has the same quality as the vocalic sound that immediately precedes *-h-*. There is one exception: *se* (see § 34) has the illative *siihen*. (*Siihen* means also 'thither'.)

NOTE.—In poetry we meet such forms as *metsähän*, *Suomehen* for *metsään*, *Suomeen*, and these are the older forms, preserved in some dialects. (In normal Finnish, *h* has disappeared between non-stressed vowels.)

The fact that, for instance, *kirkkoon* is developed from *kirkkohon* explains why *kirkkoon* has the strong grade: in *kirkkohon* the second syllable is open. On the whole, long vowels that appear in non-stressed syllables in Finnish result from the contraction of two syllables, and that is why they always imply the strong grade, even if the syllable is closed.

§ 39. Disyllabic stems ending in a *long* vowel have the illative ending *-seen*. *Isä menee Lontooseen.* Father goes to London. *Me kuulumme vapaaseen kansaan.* We belong to a free nation.

§ 40. Inessive, elative and illative are called interior local cases because in their most proper and specific use they denote a position in, or a movement from or to, the interior of something. Cf. § 173.

Exterior local cases

ADESSIVE

§ 41. *Minä seison lattialla.* I am standing on the floor. *Isä on jo asemalla.* Father is at the station already. *Ruotsin rajalla* at (on) the Swedish frontier.

The adessive (Latin *ad* 'at' and *esse* 'to be') has the ending *-lla*, *-llä*, which may usually be rendered by 'on' or 'at'.

ABLATIVE

§ 42. *Tuletko asemalta?* Do you come (= Have you come) from the station? *Me tulemme järveltä.* We are coming from the lake (: having been on the lake; *järvestä* means 'having been in the lake').

The ablative (Latin *ab* 'from' and *latus* 'brought') has the ending *-lta, -ltä*, which is usually rendered by 'from'.

ALLATIVE

§ 43. *Minä menen nyt asemalle.* Now I am going to the station. *Isä matkustaa pian rajalle.* Father will soon go (make a trip) to the frontier.

The allative (Latin *ad* 'to' and *latus* 'brought') has the ending *-lle*, which usually may be rendered by 'to'.

§ 44. Adessive, ablative and allative in their most proper and specific use denote a position or a movement relating to the surface or the next environment of something; and therefore they are called external local cases.

Local cases denoting time or state

§ 45. Interior and exterior local cases are also used to denote a space of time or a point of time: *Pääseekö laiva päivässä Helsingistä Tukholmaan?* Can the ship go from Helsinki (Helsingfors) to Stockholm in a day? *Talvella järvet ovat jäässä.* In the winter the lakes are frozen ('in ice').

§ 46. Words that signify a state or condition are also used in interior and exterior local cases. *Talo on surkeassa tilassa.* The house is in a deplorable state. *Eversti on hyvällä tuulella.* The colonel is in good spirits. (*Tuuli* 'wind; humour, frame of mind'.)

The adessive ending may be rendered by 'with': see § 63.

Local cases in place-names

§ 47. Some place-names are put in exterior local cases, others (and these are in the majority) in interior cases. *Washingtonissa*, in Washington, *Oulussa*, at Oulu (Uleåborg), *Saksassa*, in Germany, *Yhdysvalloissa*, in the United States, *Suomessa*, in Finland; *Rau-*

malla, at Rauma, *Tampereella*, at Tampere, *Pohjanmaalla*, in Pohjanmaa (Österbotten, Ostrobothnia), *Venäjällä*, in Russia.

Case forms as equivalents of English prepositions

§ 48. The endings *-ssa* and *-lla* obviously are not sufficient to indicate all kinds of positions in space. As equivalents to English prepositions such as 'beside', 'above', etc., the Finnish language as a rule has local cases of nouns. Some of these nouns are *defective*, i.e., they are used only in a few cases (and chiefly in local cases). *Oulun ja Tornion välillä* means 'between Oulu and Tornio', but a direct translation would be 'in the inter-space of Oulu and Tornio'. *Pankin vieressä* means 'beside the bank', but literally it is 'at the edge of the bank'. 'Near Turku (Åbo)' may be rendered by *Turun lähellä*, literally 'in the vicinity of T.'; but the nominative *lähi* 'vicinity, neighbourhood' is used only as the first part of compounds, for instance *lähikylä* 'neighbouring village'. From the point of view of Finnish grammar, *Oulun*, *pankin*, *Turun* are qualifiers of *välillä* etc.; but as such words as *välillä*, *vieressä*, *lähellä* are rendered by prepositions in English and other Indo-European languages, they are usually accounted for as lexically independent words (not as what they are, namely case forms of words) and called *postpositions*. In so far as they are put *before* their qualifiers, as for instance *jälkeen* (the illative of *jälki* 'trace, footprint') in the expression *jälkeen puolenpäivän* 'p.m.', they are called prepositions.

General local cases

ESSIVE

§ 49. *Tänä päivänä on sunnuntai.* Today it is Sunday. (*Tä-* 'this', *päivä* 'day'). *Huomenna on siis maanantai.* Tomorrow, then, it is Monday. (*Huomen* 'morning; the day tomorrow', Lat. 'dies crastinus'.) *Torstaina tulee isä tänne.* On Thursday father comes here.

The ending *-na, -nä* is often used to denote a fixed point of time. (Cf. *tänä päivänä* with *päivällä* 'by day, at daytime'.)

In order to denote a position in *space* this ending is added to

some defective word stems that designate some place or part of space in a more or less generic way, e.g. *kaukana* '(being) far away'; *oven takana* 'behind the door' (cf. *takaovi* 'back door').

Kotona 'at home' contains the stem *koto* '(the) home' (instead of which *koti* is used in Standard Finnish).

This case is called essive. It is generally used to denote a state or quality (especially of a periodic or temporary nature). *Kuka on nyt Ranskan presidenttinä?* Who is president of France now? *Isä käy suorana, vaikka hän on kovin vanha.* Father walks straight (straight-backed, erect), although he is very old.

§ 50. *Tänä vuonna* '(in) this year'. Before the essive ending, the stem *vuote-* (nominative *vuosi*, see §§ 16, 21) 'year' has dropped its *e*, and the *t* of the shortened stem *vuot-* has been assimilated to the *n* of the ending. The essive *vuotena* occurs in some expressions.

Toissa vuonna '(in) the year before the last' (but *toisena vuonna* 'during the second year'); *toissapäivänä* '(on) the day before yesterday' (but *toisena päivänä* 'on the second day, the next day'). In *toissa* the *n* of the essive ending has been assimilated to the *s* of the shortened stem *tois-*. (Cf. § 31.)

PARTITIVE

§ 51. In the expression *läheltä ja kaukaa* 'from far and near' (or rather: 'from near and far'), *läheltä* is the ablative of the stem *lähe-* (see § 48) and is the 'from'-case that corresponds to the positional case *lähellä* 'near, in the neighbourhood'. *Kaukaa*, with the ending *-a*, is the 'from'-case that corresponds to the positional case *kaukana* '(being) far away'.

Oven takaa kuuluu lapsen ääni. The voice of a child is heard (from) behind the door. *Tulen kotoa.* I am coming from home.

The 'from'-case that corresponds to the essive has the ending *-a*, *-ä* or *-ta*, *-tä*. In order to denote the starting point of a movement in space it is added only to some defective word stems, just as the essive ending. It is generally used to denote an indefinite quantity, or a totality (mostly indefinite), of which something else constitutes a *part*. That is why this case is called partitive. *Kilo voita* (= *voikilo*) 'a kilogram (2 pounds 3 ounces) of butter'. *Te saatte*

paljon rahaa, mutta vähän onnea. You will get much money, but little happiness.

§ 52. The *direct object* of an affirmative clause is often put in the partitive, especially when the verb action is thought of as uncompleted or affects only an indefinite part of the object. *Lapsi syö juustoa.* The baby eats (or: is eating) cheese. *Äiti lakaisee lattiaa.* Mother sweeps (regularly, usually, or: is sweeping) the floor. (*Huomenna äiti lakaisee lattian.* Tomorrow mother will sweep the floor.)

§ 53. The direct object of a *negative* clause is always put in the partitive. Cf. §§ 122, 123.

§ 54. Before the partitive ending, which originally was always *-ta* and *-tä*, a short *e* has disappeared (in a good many words). Thus the partitive of *saari* 'island' (stem: *saare-*) is *saarta.* 'Two big islands' is *kaksi suurta saarta.* (Cf. § 86. *Suuri*, stem *suure-*, 'big'). The partitives of *pieni* 'small', *puoli* 'half, side', *vuori* 'mountain', *vesi* 'water', *varsi* 'stem, shaft' (stems: *piene-*, *puole-*, *vuore-*, *vete-*, *varte-*) are *pientä*, *puolta*, *vuorta*, *vettä* and *vartta* respectively. This applies to all the words ending in *-se-* (nominative *-nen*, see § 31), e.g. *kolme tavallista ihmistä* 'three ordinary human beings'.

The final *e* of polysyllabic stems has always disappeared before the ending of the partitive; thus, for instance, the partitive of *terveys* 'health' (stem: *terveyte-*, see § 23) is *terveyttä.* The partitive of *kevät* 'spring, springtime' is *kevättä*, and the partitive of *lyhyt* 'short' is *lyhyttä.*

§ 55. Before the *t* of the partitive ending, about the same consonant changes have taken place as at the end of the word (see §§ 19, 20, 26). The partitives of *niemi* 'cape, tongue of land' (*nieme-*) and *sydän* 'heart' (*sydäme-*) are *nientä* and *sydäntä* respectively. The partitives of *neljäs* '(the) fourth' (*neljänte-*, see § 24), *tuhat* 'thousand' (*tuhante-*, see § 25), and *neljännes* 'fourth part, quarter' (*neljännekse-*, see § 26) are *neljättä*, *tuhatta* and *neljännestä* respectively.

§ 56. The partitives of *yksi* 'one' (*yhte-*) and *kaksi* 'two' (*kahte-*) are *yhtä* and *kahta* respectively. (In the Finnish language, a long consonant never occurs immediately after a voiceless consonant.) The partitive of *lapsi* 'child' (*lapse-*) is *lasta.*

§ 57. Those polysyllabic stems that have lost *a* or *ä* in the nominative (see § 28), as a rule have lost it before the partitive ending too. The partitives of *lämmin* 'warm' (*lämpimä-*), *onneton* 'unhappy' (*onnettoma-*), *sietämätön* 'unbearable' (*sietämättömä-*), *vasen* 'left, sinister' (*vasempa-*) are *lämmintä, onnetonta, sietämätöntä* and *vasenta* (or *vasempaa*) respectively.

§ 58. *Kaunis* 'beautiful, pretty' (stem: *kaunii-*: see § 29) has the partitive *kaunista*.

§ 59. The partitives of *huone* 'room, house', *sade* 'rain', *savuke* 'cigarette' (*huonee-* etc.: see § 30) are *huonetta, sadetta* and *savuketta* respectively.

TRANSLATIVE

§ 60. *Minä menen Turkuun neljäksi päiväksi.* I shall go to Turku for four days. *Kirja valmistuu jouluksi.* The book will be finished by Christmas. *Sinä saat tämän kellon lainaksi.* You may have (get) this watch on loan. *Minä toivon että sinä pääset tohtoriksi ennenkuin isä tulee liian vanhaksi.* I hope you will (manage to) become a doctor before father grows too old. *Sinä olet sopiva lääkäriksi.* You are well adapted (fit) for being (becoming) a physician.

The translative (Latin *translatus* 'transferred'), which has the ending *-ksi*, usually denotes that somebody or something is transformed into that which is expressed by the word stem, or indicates the purpose of an action or a point of time or a space of time aimed at. The translative is not frequent in expressions of place.

§ 61. Essive, partitive and translative are called general local cases, although they are usually non-local, strictly speaking.

General adverbial cases

ABESSIVE

§ 62. *Maksutta* 'free of charge, gratis' (*maksu* 'payment'). *Epäilemättä* 'indubitably, no doubt' (*epäile-* 'to doubt'). *Sataa taukoamatta.* It rains unceasingly. (*Taukoa-* 'make a pause'.)

The abessive (Latin *abesse* 'to be absent') has the ending *-tta* ~ *-ttä*, which may be rendered by 'without'. Verb derivatives in

-ma ~ *-mä* (see §§ 151—157) appear very frequently in the abessive (*-matta* ~ *-mättä* may usually be rendered by 'without'); otherwise the preposition 'without' is more often than not rendered in Finnish by *ilman* (combined with the partitive, sometimes with the abessive), e.g. *ilman rahaa* (or *ilman rahatta*) 'without money', *ilman kermaa* 'without cream'.

INSTRUCTIVE

§ 63. 'I saw it with my own eyes' is rendered *Näin sen omilla silmilläni* (on *-ni*, see § 94) or *Näin sen omin silmin*. The adessive ending *-lla* ~ *-llä* often denotes a means, instrument or implement or the way in which something is done. Besides that, the ending *-in* is often used in the same functions. This case is called instructive (Latin *instructus* 'provided, furnished'); it has no plural form distinct from the singular. *Hän kävelee paljain päin*. He walks bareheaded, with bare head. (*Paljas, paljaa-* 'bare', *pää* 'head'; to the short *ä* of the instructive, see § 72.) *Kaikin voimin* 'with all one's strength, with might and main'.

§ 64. The instructive of comparatives and superlatives (see §§ 79, 81) is used to denote the way in which something is done, e.g. *Hän puhuu ranskaa huonommin kuin saksaa, mutta englantia kaikkein huonoimmin*. He speaks French worse than (he speaks) German, but English (he speaks) worst of all (the languages). In the positive grade the manner or way is denoted by the ending *-sti*, e.g. *huonosti* '(in a) bad (way)', or exceptionally by *-in*, e.g. *hyvin* 'well' (but *hyvästi* 'good-bye, adieu, farewell', sometimes 'well').

COMITATIVE

§ 65. *Talonpoika tulee vaimoineen papin luo*. The farmer (etymologically: 'the son of the farm') comes with his wife to the priest. *Tässä on lyhyt oppikirja pienine sanastoineen*. Here is a short text-book with a little word-list.

'With (together with, accompained by)' is often rendered by the comitative (Latin *comitari* 'to accompany'). In the comitative, which has the case ending *-ine*, there is no distinction between

singular and plural, and to the comitative of *substantives* an enclitic possessive pronoun (*-ni*, *-si*, etc., see § 94) is always added, even when the thing in question is not thought of as belonging to anybody.

PLURAL

§ 66. The nominative plural has the ending *-t*, e.g. *maat* 'the countries, the lands', *kukat* 'the flowers' (singular *kukka*).

§ 67. The accusative plural is identical with the nominative plural.

§ 68. In the instructive and the comitative there is no distinction between singular and plural. (Cf. §§ 63, 65.)

§ 69. The plural local cases and the abessive plural are formed with the aid of a *plural characteristic -i-* (between vowels: *-j-*), to which a case ending is added. The genitive plural may or may not be formed in the same way (see §§ 75—77).

To the singular forms *talossa*, *talosta*, *talolla*, *talolta*, *talolle*, *talona*, *taloa*, *taloksi*, *talotta* of *talo* 'house' correspond the plural forms *taloissa*, *taloista*, *taloilla*, *taloilta*, *taloille*, *taloina*, *taloja*, *taloiksi*, *taloitta*.

In all these cases the case ending is the same in the plural as in the singular; the notion 'more than one' is symbolized by the plural characteristic, which forms a diphthong together with a preceding vowel.

§ 70. Before the plural characteristic the short final vowel of the word stem has often disappeared or changed in accordance with certain phonologic laws. A short *e* has disappeared: the plural elatives of *järvi* 'lake' (stem: *järve-*) and *sisar* 'sister' (stem: *sisare-*: § 19) are *järvistä* and *sisarista* respectively. A short *ä* has disappeared in the second syllable: the elative of *metsä* 'forest' is *metsistä*. In the *third* syllable *ä* has either disappeared or developed into *ö*: the plural elatives of *tehtävä* 'task, mission', *tärkeä* 'important', *pähkinä* '(hazel)nut' are *tehtävistä*, *tärkeistä* (trisyllabic in Standard Finnish, but tetrasyllabic in the Kalevala), *pähkinöistä*. In disyllabic stems *a* has disappeared if the first syllable contains a syllabic *o* or *u* or the diphthong *uo*, otherwise it has changed into *o*; in polysyllabic stems *a* has disappeared or changed into *o* (no precise rule can be given); e.g. *munista*, *kaloista*, *huviloista*, *sata-*

mista, elat. pl. of *muna* 'egg', *kala* 'fish', *huvila* 'villa' and *satama* 'harbour' respectively.

NOTE.—In plural forms of *e*-stems, *lj* and *rj* correspond to the *lk* and *rk* respectively of the strong grade, e.g. *jäljiltä*, ablative plural of *jälki* 'trace, footprint'. (Cf. § 10.)

§ 71. Stems ending in *i* have *e* instead of *i* before the plural characteristic and the comitative ending; e.g. *toreista*, elative plural of *tori* (genitive singular *torin*) 'market-place, square'.

§ 72. There is never any *long vowel* or any *diphthong* before the plural characteristic or the ending of the instructive or the comitative: *maista*, *puista*, *teistä*, *töistä* are the plural elatives of *maa* 'country, land', *puu* 'tree, wood', *tie* 'way, road' (*teistä* may also be the elative of the pronoun *te* 'you', which has the stem *tei-* in all the inflected forms, just as *meistä*, *heistä* are the elatives of *me* 'we' and *he* 'they' respectively), *työ* 'work, job'; *rikkaista* (trisyllabic!) and *huoneista* (trisyllabic) are the plural elatives of *rikas* (*rikkaa-*) 'rich' and *huone* (*huonee-*) 'room, house' respectively.

§ 73. Stems ending in *-ute-*, *-yte-*, *-uute-*, *-yyte-* (nominative singular *-us*, *-ys*, *-uus*, *-yys*: § 23) have *-ks-* before the plural characteristic, e.g. *tyhmyyksistä*, elative plural of *tyhmyys* (genitive singular *tyhmyyden*) 'stupidity, folly'.

§ 74. Examples of partitive plural (the case ending is *-ta* ~ *-tä* for monosyllabic stems and *-a* ~ *-ä* for disyllabic stems; for polysyllabic stems no precise rules can be given): *järviä*, *metsiä*, *sisaria*, *tehtäviä*, *taloja*, *kaloja*, *toreja*; *tärkeitä*, *pähkinöitä*, *huviloita*, *maita*, *puita*, *teitä*, *töitä*.

§ 75. The genitive plural usually ends in *-en*, *-den* or *-tten*, added to the plural characteristic; e.g. *järvien*, *metsien*, *munien*, *kalojen*, *satamien*, *talojen*, *maiden*, *puiden*, *teiden*, *töiden*, *huviloiden* (sometimes: *maitten*, *puitten*, *teitten*, *töitten*, *huviloitten*).

§ 76. The genitive plural of *i*-stems ends in *-ien* or *-eiden* (*-eitten*), e.g. *torien*, *partureiden* (nominative singular *tori* 'market-place, square', *parturi* 'barber').

§ 77. *Poika* 'boy, son', *köyhä* 'poor', *suuri* (stem *suure-*, shortened stem *suur-*) 'big, great', *ihminen* (*ihmise-*, *ihmis-*) 'man, human being', *mies* (*miehe-*, *mies-*) 'man, male person', *lapsi* (*lapse-*, *las-*)

'child' have the genitive plurals *poikain* or *poikien*, *köyhäin* or *köyhien*, *suurten*, *ihmisten*, *miesten*, *lasten* (or *lapsien*). In many instances the genitive plural has (or may have) the ending *-in*, added immediately to the word stem (without the plural characteristic), or the ending *-ten*, added to a *shortened stem* (ending in a consonant; cf. § 54).

§ 78. *Taloihin* 'into the houses', *töihin* 'to the works, to the jobs', *metsiin* 'to the forests'. *Meidän kansa kuuluu vapaisiin kansoihin.* Our people (nation) belongs to the free peoples.

Those words that have the ending *-seen* in the illative singular, usually have the ending *-siin* in the illative plural. All the others have the ending *-hin* or *-in* in the illative plural. These endings are added to the plural characteristic.

THE COMPARISON OF THE ADJECTIVES

§ 79. *Isompi* 'bigger', nominative plural *isommat* (*iso* 'big').

The *comparative* is formed by the derivative ending *-mpa-* ~ *-mpä-* (in the weak grade *-mma-* ~ *-mmä-*), added to the word stem. In the nominative singular the comparative ends in *-mpi* (instead of *-mpa* ~ *-mpä*). *a* ~ *ä* has disappeared before the plural characteristic *i*: partitive plural *isompia.*

Other examples: *korkeampi* 'higher', *nuorempi* 'younger', *kauniimpi* 'more beautiful', *lyhyempi* 'shorter', from *korkea* 'high', *nuori* (*nuore-*) 'young', *kaunis* (*kaunii-*) 'beautiful', *lyhyt* (*lyhye-*) 'short'.

§ 80. *Tummempi* 'darker', from *tumma* 'dark', *köyhempi* 'poorer', from *köyhä.*

In disyllabic stems a short *a*, *ä* has changed into *e* before the derivative ending of the comparative.

§ 81. *Isoin* (disyllabic!) 'biggest', partitive *isointa* (or *isoimpaa*). nominative plural *isoimmat*, partitive plural *isoimpia.*

The superlative is formed by the derivative ending *-impa-* ~ *-impä-* (in the weak grade *-imma-* ~ *-immä-*), added to the word stem. In the nominative singular it ends in *-in*, in the partitive singular usually in *-inta*, *-intä*. Cf. §§ 28, 55.

§ 82. *Tummin* 'darkest', *korkein* (disyllabic!) 'highest', *köyhin*

'poorest', *nuorin* 'youngest' (from *tumma, korkea, köyhä, nuori*, stem *nuore-*).

Before the *-i-* of the superlative not only *e* and *ä*, but also *a*, has disappeared.

§ 83. *Rikkain* (disyllabic!) 'richest', from *rikas* (*rikkaa-*) 'rich'. Before *i*, a long vowel has been shortened. Cf. § 72.

§ 84. *Kaunein* (disyllabic!) 'the most beautiful', from *kaunis* (*kaunii-*) 'beautiful'. Before the superlative ending, *-e-* appears instead of *-ii-*. Thus: *kauneimmat* 'the most beautiful (ones)', but *kauniimmat* '(the) more beautiful (ones)'.

NUMERALS

§ 85. The cardinal numbers 1–6 are: *yksi* 1 (*yhte-*, partitive *yhtä*), *kaksi* 2 (*kahte-*, partitive *kahta*), *kolme* 3 (*kolme-*), *neljä* 4, *viisi* 5 (*viite-*, partitive *viittä*), *kuusi* 6 (*kuute-*, partitive *kuutta*). Cf. §§ 16, 21, 22.

§ 86. After a cardinal number above one in the nominative or the accusative the designation of the things counted is put in the *partitive singular*; e.g. *kaksi taloa* 'two houses', *neljä kirjaa* 'four books'. Cf. however § 88, note.

§ 87. The cardinal numbers from two upwards do not distinguish between the subject and the direct object of the verb action, but have a common form for both. This common case form is the *accusative* as far as the following numerals are concerned: *seitsemän* 7, *kahdeksan* 8, *yhdeksän* 9, *kymmenen* 10. The word stems are *seitsemä-*, *kahdeksa-* etc., and the inessives for instance are *seitsemässä*, *kahdeksassa* etc. The other simple cardinal numbers have the nominative instead of the accusative. *Kahdeksan kiloa maksaa neljä dollaria*. Eight kilos cost four dollars.

§ 88. If the syntactic context requires another case than the nominative or the accusative, then both the cardinal number and the designation of the things counted are put in the singular in the case required by the context. *Me valmistamme tämän puvun neljässä päivässä*. We make this dress in four days. *Kuuden kilometrin matka* 'a distance of six kilometers (a mile)'.

NOTE.—If the designation of the things counted is a *plurale tantum*, i.e. a word used only with plural endings (except when it is the first part of a compound), then the numeral appears in the same plural case as the *plurale tantum*, e.g. *kaksissa häissä* 'at two weddings' (nominative *kahdet häät*, but *häämatka* 'wedding-trip').

The same construction is used in counting pairs of things, e.g.: *Minulla on kahdet saappaat.* I have two pairs of boots. (*Saapas, saappaa-* 'boot'.)

This rule does not apply to designations of groups of human individuals, e.g. *veljekset* (stem *veljekse-*, nom. sing.—used only as first part of compounds—*veljes-*) 'brothers (mutually)'. When such a *plurale tantum* is preceded by a cardinal number, the numeral denotes the number of *individuals*, and the construction conforms to § 86 and the main rule of § 88; e.g. *Seitsemän veljestä* Seven brothers (the title of a famous novel by Aleksis Kivi); *noille seitsemälle veljekselle* 'to those seven brothers'. (Cf. § 96.)

§ 89. The cardinal numbers 11—19 are *yksitoista* 11, *kaksitoista* 12, *kolmetoista* 13, etc. *Yksitoista* properly means 'one of the second' (ten; cf. § 188). In the case inflexion *-toista* remains unaltered: *yhdessätoista päivässä* 'in eleven days'.

§ 90. The cardinal numbers 20, 30 etc. to 90 inclusive are *kaksikymmentä, kolmekymmentä* etc. The inflexion is in accordance with what has been said in § 88; e.g. *kahdeksassakymmenessä päivässä* 'in 80 days'.

'In 81 days' is *kahdeksassakymmenessäyhdessä päivässä.*

NOTE.—Sometimes *yksikolmatta, kaksikolmatta* etc. are used instead of *kaksikymmentäyksi* 21, *kaksikymmentäkaksi* 22, etc. Cf. § 55.

§ 91. 100 is *sata* and 1000 is *tuhat* (cf. § 25); 0 is *nolla.*

§ 92. The first three ordinal numbers are *ensimmäinen* 'the first', *toinen* 'the second', *kolmas* 'the third' (cf. §§ 24, 31). From the non-compound cardinal numbers from 4 upwards the corresponding ordinal numbers are formed by adding the derivative ending *-nte-* (nominative singular *-s*) to the word stem. 11th is *yhdestoista* (genitive *yhdennentoista*), 12th is *kahdestoista*, 13th is *kolmastoista.* 20th is *kahdeskymmenes*, 21st is *kahdeskymmenesensimmäinen* (seldom *yhdeskolmatta*), 22nd is *kahdeskymmenestoinen* (seldom *kahdeskol-*

matta), 101st is *sataensimmäinen* or *sadasensimmäinen*, 1001st is *tuhatensimmäinen*.

On fractions such as *kolmannes*, genitive *kolmanneksen*, see § 26.

PRONOUNS

§ 93. The personal pronouns are *minä* 'I', *sinä* 'thou', 'you' (speaking to one person, cf. § 18), *hän* 'he, she', *me* 'we', *te* 'you', *he* 'they'. On their inflexion, see §§ 18, 32, 72.

§ 94. 'My son' is (*minun*) *poikani*, 'thy (your) son' is (*sinun*) *poikasi*, 'his (her) son' is (*hänen*) *poikansa*, 'our son' is (*meidän*) *poikamme*, 'your son' is (*teidän*) *poikanne*, 'their son' is (*heidän*) *poikansa*. The possessive pronouns *-ni*, *-si*, *-nsa* ~ *-nsä*, *-mme*, *-nne* are indeclinable and are ädded to the principal word. Neither the plural ending *-t* nor the ending *-n* of the genitive and the accusative singular, nor the final *n* of the endings of the illative and the genitive plural appear before the possessive pronoun; in this position the nominative plural and the genitive and accusative singular are identical with the nominative singular. The adding of *-mme*, *-nne*, *-nsa* ~ *-nsä* does not imply the weak grade. Thus, *poikamme* may also mean 'our sons', and 'the friends of our son' is *poikamme ystävät*.

NOTE.—The words mentioned in § 48 may also assume possessive pronouns, e.g. *välillämme* 'between us'.

§ 95. *He rakastavat isänmaataan* (or *isänmaatansa*). They love their fatherland. *Hän puhuu pojilleen* (or *pojillensa*). He speaks to his sons.

After an inflected case form ending in a short vowel the possessive pronoun of the third person usually is formed by lengthening the final vowel and adding *-n*.

§ 96. The demonstrative pronouns are *se* 'this, that, it' (in colloquial usage also 'he, she'; usually referring to something mentioned before), *ne* 'these, those, they' (serves as plural of *se*), *tämä* 'this' (near to the speaker, or just mentioned), *nämä* 'these' (serves as plural of *tämä*), *tuo* 'that' (comparatively far from the speaker), *nuo* 'those' (serves as plural of *tuo*).

The genitive and accusative of *se* is *sen*, the inessive *siinä*, the

elative *siitä*, the illative *siihen*; the other cases have the stem *si-*; instead of the plural cases the corresponding cases of *ne* are used.

Ne has the stem *nii-* before all the case endings; the genitive is *niiden*. The accusative is identical with the nominative.

The genitive and accusative of *tämä* is *tämän*. The other cases have the stem *tä-*. Instead of the plural cases the corresponding cases of *nämä* are used.

Nämä (sometimes *nämät*) is alike in the nominative and the accusative. The stem of all the other cases is *näi-*; the genitive is *näiden*.

Tuo is regular; instead of the plural cases the corresponding cases of *nuo* are used.

Nuo (sometimes *nuot*) is alike in nominative and accusative. The stem of all the other cases is *noi-* (cf. § 72); the genitive is *noiden*.

§ 97. The interrogative pronouns are *kuka* 'who', *ken* 'who', *mikä* (*mitä*) 'which, what', *kumpi* 'which (of two)'.

Kuka is defective. The genitive-accusative singular is *kunka*, the nominative-accusative plural is *kutka*, the other cases (in so far as they are used) have the stem *ku-*. The only form frequently used is the nominative singular, the other case forms usually being replaced by the corresponding cases of *ken*. The following case forms are used in special functions: *kun* 'when' (= at the time when), *kuin* 'as', 'than' (in comparisons), *kuinka* 'how'.

Ken has the stems *kene-* (in most of the inflected singular cases) and *ke-* (in the plural and in the partitive singular, sometimes also in other inflected singular cases). The accusative singular is *kenen* or *kenet*, the nominative-accusative plural is *ketkä*.

Ken is sometimes used as a relative pronoun: 'who'.

Mikä has the genitive-accusative singular *minkä* and the nominative-accusative plural *mitkä*. The adverbial cases have the stem *mi-* and are alike in the singular and the plural. In the sense 'what' the partitive is used instead of the nominative and the accusative. *Missä* means 'where', *mistä* 'where from', *mihin* and *minne* 'whither', *miksi* 'why', *miten* 'how'.

Mikä is frequently used as a relative pronoun: 'which'.

Kumpi is inflected in the same way as the comparatives (see § 79).

§ 98. Other pronouns: *joka* 1) 'every', 2) 'who, which' (relative pronoun); *jokin* 'some' (in the singular it denotes one object); *joku* 'somebody, some' (usually regarding persons; in the singular it denotes one person or one object); *jompikumpi* 'one of the two, one or the other, either'; *kukaan* (chiefly in negative clauses) 'anybody'; *kukin* 'each' (each one, referring to persons); *kumpikin* 'each (of two), both'; *mikään* (chiefly in negative clauses) 'any'.

In the sense 'every', *joka* is indeclinable. The relative pronoun *joka* has the genitive-accusative singular *jonka* and the nominative-accusative plural *jotka*; the other cases have the stem *jo-*.

In *jokin*, the stem *jo-* is inflected, whereas *-kin* is indeclinable.

In *joku*, both *jo-* and *ku-* are inflected.

In *jompikumpi*, each of the two parts is inflected in the same way as a comparative.

Kukaan is defective. *Ku-* is inflected, and *-kaan* remains unaltered. The inessive, (rarely) used in the sense 'anywhere', has also the form *kussaan*. As a rule, inflected forms of *kukaan* are replaced by the corresponding cases of *kenkään* 'anybody' (*ken* is inflected, *-kään* remains unaltered).

In *kukin*, *ku-* is inflected, whereas *-kin* remains unaltered.

In *kumpikin*, *kumpi* is inflected.

In *mikään*, *mi-* is inflected, and *-kään* remains unaltered. After a disyllabic case form ending in a vowel, *-kään* is usually replaced by lengthening the final vowel and adding *-n*; *missään* means 'anywhere' and *mistään* 'from anywhere'. The partitive *mitään* is used instead of the nominative and the accusative in the sense of 'anything (whatever)'.

Conjugation

THE FINITE VERB FORMS

Active voice

Indicative mood

PRESENT TENSE

§ 99. The present tense of the verb indicates that something is going on or usually happens or will occur in the future.

§ 100. The present indicative of the verb *sano-* 'say' is:

Singular 1. (*minä*) *sanon* 'I say'. 2. (*sinä*) *sanot* 'you say'. 3. *hän sanoo* 'he (she) says'.

Plural 1. (*me*) *sanomme* 'we say'. 2. (*te*) *sanotte* 'you say'. 3. *he sanovat* 'they say'.

The personal endings (indicating the subject of the sentence) of the first and the second person are: Singular 1. *-n*, 2. *-t*; plural 1. *-mme*, 2. *-tte*.

§ 101. In the first and the second person, it is not necessary to use the personal pronoun together with the verb, except when the subject is to be emphasized.

§ 102. The third person singular of the present tense is formed by lengthening the final vowel of the word stem, provided that the stem ends in a short vowel. If the word stem ends in a long vowel or a diphthong, the third person singular is (or at any rate *may* be) identical with the word stem. The exceptions are mentioned in §§ 104, 122.

Examples of the third person singular (the stem is given in brackets):

ajaa 'drives' (*aja-*), *menee* 'goes' (*mene-*), *etsii* 'searches' (*etsi-*), *katsoo* 'looks' (*katso-*), *istuu* 'sits' (*istu-*), *kysyy* 'asks' (*kysy-*), *päästää* 'lets loose' (*päästä-*); *matkustaa* 'travels' (*matkusta-*), *palvelee* 'serves' (*palvele-*), *eroaa* 'parts, retires, resigns' (*eroa-*).

In the following instances the third person singular is identical with the stem: *saa* (sometimes *saapi*) 'gets', *myy* 'sells', *jää* (sometimes *jääpi*) 'remains', *juo* 'drinks', *syö* (sometimes *syöpi*) 'eats', *voi* 'can, is able', *avaa* 'opens' (transitive), *herää* 'awakes' (intransitive).

§ 103. The third person plural has the ending *-vat* ~ *-vät: ajavat, katsovat, matkustavat, eroavat; menevät, etsivät, myyvät, syövät.*

NOTE. On the occurrence of *-vat* and *-vät*, see § 36.

§ 104. The verb *ole-* 'be' is irregular in the third person: singular 1. *olen*, 2. *olet*, 3. *on*; plural 1. *olemme*, 2. *olette*, 3. *ovat*.

§ 105. Examples of gradation in verbs (cf. §§ 5—12): *otamme* 'we take' ~ *ottavat* 'they take'; *odotamme* 'we are waiting' ~ *odottavat* 'they are waiting'; *opimme* 'we learn' ~ *oppivat* 'they learn'; *teen* 'I make, I do' ~ *tekevät* 'they make, they do'; *syljen* 'I spit' ~

sylkevät 'they spit'; *annan* 'I give' ~ *antavat* 'they give'; *ymmärrän* 'I understand' ~ *ymmärtävät* 'they understand'; *ammun* 'I shoot' ~ *ampuvat* 'they shoot'.

PRETERITE (IMPERFECT)

§ 106. *Viikko kului.* A week passed. *Kuului huuto keittiöstä.* A shout was heard from the kitchen.

The preterite tense has the characteristic *i*. The preterite of *sano-* is: *sanoin, sanoit, sanoi, sanoimme, sanoitte, sanoivat.*

§ 107. The third person singular preterite of *mene-* 'go' and *päästä-* 'let loose, let go' is *meni* and *päästi* respectively; *e* and *ä* are dropped before the preterite characteristic *i*.

§ 108. The third person singular preterite of *alka-* 'begin', *kasvatta-* 'educate', *muista-* 'remember', *otta-* 'take' is *alkoi, kasvatti, muisti* and *otti* respectively. Before the preterite *i*, *a* has changed into *o* if it is in the *second* syllable of the word and there is no syllabic *o* or *u* (or *uo*) in the first syllable; otherwise *a* is omitted before the preterite characteristic *i*.

Note *taisi* from *taita-* 'be able, know, be likely to'; *kaasi* or *kaatoi* from *kaata-* 'fell; pour' (cf. § 21).

§ 109. The third person singular of *saa-* 'get', *juo-* 'drink', *syö-* 'eat', *vie-* 'bring, take to some place', is *sai, joi, söi* and *vei* respectively. There is no long vowel or diphthong before the preterite characteristic *i*.

Potential mood

§ 110. *Minä saanen kohta paikan.* I think I shall soon get employment.

The potential mood usually expresses a supposition. It has the characteristic *-ne-*, which cannot be combined with the preterite characteristic.

The potential is not much used in colloquial language.

§ 111. The third person singular potential of *mene-* 'go' is *mennee*. Many verb stems ending in *e* have lost their *e* before the characteristic of the potential mood.

§ 112. The third person singular potential of *tarvitse-* 'need' is

tarvinnee. The same assimilation occurs in all the verbs ending in *-tse-*.

§ 113. The third person singular potentials of *näke-* 'see' and *teke-* 'make, do' are *nähnee* and *tehnee* respectively.

§ 114. The third person singular potentials of *tule-* 'come', *pure-* 'bite', *nouse-* 'rise', are *tullee*, *purree* and *noussee* respectively. The *n* of the potential characteristic has been assimilated to a preceding *l*, *r*, or *s*.

§ 115. *Lienet sairas*. You are probably ill. In the potential mood, *ole-* 'be' is replaced by the stem *lie-*.

Sometimes the form *lie* is used instead of the third person singular *lienee*.

Conditional mood

§ 116. *Minä sanoisin sen, jos tietäisin*. I should say it (or: tell it to you), if I knew it.

The conditional mood usually indicates that an event or an action depends on an uncertain or non-existent condition. It has the characteristic *-isi*, to which no personal ending is added in the third person singular.

§ 117. *Minä menisin, jos saisin*. I should go if I were allowed to.

A short *e* has disappeared before the characteristic of the conditional mood, and no long vowel or diphthong appears in this position. Cf. §§ 72, 83, 109.

Imperative mood

§ 118. The imperative expresses not only a command, but also an exhortation or a request (sometimes a concession); it does not occur in the first person singular. The imperative of *sano-* is:

Singular: second person *sano*, third person *sanokoon*; plural: 1. *sanokaamme*, 2. *sanokaa*, 3. *sanokoot*.

§ 119. Many verb stems ending in *e* have dropped their *e* before the endings beginning with *k*: the third person singular imperatives of *mene-* 'go', *nouse-* 'rise', *tule-* 'come' are *menköön*, *nouskoon*, and *tulkoon* respectively.

§ 120. Earlier the second person singular of the imperative ended

in *-k*, and this consonant has left certain traces that cannot be accounted for here. Accordingly, the second syllable formerly was *closed* in *mene*, *tule* and the like. That is why the imperatives *nuku* 'sleep!', *opi* 'learn!', *ota* 'take!' etc. have the *weak* grade (cf. *nukkuvat* 'they sleep', *oppivat* 'they learn', and *ottavat* 'they take').

§ 121. After an imperative in the first or second person the *direct object* is not put in the accusative singular in *-n*, but the nominative is used instead; e.g. *Ota tämä kirja!* Take this book!

The negative auxiliary verb

§ 122. *En tule.* I am not coming. *Etkö lue?* Don't you read? *Emme opi mitään.* We do not learn anything.

Negative sentences are formed by the aid of a negative auxiliary verb, which in the indicative mood has the stem *e-* in the first and the second person, and the stem *ei-* in the third person. It has no preterite (imperfect) and does not occur in the potential or the conditional mood. The principal verb (the expression of the denied action) is put in a form that is identical with the second person singular of the imperative, if the sentence is the negative equivalent of an affirmative sentence in the indicative mood.

§ 123. If the sentence is the negative equivalent of an affirmative sentence in the potential or the conditional mood, the negative auxiliary is put in the indicative; and the principal verb is put in the stem (or base) of the potential or the conditional mood respectively. *Eivät nukkune.* They are not likely to sleep. *Pojat juoksivat, ettei poliisi saisi heitä kiinni.* The boys ran, lest the policeman should catch them.

§ 124. The imperative of the negative auxiliary is: Singular 2. *älä*, 3. *älköön*, plural 1. *älkäämme*, 2. *älkää*, 3. *älkööt*.

If the sentence is the negative equivalent of an affirmative sentence in the imperative mood, the negative auxiliary is put in the imperative. In the second person singular the *principal* verb then is put in a form which is identical with the second person imperative, but otherwise the principal verb assumes the ending *-ko* ~ *-kö*. 'Do not sleep, he shall not sleep', etc. is:

Singular: 2. *älä nuku*, 3. *älköön nukkuko*; plural: 1. *älkäämme nukkuko*, 2. *älkää nukkuko*, 3. *älkööt nukkuko*.

NOTE.—Sometimes *elä*, *elköön* etc. are used instead of *älä*, *älköön* etc.

Passive (or mediopassive) voice

§ 125. *Kerrotaan että hyökkäys torjuttiin.* It is reported that the attack was repulsed. (*Kerto-* 'tell, state, report'; *torju-* 'repudiate, repulse'.) *Täällä saadaan postimerkkejä.* Here stamps are to be had. (*Saa-* 'get'.) *Kaikkialla syötiin jäätelöä.* Everywhere people were eating ice cream. (*Syö-* 'eat'.)

Passive usually means such verb forms as are arranged in a sentence so that the word that stands for the real object or the result of the verb action becomes the subject of the sentence (grammatically speaking), whereas the performer of the verb action is not expressed at all or is expressed by another word form than that in which the subject of the sentence normally appears.

In Finnish the passive voice may be used even when the verb action has no direct object; e.g. *tanssittiin* 'people danced, there was some dancing', German 'es wurde getanzt'. The performer of the action is usually thought of as indefinite (undecided as to whether speaking, spoken to, or spoken of). Often the action is thought of as performed by the speaker together with the person or persons spoken to, e.g. *sanotaan niin* 'let us say so!'

NOTE.—Such a sentence as *The attack was repulsed by our troops* cannot be translated into Finnish word for word, but should rather be rendered by an active sentence: *Meidän joukkomme torjuivat hyökkäyksen.* (Our troops repulsed the attack.) Cf. § 152.

§ 126. The passive (or mediopassive) has no means of distinguishing between first, second and third person and is therefore sometimes called the *impersonal* voice.

§ 127. *He veivät minut pois.* They took me away. *Minut vietiin pois.* I was taken away. *He ottivat varkaan kiinni.* They caught, seized the thief. *Varas otettiin kiinni.* The thief was caught.

The word that in an active sentence stands for the direct object of the action and is put in the accusative, is put in the same case

in a passive sentence if its accusative ends in *-t* (see § 32), otherwise it is put in the nominative.

NOTE.—In colloquial language the passive is used after *me* 'we' in *active* function, e.g. *Me otettiin varkaan kiinni* = *Me otimme varkaan kiinni*. (Cf. *Meidät otettiin kiinni*, We were caught.)

§ 128. Examples of the present tense of the passive: *otetaan* (*otta-* 'take'), *tiedetään* (*tietä-* 'know [something]'), *noustaan* (*nouse-* 'rise'), *tullaan* (*tule-* 'come'), *mennään* (*mene-* 'go'), *purraan* (*pure-* 'bite').

Examples of the preterite: *otettiin*, *tiedettiin*, *noustiin*, *tultiin*, *mentiin*, *purtiin*.

Potential: *otettaneen*, *tiedettäneen*, *noustaneen* etc.

Conditional: *otettaisiin*, *tiedettäisiin*, *noustaisiin* etc.

Negative forms: *ei oteta* 'is not taken, one does not take'; potential *ei otettane*, conditional *ei otettaisi*.

The characteristic of the passive is *-tta-* ~ *-ttä-* (after a short vowel) or *-ta-* ~ *-tä-*.

On the passive forms of *näke-* 'see' and *teke-* 'make, do', see § 132, note.

§ 129. The present indicative of the passive is formed by lengthening the passive characteristic and adding *-n*; the present ending implies the *weak* grade.

The preterite ending is *-iin*; before this ending the *a* ~ *ä* of the passive characteristic has disappeared.

The potential and the conditional are formed by adding the mood characteristic to the passive stem (or base), lengthening the final vowel and adding *-n*.

Before the passive characteristic, a short *a* or *ä* has changed into *e*.

THE NOMINAL (INFINITE) VERB FORMS

§ 130. The verb paradigm comprises some derived stems that assume case endings but no personal endings; they are regarded as verb forms because they may be combined with a direct object (if the verb stem is transitive) or with other case forms that otherwise do not occur as qualifiers of nouns.

Here we shall deal with the infinitive, the participles and the verb nouns in *-ma* and *-minen*.

Infinitive

§ 131. The infinitive is a defective noun (substantive), derived from the verb stem by a suffix *-ta-* ~ *-tä-* or *-a-* ~ *-ä-*. The infinitive occurs in four cases.

§ 132. The most usual case form of the infinitive we may call the *lative* case, or infinitive proper. This case formerly ended in *-ta-* ~ *-tä-* + the case ending *-k*, which has disappeared in normal Finnish. The *t* of the derivative ending has been preserved after *voiceless* consonants, e.g. *nousta* 'to rise' (word stem of the verb: *nouse-*, shortened stem: *nous-*). As appears from this example, a short *e* has disappeared before the derivative ending of the infinitive just as before the case ending of the partitive (see § 54). After a monosyllabic (or trisyllabic) stem ending in a vowel or diphthong, *t* has changed into *d* according to the rules of gradation (the final syllable formerly ended in *-k* and accordingly was closed); e.g. *saada* 'to get', *myydä* 'to sell', *voida* 'to be able'. After *shortened* stems ending in *a voiced* consonant, the *t* of the derivative ending of the infinitive has been assimilated to the preceding consonant (according to the rules of gradation: § 7, the last sentence); e.g. *kuulla* 'to hear' (verb stem: *kuule-*, shortened stem: *kuul-*), *panna* 'to put' (*pane-*, *pan-*), *purra* 'to bite' (*pure-*, *pur-*).

NOTE.—Before *t* and *d*, *k* has (after the interjacent *e* has disappeared) developed into *h*: *nähdä* 'to see' (verb stem *näke-*, first person singular present *näen*), *tehdä* 'to make, to do' (*teke-*, *teen*); present passive *nähdään*, *tehdään*, preterite passive *nähtiin*, *tehtiin*.

§ 133. After a remaining non-stressed vowel the derivative ending *-ta-* ~ *-tä-* has lost its *t*. Thus, the infinitives of *sano-* 'say', *otta-* 'take', *ymmärtä-* 'understand' are *sanoa*, *ottaa*, *ymmärtää*.

§ 134. The infinitive has three other cases, namely, genitive, inessive and translative.

The translative of the infinitive usually indicates intention or purpose. It always has an enclitic possessive pronoun. *He soutivat kaikin voimin päästäkseen rannalle.* They rowed with all their strength in order to get to the bank.

Note such expressions as: *Ei se ota onnistuakseen.* There is no succeeding with it. (Literally: 'It does not take to . . .')

§ 135. Before the *genitive* ending and the *inessive* ending the derivative ending of the infinitive has *e* instead of *-a-*, *-ä-*, e.g. *saaden*, *saadessa*, from *saa-* 'get'.

§ 136. The genitive usually indicates that the action of the verb *accompanies* the main action of the sentence. *He pyrkivät nauraen ja huutaen jokea ylöspäin.* They struggled, laughing and shouting, up the river.

Note such expressions as *oikeammin sanoen* 'to put it more exactly, speaking more accurately'.

§ 137. The inessive indicates that the action of the predicate verb is *simultaneous with* or takes place *during* the action expressed by the verb stem. *Niilon viskatessa ja Mikon soutaessa he viimein pääsivät perille.* While Nick was scooping and Mike went on rowing they arrived at last. *Heidän soutaessaan ja jutellessaan.* While they were rowing and chatting.

§ 138. The inessive of the infinitive occurs in the *passive* too: *Kysyttäessä (= kun kysyttiin), millä hän oli vahvistanut itseään matkallaan, vastasi Lindbergh: 'Minä join ainoastaan vettä.'* When asked what he had refreshed himself with on his voyage, Lindbergh answered: 'I drank only water.'

Participles

§ 139. The participles sometimes simply function as adjectives (derived from the verb stem). There are four of them: the active and the passive present participle, the active and the passive past participle.

§ 140. The present participles are formed by the derivative ending *-va* ~ *-vä*. Added to the stem of the verb, this ending corresponds to English *-ing* (active present participle); e.g. *etenevät joukot* 'the advancing troops'. Together with the auxiliary verb *ole-* 'be', this participle may indicate the future. *Tämä lahjoitus on tekevä paljon hyvää.* This donation will do a lot of good.

Note such expressions as: *Hän ei ole tuntevinaan minua.* He acts as if he did not recognize me, he pretends not to know me. The

essive plural with an enclitic possessive pronoun is used to indicate that the subject person *pretends* or *imagines* that he performs the verb action.

§ 141. The *passive* present participle is formed by adding *-va* ~ *-vä* to the passive stem; it usually indicates that the verb action *ought to* or *must* be performed. *Se on sanottava.* It must be said. Cf. however § 149, note.

§ 142. The active past participle is in the nominative and partitive singular formed by the derivative ending *-nut* ~ *-nyt*, e.g. *hän on sanonut* 'he has said', *hän on mennyt* 'he is gone'. In the other cases the derivative ending is *-nee-* (before *-i-*, *-ne-*, see § 72) instead of *-nut* ~ *-nyt*.

§ 143. The active past participles of *tarvitse-* 'need', *tule-* 'come', *pure-* 'bite', and *nouse-* 'rise' are *tarvinnut, tullut, purrut,* and *noussut* respectively. The *n* of the derivative ending has been assimilated to the preceding *l, r,* or *s,* just as in the potential mood, but *-ts-* + *-n-* has developed into *-nn-*. Cf. §§ 112–114 and § 161, rule 3.

The active past participles of *näke-* 'see' and *teke-* 'make, do' are *nähnyt* and *tehnyt* respectively. Cf. § 113.

§ 144. *Olen sanonut sen.* I have said it. *Olemme sanoneet sen.* We have said it. *Olen syönyt.* I have eaten. *Oletteko syöneet?* Have you eaten? *Olin sanonut sen.* I had said it. *Olimme sanoneet sen.* We had said it.

Periphrastic forms of past time (perfect and pluperfect) are formed by the auxiliary verb *ole-* 'be' and the participle ending in *-nut* ~ *-nyt*.

§ 145. The following examples show how the past tenses are formed in negative sentences:

En nukkunut. I did not sleep. *Emme nukkuneet.* We did not sleep. (Imperfect.)

En ole nukkunut. I have not slept. *Emme ole nukkuneet.* We have not slept. (Perfect.)

En ollut nukkunut. I had not slept. *Emme olleet nukkuneet.* We had not slept. (Pluperfect.)

§ 146. The *passive* past participle is formed by the derivative ending *-ttu* ~ *-tty* (after a short vowel) or *-tu* ~ *-ty*, e.g. *on sanottu*

'it is said', *otettu* 'taken', *ymmärretty* 'understood', *myyty* 'sold', *purtu* 'bitten', *tehty* 'done'.

§ 147. With the aid of this participle, periphrastic passive forms of past tenses are formed. *On otettu.* It is taken, it has been taken. *Oli sanottu.* It had been said. *Olisi sanottu.* It would have been said. *Ei sanottu.* It was not said. *Ei ole sanottu.* It is not said, it has not been said. *Ei ollut sanottu.* It had not been said.

§ 148. The *partitive* of this participle indicates that something (the main action of the sentence) happened *after* the event expressed by the verb stem in question. *Isän kuoltua menin ulkomaille.* After the death of my father (after father had died) I went abroad. (*Kuole-* 'die'.)

Participles as equivalents of *että* 'that' + a finite verb form

§ 149. *Hän huomasi poikain tulevan* (: *Hän huomasi että pojat tulivat*). He noticed that the boys were coming, he saw the boys coming. *Potilas vakuutti lukeneensa lääkärikirjaa* (: *P. v. että hän oli lukenut lääkärikirjaa*). The patient declared that he had been reading a popular handbook on medicine. *Tuomari epäili todistajien vannoneen väärin.* The judge suspected the witnesses of having committed perjury (that the witnesses had sworn falsely). *Kaikkialla kuulin suomea puhuttavan.* Everywhere I heard people speak Finnish. (Everywhere I heard Finnish spoken.)

After verbs denoting a feeling, an opinion, a perception or a statement, a participle may be used as equivalent to the conjunction *että* ('that') + a finite verb form. The participle is put in the accusative singular (even if it is equivalent to a finite plural form); in English, it may often be rendered by an infinitive or by a participle.

In this participle construction, the designation of the performer of the action is put in the *genitive* or (if it is the same person that is meant by the subject of the principal clause) replaced by a possessive pronoun, added to the participle.

NOTE.—In this kind of construction, the passive present participle does not have its usual function; see the last example above and § 141.

§ 150. *Vene ei näyttänyt olevan tiivis.* The boat did not seem to be tight. *He kuuluvat hukkuneen.* They are said (literally: 'heard') to have been (got) drowned.

English infinitives, preceded by 'seems to', 'is said to' and the like, are rendered by a participle that is put in the accusative singular.

The verb noun in *-ma*

§ 151. *Olen valmis lähtemään.* I am ready to start. *Matka tulee olemaan hauska.* The trip will be pleasant. *Mene nukkumaan!* Go to sleep!

Forms ending in *-maan* ~ *-mään* may usually be rendered by an infinitive in English. Properly, they are illatives of deverbative nouns in *-ma* ~ *-mä;* some of these are used as ordinary substantives with complete case inflexion, e.g. *elämä* 'life', *juoma* 'drink, beverage', *kuolema* 'death', *purema* '(a) bite'.

§ 152. The derivative in *-ma* is used as a *passive participle* together with the word that indicates the performer (agent) of the verb action. (Cf. § 125, note.) *Ensimmäinen suomalainen kielioppi on ruotsalaisen kirjoittama.* The first Finnish grammar is (was) written by a Swede. *Hyökkäys jatkui, hyökkäysvaunujen tukemana.* The attack continued, supported by tanks. (*Vaunu* 'car', *tuke-* 'support'.)

§ 153. In addition, the derivative in *-ma* is used as a verb noun in (genitive,) inessive, elative, adessive and abessive.

§ 154. Inessive: *Isä on järvellä onkimassa.* Father is angling on the lake. *On olemassa* 'exists'.

§ 155. Elative: *Olin estynyt tulemasta.* I was prevented from coming (: I could not come).

§ 156. Adessive: *Opettamalla oppii.* One learns by teaching. *Varteenottamalla* 'taking into account, with due observance of . . .'.

§ 157. Abessive: *Ruoka jäi syömättä.* The food remained uneaten. *Heidän huomaamattaan* (*-an* is a possessive pronoun: see § 95) *tuli paljon vettä veneeseen.* Without their noticing it, a great deal of water leaked into the boat.

The verb noun in *-minen*

§ 158. The verb noun ending in *-mise-* (nominative *-minen*) indicates the activity expressed by the verb stem *quite in general*, e.g. *puhumisen taito* 'the faculty (art) of speaking'.

§ 159. The nominative of this verb noun may be combined with the verb *ole-* 'be' to indicate that the action *ought to, shall* take place. *Lasten on totteleminen.* Children ought to obey (be obedient).

Note such expressions as: *Ei käy niin sanominen.* It does not do (is not allowable) to say so.

§ 160. Examples of the *partitive*: *Herroihin ei ole luottamista.* You cannot trust gentlefolks. *Oli siinä katselemista.* There was much to look at (indeed). *Hän souti soutamistaan.* He rowed untiringly.

ALTERNATIONS IN CERTAIN VERB STEMS

§ 161. The imperative of *vastaa-* 'answer' (*vastaan* 'I answer') is *vastaa, vastatkoon, vastatkaamme, vastatkaa, vastatkoot.* This may be explained historically. Earlier, the verb stem was **vastata-*. (The asterisk before a word means that this word form does not occur, but must have existed formerly.) The final *a* of **vastata-* has disappeared before all those endings that contain a *short consonant followed by a vowel*, so that before such endings the stem appears as *vastat-* (*shortened* stem). Before such endings as consist merely of a consonant or begin with a long (double) consonant, followed by a vowel, **vastata-* has not dropped its final *a*, but instead *t* has disappeared between the (unstressed) vowels of the second and the third syllable, so that the stem has been changed into *vastaa-;* e.g. *vastaan, vastaamme.*

'He answered' is *vastasi.* This form has developed from **vastata-* + (the preterite characteristic) *-i.* The *a* of the third syllable has disappeared before *i* (see § 108), and later on, *t* has changed into *s* before *i* (cf. § 21).

'I have answered' is *olen vastannut.* The final *t* of the shortened stem *vastat-* has been assimilated to the *n* of the derivative ending of the participle. Cf. § 50.

'I can answer' is *voin vastata.* Formerly, the infinitive ended in

-ta- + *-k* (§ 132). Accordingly, we have to start from **vastata-* + *-ta-* + *-k*. Now, the *a* of the third syllable has disappeared in the position before the derivative ending *-ta-*, and we get **vastatta* + *-k*. In this form, the third syllable was *closed*, and *tt* has been shortened to *t* according to the rules of gradation. Later on, **vastatak* lost its final *k* in normal Finnish, and we have *vastata*.

If we take the verb stem *takaa-* 'vouch, warrant', things are still more complicated. We have to start from the earlier stem **takata-*, and the infinitive must have been **takata-* + *-ta-* + *-k*. After the loss of the *a* of the third syllable, this gives **takat-* + *-ta-* + *-k*. As the second syllable was closed, *-k-* had to disappear according to the rules of gradation, and we get **taatta-* + *-k*. Later on, *tt* has been shortened to *t* (likewise according to the rules of gradation), and the result is *taata*. 'I have vouched' is *olen taannut*.

The same alternations appear in all the disyllabic verb stems ending in *-aa-* ~ *-ää-* and in those trisyllabic verb stems that end in two successive vowels, e.g. *taukoa-* 'cease, pause': *taukoan, taukosi, tauotkoon, tauonnut, tauota* (cf. *sanon, sanoi, sanokoon, sanonut, sanoa*, and *nouse-* 'rise', *nousen, nousi, nouskoon, noussut, nousta*).

The verbs ending in *-ne-*, for instance *valkene-* 'become white, become light', agree with the verbs dealt with above in those forms, the endings of which begin with *k* or *t*: *valkenen, valkeni, valjetkoon, valjennut, valjeta*.

Supplement: Remarks on the functions of the cases

Fundamental cases

NOMINATIVE

§ 162. *Avaa ovi!* Open the door! *Vannokaamme pyhä vala.* Let us swear a sacred oath. *Täytyy ottaa auto.* It is necessary to (: we must) take a taxi. *Isännässä heräsi halu ostaa auto.* The farmer began to feel inclined ('in the farmer arose the desire') to buy an automobile.

In commands and exhortations (expressed by the first or the second person of the imperative) and otherwise in sentences where

the verb does not refer to any designation of the performer of the action, the direct object (the word that stands for the object or result of the action) is not put in the accusative singular, but the nominative is used instead.

NOTE.—This rule does not concern those words that have the accusative ending *-t* (see § 32). *Ota minut mukaan!* Take me along (with you)!

§ 163. Note the use of the nominative in such sentences as: *Hän tuli sisään hattu kädessä.* He came in, (with) his hat in his hand. The partitive is used in much the same way.

§ 164. After the indeclinable pronoun *joka* 'every', designations of time are put in the nominative. *Hän tulee joka päivä.* He comes every day.

GENITIVE

§ 165. *Meidän täytyy ottaa auto.* We must take a taxi. *Teidän ei tarvitse pelätä.* You need not be afraid.

The verb *täyty-* 'must' cannot have a subject (standing for a person) any more than can the English expression 'it is necessary to . . .'. It is the same with verbs meaning 'ought', 'need', 'succeed', in so far as they are used as auxiliary verbs. The designation of the person who must, ought, need etc., is put in the genitive.

§ 166. When the verb *ole-* 'be' is accompanied by a verb noun that indicates what must or ought to or can be done (cf. §§ 141, 159), the word that stands for the performer of the action is put in the genitive. *Lasten on toteltava* (or *totteleminen*). Children have to obey.

§ 167. In connection with the verbs *ole-* 'be' and *tule-* 'come', the designation of someone who has or gets a feeling may be put in the genitive. *Minun on nälkä.* I am hungry. (*Nälkä* 'hunger'.) *Lasten oli ikävä.* The children had a tedious time of it. (*Ikävä* 'tedious'.) *Minun tuli sääli häntä.* I felt (began to feel) sorry for him. (*Sääli* 'commiseration, pity'.)

On the performer (agent) of the verb action in a passive clause, see § 152.

On the genitive of the infinitive, see § 136.

§ 168. An adjective may be put in the genitive singular before another adjective to determine the degree of the quality expressed by the latter, e.g. *erinomaisen hyvä* 'extremely good' (*erinomainen* 'excellent, extraordinary').

§ 169. The genitive sometimes must be rendered in English by other prepositions than 'of', e.g. *Suomussalmen hävittämistaistelu* 'the battle of annihilation at Suomussalmi'.

Note such expressions as *kahden puolen tietä* 'on both sides of the road', *jalan* 'on foot'.

Local cases

Cases of movement used instead of cases of position

§ 170. *Hän jäi jäljelle.* He dropped (got) behind. *Te unohditte kirjan pihalle.* You left (forgot) the book in the courtyard.

The designation of a locality where something stays or is left, or where there is room (clearance) for something, is put in a 'to'-case

§ 171. Similarly, 'to'-cases are used in such instances as: *Tulemme rakentamaan rukoushuoneen tähän kylään.* We are going to build a chapel in this village. (By building a house something is *added* to the village.)

Note the 'to'-case in: *Menin vanhempieni luo Vaasaan.* I went to my parents at Vasa.

§ 172. Note the 'from'-cases in the following examples: *En löydä sitä mistään.* I do not find it anywhere. (The notion of finding is associated with the notion of a movement.) *Tontin takaa näkyy kivitalo.* Behind the building-plot a stone house is to be seen. *Olen lukenut sen sanomalehdestä.* I have read it in the newspaper. *Minä otin häntä kauluksesta.* I seized him by the collar (by the scruff of his neck).

Interior local cases

§ 173. *Hän naulasi ilmoituksen oveen.* He nailed the notice on (to) the door. *Pane lakki päähän!* Put the cap on your head!

Interior local cases are used to indicate that something else is, was, becomes or has been *fastened* or closely *attached* to the thing denoted by the word stem.

NOTE: *Järvi on jäässä.* The lake is frozen (ice-coated; *jää* 'ice').

ELATIVE

§ 174. *Sinusta tulee rikas mies.* You will become a rich man (there will become a rich man of you). *Tyttö vapisi pelosta.* The girl trembled with (for) terror.

The designation of that out of which something develops, is derived or is made, or by which something is caused, is usually put in the elative.

§ 175. *Yksi heistä* 'one of them'.

When a part of a determinate totality is mentioned, the designation of the totality is usually put in the elative.

§ 176. *Heitä se ikkunasta ulos!* Throw it out through the window! *Kun tulemme tästä ohitse* 'when we pass by here'.

The elative may indicate a locality through which a movement goes.

§ 177. Utterances, opinions and sentiments may be said to have an *exterior* and an *interior* object; the interior object being that which one says or feels, whereas the exterior object is that which one utters etc. something about. In Finnish, words meaning 'say', 'think' etc. are combined with the elative of a word that denotes the exterior object of the utterance etc. *Mitä sanot (ajattelet) tästä?* What do you think about (of) this?

§ 178. The elative ending is equivalent to the preposition 'for' in such sentences as: *Paljonko olet maksanut tästä turkista?* How much have you paid for this fur coat? *Kiitos kyydistä.* Thank you for the lift (the drive).

§ 179. *Minun mielestäni tämä ei pidä paikkaansa.* According to (in) my opinion, this does not hold good ('keep its ground'). *Minusta tuntuu siltä että . . .* It seems to me (I have the feeling) that . . . (*Tuntu-* 'be felt'.)

ILLATIVE

§ 180. *En ole käynyt Turussa viiteentoista vuoteen.* I have not been to (visited) Åbo for fifteen years. *Siihen aikaan, kun isä lampun osti.* At the time when father bought the lamp. (The title of a short story by Juhani Aho.)

The illative is used to indicate a space of time in which something has *not* happened, and in some expressions to state the time of an event approximately.

§ 181. An adjective may be put in the illative to indicate that the quality expressed by the word stem refers to the whole sentence. *Hän puhui turhaan.* He spoke in vain. (*Turha* 'vain, useless'.) *Poika on varmaan eksynyt.* The boy has certainly gone astray. (*Varma* 'sure'.)

Note the expression *yhteen ääneen* 'with one voice' (unanimously, in unison).

Exterior local cases

ADESSIVE

§ 182. *Minulla on paketti.* I have a parcel. When *have* means 'possess, occupy', it is rendered in Finnish by *ole-* 'be'. In such a sentence, the word that stands for the possession is used as subject, and the designation of the possessor is put in the adessive.

On the use of the adessive to indicate a means or an instrument, see § 63.

ABLATIVE

§ 183. The ablative may indicate the content of a sensation or feeling, or something immediately concluded from it. *Laukku haisee tervalta.* The knapsack smells of tar. *Maistuuko hyvältä?* Does it taste nice? *Näyttää uhkaavalta.* It looks threatening. *Miltä tuntuu?* How do you feel (about it)?

NOTE: *Minä kysyin häneltä.* I asked him. *Lopulta* 'finally, ultimately, at the end'.

ALLATIVE

§ 184. *'Annan sinulle hyvän neuvon', sanoi isä pojalle.* 'I (will) give you a piece of good advice', the father said to the boy. *Ostamme itsellemme auton.* We shall buy (ourselves) an automobile.

The allative is used to indicate the person to whom something is given or uttered or to whose benefit or harm something is done.

General local cases

ESSIVE

§ 185. The complement of *pitä-* 'consider (as)' is put in the essive. *Häntä pidetään etevänä laulajana.* He is considered to be an eminent singer.

On the essive plural of present participles, see § 140, note.

PARTITIVE

§ 186. *Yksi vuori oli kaikkia muita korkeampi.* One mountain was (there was a mountain that was) higher than all the others (= *korkeampi kuin kaikki muut*). *Mitä pikemmin sitä parempi.* The sooner the better.

In combination with a comparative, the designation of the surpassed (outdone) member of the comparison is sometimes put in the partitive (more often, 'than' is rendered by *kuin*); but the partitive may also indicate the measure of the difference between the two members of a comparison (*partitivus mensurae*).

§ 187. The partitive plural of a superlative may often be rendered by the expression 'one of . . .'. *Helsingin yliopisto lienee Euroopan suurimpia.* The university of Helsinki (Helsingfors) is probably one of the biggest in Europe.

§ 188. Note such expressions as: *Sinne tuli toista sataa miestä.* More than a hundred men came there. (Literally: 'of the second hundred of men'.)

On partitive in combination with cardinal numbers, see §§ 86, 89, 90.

TRANSLATIVE

§ 189. The translative is used to indicate the complement of verbs meaning 'consider' (except *pitä-*: see § 185), 'suppose, impute' and the like. *Paasikiveä katsotaan suureksi valtiomieheksi.* Paasikivi is considered to be a great statesman. *Sanotko minua valehtelijaksi?* Do you (mean to) say that I am a liar? *Isäntä ilmoitti lehmälukunsa pienemmäksi kuin mitä se oli.* The farmer reported the number of his cows as (to be) smaller than it was.

§ 190. The translative indicates the *purpose* something serves (what it is for). *Leipä on luotu syötäväksi, vesi juotavaksi.* Bread is created for eating (to be eaten), water for drinking.

On the translative of the infinitive, see § 134.

§ 191. Note the use of the translative of words denoting a language: *Tiedoitus toistetaan suomeksi.* The report will be repeated in Finnish.

General adverbial cases

INSTRUCTIVE

§ 192. In some expressions the instructive of a substantive is combined with a qualifier (an adjective or a pronoun) that is put in the adessive or the inessive; e.g. *sillä tavoin* (= *sillä tavalla*) 'in that way', *sillä välin* (= *sillä välillä*) 'in the meanwhile', *näillä seuduin* 'in these parts', *hyvissä ajoin* (= *hyvissä ajoissa*) 'in good time'.

PARADIGMS

Paradigms of case inflexion

SINGULAR

1	Nominative	subject	talo	vapaa maa
2	Genitive	's	talon	vapaan maan
3	Accusative	object	talon	vapaan maan
4	Inessive	in	talossa	vapaassa maassa
5	Elative	out of, from	talosta	vapaasta maasta
6	Illative	into	taloon	vapaaseen maahan
7	Adessive	on, at	talolla	vapaalla maalla
8	Ablative	from	talolta	vapaalta maalta
9	Allative	to	talolle	vapaalle maalle
10	Essive	remains, as	talona	vapaana maana
11	Partitive	(part) of	taloa	vapaata maata
12	Translative	(changes) into	taloksi	vapaaksi maaksi
13	Abessive	without	talotta	(vapaatta maatta)
14	Instructive	with, by	(taloin)	(vapain) main
15	Comitative	together with	taloine(en)	vapaine maineen

		PLURAL	
1	Nominative	talot	vapaat maat
2	Genitive	talojen	vapaiden maiden
3	Accusative	talot	vapaat maat
4	Inessive	taloissa	vapaissa maissa
5	Elative	taloista	vapaista maista
6	Illative	taloihin	vapaisiin maihin
7	Adessive	taloilla	vapailla mailla
8	Ablative	taloilta	vapailta mailta
9	Allative	taloille	vapaille maille
10	Essive	taloina	vapaina maina
11	Partitive	taloja	vapaita maita
12	Translative	taloiksi	vapaiksi maiksi
13	Abessive	taloitta	(vapaitta maitta)
14	Instructive	(taloin)	(vapain) main
15	Comitative	taloine(en)	vapaine maineen

Verb paradigms

FINITE FORMS

Active voice

Indicative

PRESENT TENSE

Affirmative form

s 1	sanon	tulen	vastaan
2	sanot	tulet	vastaat
3	sanoo	tulee	vastaa
p 1	sanomme	tulemme	vastaamme
2	sanotte	tulette	vastaatte
3	sanovat	tulevat	vastaavat

Negative form

s 1	en sano	en tule	en vastaa
2	et sano	et tule	et vastaa
3	ei sano	ei tule	ei vastaa
p 1	emme sano	emme tule	emme vastaa
2	ette sano	ette tule	ette vastaa
3	eivät sano	eivät tule	eivät vastaa

SIMPLE PRETERITE (IMPERFECT)

Affirmative form

s 1	sanoin	tulin	vastasin
2	sanoit	tulit	vastasit
3	sanoi	tuli	vastasi
p 1	sanoimme	tulimme	vastasimme
2	sanoitte	tulitte	vastasitte
3	sanoivat	tulivat	vastasivat

Negative form

s 1	en sanonut	en tullut	en vastannut
p 1	emme sanoneet	emme tulleet	emme vastanneet

PERFECT

Affirmative form

s 1	olen sanonut	olen tullut	olen vastannut
2	olet sanonut	olet tullut	olet vastannut
3	on sanonut	on tullut	on vastannut
p 1	olemme sanoneet	olemme tulleet	olemme vastanneet
2	olette sanoneet[1]	olette tulleet[1]	olette vastanneet[1]
3	ovat sanoneet	ovat tulleet	ovat vastanneet

Negative form

s 1	en ole sanonut	en ole tullut	en ole vastannut
p 1	emme ole sanoneet	emme ole tulleet	emme ole vastanneet

PLUPERFECT

Affirmative form

s 1	olin sanonut	olin tullut	olin vastannut
2	olit sanonut	olit tullut	olit vastannut
3	oli sanonut	oli tullut	oli vastannut
p 1	olimme sanoneet	olimme tulleet	olimme vastanneet
2	olitte sanoneet	olitte tulleet	olitte vastanneet
3	olivat sanoneet	olivat tulleet	olivat vastanneet

Negative form

s 1	en ollut sanonut	en ollut tullut	en ollut vastannut
p 1	emme olleet sanoneet	emme olleet tulleet	emme olleet vastanneet

[1] Speaking to *one* person: sanonut, tullut, vastannut.

Potential mood

PRESENT TENSE

Affirmative form

s 1	sanonen	tullen	vastannen
2	sanonet	tullet	vastannet
3	sanonee	tullee	vastannee
p 1	sanonemme	tullemme	vastannemme
2	sanonette	tullette	vastannette
3	sanonevat	tullevat	vastannevat

Negative form

s 1	en sanone	en tulle	en vastanne
p 1	emme sanone	emme tulle	emme vastanne

PERFECT

Affirmative form

s 1	lienen sanonut	lienen tullut	lienen vastannut
2	lienet sanonut	lienet tullut	lienet vastannut
3	lienee sanonut	lienee tullut	lienee vastannut
p 1	lienemme sanoneet	lienemme tulleet	lienemme vastanneet
2	lienette sanoneet	lienette tulleet	lienette vastanneet
3	lienevät sanoneet	lienevät tulleet	lienevät vastanneet

Negative form

s 1	en liene sanonut	en liene tullut	en liene vastannut
p 1	emme liene sanoneet	emme liene tulleet	emme liene vastanneet

Conditional mood

PRESENT TENSE

Affirmative form

s 1	sanoisin	tulisin	vastaisin
2	sanoisit	tulisit	vastaisit
3	sanoisi	tulisi	vastaisi
p 1	sanoisimme	tulisimme	vastaisimme
2	sanoisitte	tulisitte	vastaisitte
3	sanoisivat	tulisivat	vastaisivat

Negative form

s 1	en sanoisi	en tulisi	en vastaisi
p 1	emme sanoisi	emme tulisi	emme vastaisi

PERFECT

Affirmative form

s 1	olisin sanonut	olisin tullut	olisin vastannut
2	olisit sanonut	olisit tullut	olisit vastannut
3	olisi sanonut	olisi tullut	olisi vastannut
p 1	olisimme sanoneet	olisimme tulleet	olisimme vastanneet
2	olisitte sanoneet	olisitte tulleet	olisitte vastanneet
3	olisivat sanoneet	olisivat tulleet	olisivat vastanneet

Negative form

s 1	en olisi sanonut	en olisi tullut	en olisi vastannut
p 1	emme olisi sanoneet	emme olisi tulleet	emme olisi vastanneet

Imperative mood

PRESENT TENSE

Affirmative form

s 2	sano	tule	vastaa
3	sanokoon	tulkoon	vastatkoon
p 1	sanokaamme	tulkaamme	vastatkaamme
2	sanokaa	tulkaa	vastatkaa
3	sanokoot	tulkoot	vastatkoot

Negative form

s 2	älä sano	älä tule	älä vastaa
3	älköön sanoko	älköön tulko	älköön vastatko
p 1	älkäämme sanoko	älkäämme tulko	älkäämme vastatko
2	älkää sanoko	älkää tulko	älkää vastatko
3	älkööt sanoko	älkööt tulko	älkööt vastatko

PERFECT

Affirmative form

s 3	olkoon sanonut	olkoon tullut	olkoon vastannut
p 3	olkoot sanoneet	olkoot tulleet	olkoot vastanneet

Negative form

s 3	älköön olko sanonut	älköön olko tullut	älköön olko vastannut
p 3	älkööt olko sanoneet	älkööt olko tulleet	älkööt olko vastanneet

Passive voice

Indicative mood

PRESENT TENSE

Affirmative form

sanotaan	tullaan	vastataan

Negative form

ei sanota	ei tulla	ei vastata

IMPERFECT

Affirmative form

sanottiin	tultiin	vastattiin

Negative form

ei sanottu	ei tultu	ei vastattu

PERFECT

Affirmative form

on sanottu	on tultu	on vastattu

Negative form

ei ole sanottu	ei ole tultu	ei ole vastattu

PLUPERFECT

Affirmative form

oli sanottu	oli tultu	oli vastattu

Negative form

ei ollut sanottu	ei ollut tultu	ei ollut vastattu

Potential mood

PRESENT TENSE

Affirmative form

sanottaneen	tultaneen	vastattaneen

Negative form

ei sanottane	ei tultane	ei vastattane

PERFECT

Affirmative form

lienee sanottu	lienee tultu	lienee vastattu

Negative form

ei liene sanottu	ei liene tultu	ei liene vastattu

Conditional mood

PRESENT TENSE

Affirmative form

sanottaisiin	tultaisiin	vastattaisiin

Negative form

ei sanottaisi	ei tultaisi	ei vastattaisi

PERFECT

Affirmative form

olisi sanottu	olisi tultu	olisi vastattu

Negative form

ei olisi sanottu	ei olisi tultu	ei olisi vastattu

Imperative mood

PRESENT TENSE

Affirmative form

sanottakoon	tultakoon	vastattakoon

Negative form

älköön sanottako	älköön tultako	älköön vastattako

PERFECT

Affirmative form

olkoon sanottu	olkoon tultu	olkoon vastattu

Negative form

älköön olko sanottu	älköön olko tultu	älköön olko vastattu

NOMINAL FORMS

Infinitive

lative	sanoa	tulla	vastata
translative	sanoakseni	tullakseni	vastatakseni
genitive	sanoen	tullen	vastaten
inessive, active	sanoessa	tullessa	vastatessa
inessive, passive	sanottaessa	tultaessa	vastattaessa

Participles

ACTIVE

Present

sanova	tuleva	vastaava

Past

s	sanonut	tullut	vastannut
p	sanoneet	tulleet	vastanneet

PASSIVE

Present

sanottava	tultava	vastattava

Past

sanottu	tultu	vastattu

SUPPLEMENT TO THE GRAMMAR: PECULIARITIES OF THE KALEVALA

Phonology

In Karelian there are no long vowels in syllables other than the first. In the second syllable, *aa* has developed into (disyllabic) *oa* and *ää* into (disyllabic) *eä*, e.g. *ajoa* = Finnish *ajaa* 'to drive', *osoanta* 'ability, skill' (from *osoa-* = *osaa-* 'be able'), *eleä* = *elää* 'to live'.

In Karelian, *h* has not disappeared between unstressed vowels

(cf. § 38). The text of the Kalevala has *h* in this position, except if *h* occurs between the vowels of the first and the second syllable in the word stem; e.g. *ilmahan, lumehen, vitihin* = *ilmaan, lumeen, vitiin* (illative of *ilma* 'air', *lumi* 'snow', and *viti* 'fresh snow' respectively); *lauletahan* = *lauletaan* 'is sung'; *kynnettihin* = *kynnettiin* 'was ploughed'; *tulkohon* = *tulkoon* 'he shall come'; *kankahilla* = *kankailla* (adessive plural of *kangas* 'heath, moor'); but *keihä'ät* (trisyllabic!) = *keihäät* (nominative plural of *keihäs* 'spear').

NOTE.—*Parahan* (genitive and accusative singular of *paras* 'best') corresponds to Standard Finnish *parhaan*, or less frequently *paraan*. The development *paraha-* > *parhaa-* is typical of some Finnish dialects.

In the Eastern dialects of Finnish proper and in Karelian, the sound corresponding to Standard Finnish *d* has in most instances disappeared; e.g. *syän* = *sydän* 'heart'; *kaehti* = *kadehti* 'envied'; *paaet* = *paadet*, nominative plural of *paasi* (stem: *paate-*) 'slab, flat rock'; *muien* = *muiden*, genitive plural of *muu* 'other'; *tahon* = *tahdon* 'I will, I wish'; *murehin* = *murehdin* 'I grieve'.

The weak grade correspondents of *lk*, *rk*, and *hk* before *e* are *l*, *r*, and *h* respectively (not *lj*, *rj*, *hj* as in Standard Finnish); e.g. *säret* = *särjet* 'you break, you are breaking' (stem: *särke-*); *rahe* = *rahje* 'brace, draught' (part of the horse harness; stem: *rahkee-*).

Sometimes *k* is subject to gradation even in the position after *s* or *t*, e.g. *ei ole itettäviä* (= *itkettäviä*, partitive plural of the passive present participle of *itke-* 'cry, weep') 'there is nothing to cry (weep) about'.

n has been dropped in *mie* = *minä* 'I', and *sie* = *sinä* 'thou'.

Sinua (partitive of *sinä*) has developed into *silma* in Karelian; first, a contraction took place: *sinua* > **sinwa*, then *-nw-* by a partial assimilation changed into *-nm-*, and finally, the unfamiliar sequence *-nm-* was dissimilated into *-lm-*.

Morphology

The diminutive endings *-o, -nen, -ut* ~ *-yt* and *-hut* ~ *-hyt* are frequently used in the Kalevala, sometimes without appreciably modifying the meaning of the word; e.g. *iso, isonen* = *isä* 'father'; *taivo, taivonen* = *taivas* 'sky, heaven'; *veno* = *vene* 'boat'; *vetonen* =

vesi 'water'; *langennuinen* = *langennut* 'fallen' (active past participle of *lankea-* 'fall'); *pojut*, genitive *poikuen* = *poika* 'boy, son'; *yöhyt* = *yö* 'night'.

It has already been mentioned that the *h* of the illative ending has been preserved after the vowel of the second syllable, e.g. *ilmahan* = *ilmaan*. Instead of Standard Finnish *-seen* (where the length of the vowel is secondary), the Kalevala has *-sen*; *kankahasen* = *kankaaseen* (nominative *kangas* 'heath, moor').

NOTE.—The illative *rahkehen* of *rahe*, 'brace, draught', is anomalous, if not incorrect.

The allative sometimes has the ending *-llen*, especially when the following word begins with a vowel; e.g. *matkallen* = *matkalle* (*matka* 'journey, trip').

The essive ending is often added to a shortened stem, e.g. *nuorna* = *nuorena* (*nuori* 'young'), *piennä* = *pienenä* (*pieni* 'small'), *miesnä* = *miehenä* (*mies*, genitive *miehen* 'man, human male'). Cf. § 50.

Often the element *-loi-* ~ *-löi-* is inserted between the plural base and the case ending, e.g. *länkilöihin* = *länkiin*, illative of the plurale tantum *länget* 'hames' (stem *länke-*, plural base *länki-*).

Note plural partitives such as *huonehia* = *huoneita* (*huone*, stem *huonee-*, 'room, house').

The nominative of *paljo* 'much' may be used instead of the accusative: *paljo kannattava* 'carrying much, a big load'. (In Standard Finnish, *paljon* in used instead of the nominative *paljo*.)

The genitive may indicate a characteristic circumstance that accompanies an event, e.g. *nenän suulle langennuisen* 'with his nose (fallen) on his mouth' (crestfallen).

The third person singular and plural of the *imperative* often have the endings *-kahan* ~ *-kähän* and *-kahat* ~ *-kähät* respectively instead of *-kohon* = *-koon* etc., e.g. *seisokahan* 'he shall stand', *siirtykähän* 'he shall give way'.

The first and second plural of the imperative have a *short a* ~ *ä* in the ending, e.g. *saakamme* = *saakaamme*, *saakatte* = *saakaa*, *saakaatte*.

The second person singular of the imperative sometimes has the ending *-os* ~ *-ös*, e.g. *avaos* 'open!', *ollos* 'be!' (*Ollos* is also used in Literary Finnish as a more polite variant of *ole*.)

The third person singular of the *present indicative* has the ending *-vi* after disyllabic and polysyllabic stems and *-pi* after monosyllabic stems; e.g. *elelevi* = *elelee* 'lives', *laulelevi* = *laulelee* 'sings'. The ending *-pi* occurs even in Standard Finnish: *saapi* = *saa* 'gets'.

The third person plural of the *preterite indicative* ends in *-it*, e.g. *menit* = *menivät* 'they went'.

Karelian has a reflexive with the following endings: Present 1st sing. *-ime* or *-me*; 2nd sing. *-ihet*; 3rd sing. *-ikse*, *-kse*, *-iksen*, *-ksen*, e.g. *kohennaikse* 'arranges himself, sits down comfortably' (this ending is used also by Standard Finnish writers, for instance Juhani Aho); 1st person plural *-imme*; preterite 1st person sing. *-ime* and *-ihin*; 2nd sing. *-ihit*; 3rd sing. *-ihe*, *-ihen*, e.g. *reutoihe* 'he flung himself' (this ending is used by some Finnish writers too); imperative 2nd person sing. *-ite*, *-te*, e.g. *veäite* 'retire, withdraw!' (*vetä-* 'pull, draw'); infinitive *-ita* ~ *-itä*, e.g. *vetäitä* 'withdraw'.

As sometimes in Standard Finnish, the inessive of the passive infinitive ends in *-issa* ~ *-issä*, e.g. *kannettaissa* (*kanta-* 'carry'), *pistettäissä* (*pistä-* 'stick, thrust').

In the perfect and pluperfect, the essive of the active preterite participle is used, and the essive ending is combined with the shortened stem in *-nut* ~ *-nyt*, the *t* of the derivative ending being assimilated to the *n* of the case ending; e.g. *on syntynynnä* = *on syntynyt* 'has come about', *on tapahtununna* = *on tapahtunut* 'has happened'.

Some verbs are used as auxiliaries (combined with an infinitive) to specify or otherwise characterize the action expressed by the principal verb: e.g. *ajoa suhuttelevi* 'he drives with a whizzing, soughing noise', *itkeä vetistelevi* 'he is weeping with abundantly flowing tears'.

As in colloquial Finnish, the third person singular of verbs is sometimes used instead of the plural, e.g. *omat on paremmat pellot* 'one's own fields are sweeter'.

On is often used without having any function (except to fill up the verse), e.g.: *Oi on viisas Väinämöinen* 'oh, you wise Väinämöinen!'

EXERCISES AND LITERARY TEXTS

1.

Mikko! Sinä|kö ole|t kylä|ssä?[1] — Minä.[2] — No, terve, terve! — Terve! — Mistä sinä tule|t? Tule|t|ko maa|lta? — Tule|n Vaasa|sta ja ole|n matka|lla Kuopio|on. — Vai niin, ole|t niin pitkä|llä matka|lla. Ole|t|ko yksin, vai on|ko isä mukana? — On|han isä|kin mukana. — Vai niin. Ja missä te asu|tte? — Me asu|mme Rauta|tie|hotelli|ssa.[3] — No, mutta se on huonō hotelli. — On[4] kyllä, mutta on huokea|kin, ja on se|kin hyvä, että asema on niin lähellä. Mutta kas tässä isä tule|e. — Hyvää päivää, setä! — Kas, Niilo! Päivää, päivää! Mitä kuulu|u? Kuinka sinä jaksa|t? — Kiitos, setä, kyllä minä hyvin jaksa|n. — Mistä tule|t? — Kotoa. — On|ko isä kotona? — Kyllä hän on kotona. — No, sitten minä mene|n sinne. Mene|e|kö Mikko Niilo|n kanssa? — Mene|n. — No, hyvästi siis!

Kuinka paljon kello on? — Kello on puoli neljä.

Posti|ssa[3] on minu|lla paketti Oulu|sta, ja toinen paketti Rauma|lta. Saa|n hauska|n kirja|n Jussi|lta, joka asu|u Oulu|ssa, ja tule|e kirja Toivo|lta ja Olli|lta|kin, jo|t|ka asu|vat Rauma|lla. — Vai niin kaukaa ne kirja|t tule|vat. — Niin, mutta nyt me mene|mme asema|lle.

[1] A question that is to be answered by *yes* or *no* is not indicated by inverse word-order (predicate verb – subject) as in English. § 1. [2] *Yes* has no stable counterpart in Finnish. One often uses *kyllä* (indeed) or *niin* (so), but more often the affirmative answer is attached to the question by a kind of reiteration. [3] Here, *-ssa* is rendered by 'at'. [4] The subject ('it') is omitted.

Grammar §§ 1–3, 4 (first sentence), 15 (first and last sentence), § 18, § 32 (first sentence), §§ 33–36, § 37 (first sentence), 40–44, 47, 66, 93, 99, 100–104, 182.

Mike! Are *you* in the village! — Yes, I am. — Well, hello, hello! — Hello! — Where did you come from? Do you come from the country? — I came from Vasa and I am going (am 'on the trip') to Kuopio. — Well, you are on such a long trip? Are you alone,

or is (your) father along? — Yes, father is along too. — Well. And where are you staying? — We are living at the Railway hotel. — Well, but that is a bad hotel. — It is indeed, but on the other hand ('also') it is cheap, and it is also (a) good (thing) that the station is so nearby. But look, here comes father. — How do you do ('good day'), uncle? — Look, Nick! How do you do ('day, day')? What's the news? How are you? — Thanks, uncle, I am well indeed. — Where are you coming from? — From home. — Is father at home? — He is at home, to be sure. — Well, then I will go there. Is Mike going with Nick? — Yes (I go). — Well, good-bye then!

What time is it ('how much is the clock')? — It is ('the clock is') half past three ('half four').

At the post-office I have a parcel from Uleåborg (Oulu), and another parcel from Rauma. I am getting a nice book from Johnnie, who lives at Uleåborg, and there comes also a book from Toivo and Olli, who live at Rauma. — Well, these books come from so far away? — Yes, but now we go to the station.

asema station
asu- live, dwell, reside
että that (conjunction), so that
-han to be sure
hauska pleasant, nice
hotelli hotel
huokea cheap
huono bad
hyvin well, very
hyvä good
hyvästi good-bye
hyvää päivää how do you do?
isä father
ja and
jaksa- be able, feel (well or bad)
joka (the stem *jo-* is inflected, *-ka* is uninflected) who, which (relative pronoun)
jotka, nominative plural of *joka*
kanssa (together) with; *Niilon kanssa* with Nick
kas! look!
kaukaa from far, from far away
kello clock, watch
kiitos thanks
-kin too, also
kirja book
-ko indicates a question; it is added to the verb or to the word that the question is really about
kotoa from home
kotona at home
kuinka how
kuulu- be heard; be audible; *mitä kuuluu* what's the news?
kyllä indeed
kylä village (here used in fun for 'town')
-kö = *-ko*
lähellä near, in the vicinity
maa land, country
matka journey, trip

me we
mene- go
minu-, see *minä*
minä (stem *minu-*) I; *minulla on* I have
missä where
mistä where from
mitä what
mukana along, together with somebody
mutta but, yet
ne these, they
neljä four
niin so; yes
no well, now
nyt now
ole- be (am, are)
on is
Oulu (the town) Uleåborg
paketti parcel, packet
paljon much
pitkä long, tall
posti post, mail
puoli half
päivä day
päivää how do you do? (not so courteous as *hyvää päivää*)
rauta iron
rautatie railway
saa- get
se that, it
setä uncle (father's brother; children used to call aged male acquaintances *setä*)
siis thus, accordingly
sinne thither
sinä (stem *sinu-*) you (speaking to one person whom one is familiar with), thou
sitten then, after that
te you (speaking to more than one, or to a person one is not familiar with)
terve healthy; hello!
tie way, road
toinen other
tule- come
tässä here
vai, or *vai niin* well, is that so?
yksin alone
-e (vowel lengthening) third person singular (he, she, it, etc.) of the present tense
-lla on, at
-lle to
-llä = *-lla*
-lta from
-mme first person plural (we)
-n genitive singular
-n accusative singular
-n first person singular (I)
-on (vowel lengthening + *-n*) to
-ssa in
-ssä = *-ssa*
-sta from, out of
-stä = *-sta*
-t nominative (and accusative) plural
-t second person singular (thou)
-tte second person plural (you)
-u, see *-e*
-vat third person plural (they)

2.

Tässä me nyt olemme asemalla, ja tuossa on postilaatikko. Ole[1] hyvä ja vie[1] se[2] kirje[2], jossa[3] on postimerkki, laatikkoon! Minä käyn sisällä ja ostan postimerkin, että tuo toinenkin kirje pääsee mukaan.

Kas tuossa on asemapäällikkö. Minä puhun samalla vähäisen asemapäällikön kanssa, ja sitten me menemme postiin. — Hyvä on.[4] — No, nyt olen valmis. Juna tulee kohta, ja silloin he ottavat postin laatikosta ja vievät sen junaan. Mutta nyt me menemme postiin ja otamme nuo[5] paketit ja viemme ne[5] kotiin. Minä otan toisen, ja sinä otat toisen. — Käytkö sinä usein postissa?— Käyn. Joka päivä.[6]

Tässä me nyt tulemme kirkolle. — Se on kaunis kirkko. Ja mikä talo on tuo korkea kivitalo tuolla kirkon takana? — Se on pankki. Pankin vieressä on tyhjä tontti, ja tyhjän tontin takaa[7] näkyy toinen kivitalo. Se on Kämpin hotelli. Kämppi on hyvä hotelli. Siinä asuu[8] mukavasti ja syö[8] hyvin. Mutta nyt me menemme kotiin. Kello on paljon, ja päivällinen odottaa. — No, kiitos, mutta isä . . . — No, isä-ukko ja toinen isä-ukko ja äiti odottavat. Tule vain! Ukot suuttuvat, kun kello on niin paljon. Minunkin[9] on nälkä, niin että minäkin suutun.

[1] The second person singular of the imperative has no ending. [2] § 121. [3] § 173. [4] The subject ('it, that') is omitted. [5] *ne, nuo* function as the *plurals* of *se* 'this, it' and *tuo* 'that, yonder' respectively, and therefore they are alike in the nominative and the accusative (cf. § 67). [6] § 164. [7] The relationship between *takana* and *takaa* will be accounted for later on (Exercise No. 5). [8] The indefinite pronoun *one* often has no counterpart in a Finnish sentence. [9] § 167.

Grammar §§ 5, 13 (except 'Cf. . . .'), 31, 48, 67, 96.

Here we are now at the station, and there is the mail-box. Be (so) kind (good) and put (: please put) the letter on which there is a stamp, into the box! I will go indoors and buy a stamp, so that that other letter can go (be sent) too. Look, there is the station-master. I will talk a little to (with) the station-master at the same time, and then we (will) go to the post-office. — That is good (O.K.). — Well, now I am ready. The train will soon arrive, and then they (will) take the mail out of the box and take it to the train. But now we (will) go to the post-office and take those parcels and bring them home. — Do you often go to the post-office? — Yes (I go). Every day.

Here we are now coming to the church. — It is a beautiful church.

And what house is that high stone house there behind the church? — It is a bank. Beside the bank there is an empty plot, and behind the empty plot another stone house is to be seen. That is Hotel Kämp. Kämp is a good hotel. There one lives comfortably and eats well (gets good food). But now we shall go home. It is getting late ('the clock is much'), and dinner is waiting. — Well, thanks, but father . . . — Well, your old man (father) and my old man (father) and mother are waiting. Just come! The old men are getting angry, because it is so late. I am also hungry, so that I am getting angry too.

asemapäällikkö station-master
he they
joka (undeclined) every
juna (railway) train
kaunis beautiful
kirje letter (mail)
kirkko church
kivi stone
kohta (undeclined) soon
korkea high
koti (a, the) home
kotiin home (= to one's home)
kun when (= at the time when), as
Kämppi, Kämpin hotelli Hotel Kämp
käy- walk, go; pay a call, look in somewhere
laatikko box, case
merkki (a, the) mark
mikä (*mi-*) which, what
mukaan along, (come, go) together with somebody
mukava comfortable
mukavasti comfortably
nuo those (the plural of *tuo*)
näky- be seen, be visible
nälkä hunger; *minun on nälkä* I am hungry
odotta- wait
osta- buy
otta- take
pankki bank (business, office)
postilaatikko mail-box
postimerkki (postage) stamp
puhu- speak
päivällinen dinner
pää head
päällikkö chief, commander, head
pääse- escape, be let off, be able to leave
sama same
samalla at the same time
siinä there (cf. *se*)
silloin then (at that time)
sisällä inside, indoors
suuttu- be angry, get angry
syö- eat
takaa from behind
takana (being) behind
talo house
toinen (stem: *toise-*) other, the other; the second; *toinen . . ., toinen* one . . ., the other
tontti building plot
tuo that, yonder
tuolla there (cf. *tuo*)
tuossa there (cf. *tuo*)
tyhjä empty
ukko old man
usein often

vain only, just
valmis ready
vie- bring, take somewhere, go and put somewhere
vieressä beside
vähäisen a little
äiti mother

3.

Mikä katu tämä on? — Se on Kirkkokatu, ja nyt tulee Vuorikatu. Vuoren alla on järvi, ja järvestä menee joki, jossa on iso koski. Vuorelta on kaunis näköala. Sieltä näkee sekä järven että joen ja kosken, ja tästä kadultakin me näemme järven. Nyt tulemme Antinkadulle. Me asumme Antinkadun ja Sepänkadun kulmassa, ja tässä on isän kauppapuoti. Me asumme puodin vieressä. Tässä on portti. Portin toisella puolella asuu puuseppä. Menemme portista[1] pihalle ja sitten pihalta sisään. Ole hyvä ja astu sisään! Ovi on auki. Pane lakki ja takki tuohon naulaan[2] eteisessä, missä muut lakit ja takit ovat. Ukot ovat vielä puodissa, mutta äiti istuu salissa ja odottaa. Pöytä on jo valmis, ja ruoka tulee kohta pöydälle.

Hyvää päivää, täti! — Päivää, päivää, Mikko! Mitä kuuluu? Nyt kai sinulla[3] on nälkä, mutta ruoka tulee heti paikalla. Missä nyt ukot viipyvät? Puodissako he ovat, vai mitä he tekevät?

. . .

Tässä on leipää[4], vehnäleipää ja näkkileipää, ja voita[4]. Ja ottakaa[5] myös jotakin leivän päälle, juustoa[4] tai makkaraa[4] tai silliä[4] tai muuta![4]

Ottakaa palanen[6] silliä! Yksi pala on liian vähän. Ottakaa ainakin kaksi palaa![7] Tuossa, Niilo, on olut. Ota[8] korkkiruuvi, avaa pullot ja pane kolme pulloa pöydälle, sedälle[9] yksi pullo, isälle yksi ja sinulle ja Mikolle yksi!

[1] § 176. [2] Cf. § 173. [3] Better: *sinun*. [4] *-a* ~ *-ä*, or *-ta* ~ *-tä* is the ending of the *partitive*, which may indicate an indefinite quantity or multitude, or an indefinite totality which something else is a part of. Cf. § 52. [5] The second person plural of the imperative has the ending *-kaa* ~ *-kää*. [6] § 31. [7] § 86. [8] § 120. [9] § 184.

Grammar § 6, § 7 (first half), §§ 8, 14–16, 37, 105.

What street is this? — It is Church Street, and now comes Hill Street. Beneath the hill there is a lake, and from the lake goes a river, on which there are grand rapids. From the hill there is a

beautiful scenery (to be seen). From there one sees both the lake and the river and the rapids, and here from the street too, we see the lake. Now we come to Andrew Street. We live at the corner of Andrew Street and Smith Street, and here is father's shop. We live beside the shop. Here is the gate (door). On the other side of the gate lives a joiner. We enter the courtyard through the gate and then we go into the house from the courtyard. Please ('be good and') step in! The door is open. Put yor cap and your (over)coat on that peg in the hall, where the other caps and coats are. The old men are still in the shop, but mother is sitting and waiting in the dining-room. The table is ready (spread, laid) already, and the food will soon be on the table.

How do you do, aunt? — How do you do, Mike? What's the news? I suppose you are hungry now, but the food is coming right up. Where are the old men loitering now? Are they in the shop, or what are they doing?

. . .

Here is bread, wheat bread and crispbread (crisp, hard rye-bread), and butter. And take something on the bread too, cheese or sausage or herring or something else.

Take a (little) piece of herring! One piece is too little. Take at least two pieces! Nick, there is the beer. Take the corkscrew, open the bottles and put three bottles on the table, one bottle for uncle, one for father, and one for yourself and Mike.

4.

Miksi te ette koskaan tule Turkuun? — No, kyllä me kerran tulemme. — Yksi kerta ei ole mitään. Tulkaa[1] monta kertaa![2] Ja eikö Niilokin käy Mikon luona? Tule nyt vain mukaan Turkuun, Niilo, kun me menemme takaisin ja tulemme tästä[3] ohitse! — Mitä äiti siitä[4] sanoo? — Mene vain, mutta pappa kieltää mahdollisesti, kun tarvitsee sinua puodissa. Kysy papalta![5] — Enhän minäkään kiellä, kun saat niin hauskan matkan ja niin hyvät matkakumppanit. Ja ehkä sinä tarvitset lepoakin, sekä koulusta että puodista. — Kyllä Te olette erinomaisen[6] hyvä, setä. Minä tulen siis mukaan, kun tulette takaisin Kuopiosta. — Hyvä on. Turku on mielenkiintoinen

kaupunki, ja kun tulet sinne, niin ensin katselemme kaupunkia. Me asumme Aurajoen läntisellä puolella. Itäisellä puolella on tuomiokirkko. Sen lähellä on silta. Raitiotie menee sillan yli, kiertää Pietari Brahen puiston ja menee vielä pari[7] kadunkulmaa ja menee sitten takaisin joen läntiselle puolelle. Mekin kierrämme puiston ja kävelemme kirkon ympäri ja katselemme sitä.[8] Sitten me menemme Itäiselle Rantakadulle ja sitä pitkin alas satamaan, missä höyrylaivat ovat.

[1] § 119. [2] *Monta* is combined with the partitive, cf. § 86. [3] § 176. [4] § 35, note, § 177. [5] § 183 note. [6] § 168. [7] When used as an indefinite numeral, *pari* has no accusative; cf. § 87, the first sentence. [8] Partitive of *se*. Grammar §§ 7, 122.

5.

No, mutta tiedätkös, Niilo, mitä toisena päivänä[1] teemme? — En minä varmaan[2] tiedä, mutta luulen kuitenkin, ettemme[3] tee juuri mitään. — Niin, kyllä se on totta[4], mutta emme kuitenkaan jää kaupunkiin[5] ja sen tomuun[5]. Minulla on hyvä ystävä, jonka nimi on Pekka ja joka asuu saaristossa. Turusta[6] menee sinne höyrylaiva eli höyrypursi pari kertaa päivässä[7]. Me astumme laivaan satamassa ja istumme sitten rauhassa siinä, kunnes pääsemme Koivusaarelle, missä Pekka asuu. Kaksikin höyrylaivaa menee sinne, toinen ennen puolta päivää[8] ja toinen jälkeen puolenpäivän. Pekan isä on hyvin rikas. Hänellä on suuri maatila saaristossa ja kaksi muuta suurta taloa Turun lähellä. Hän tuntee minut hyvin.

Talon vieressä on lampi, jonka nimi on Särkilampi. Siinä[9] lammessa on kolme lahtea, ja kahdesta lahdesta[10] he saavat kesällä paljon kalaa, mutta yhdestä he eivät saa mitään.

Talo on niemessä[11], jonka nimi on Koivuniemi. Lammessa on pari muutakin nientä, Tuominiemi, jossa kasvaa pari suurta tuomea, ja toinen niemi, jonka nimeä en tunne. Tunteekohan[12] sen sitten kukaan muu?

[1] On the other, the following day, the day after. [2] § 181. [3] = *että emme*. [4] 'true': partitive of *tosi* (stem *tote-*, shortened stem *tot-*). [5] § 170. [6] § 8. [7] daily. [8] Partitive of *puolipäivä*. *Ennen* is combined with the partitive, *jälkeen* with the genitive. [9] § 34, note. [10] § 172. [11] *-ssa* is rendered by 'on' here. [12] *-han* may be rendered by 'I wonder', or not translated at all.

Grammar §§ 21, 22, 32, 45, 46, § 49 (first section), § 51, § 54, sect. 1, § 55. Cf. the partitives *totta, puolta, suurta, nientä* with *lahtea, tuomea, nimeä*. We cannot give any exhaustive rule regarding the loss of *e*.

6.

Tahdotteko Te todellakin juoda kahvin[1] mustana, ilman kermaa? Eikö kahvi ole hirveän[2] karvasta ja väkevää, kun juo sitä[3] ilman kermaa tai maitoa? — Ei tämmöinen hyvä kahvi koskaan ole karvasta, vaikka sitä juokin ilman kermaa. Usein minä juon kahvin ilman sokeriakin. — Jos nyt Niilo tahtoo tuoda savukerasian ja tulitikkulaatikon, niin ukot saavat polttaa.

Nyt on kello jo niin paljon, että täytyy lähteä. Täytyy ottaa autokin.[4]

Tänään on maanantai. Huomenna ja ylihuomenna, tiistaina ja keskiviikkona, me saamme olla Kuopiossa, torstaina lähdemme Kuopiosta Lahteen ja perjantaina Lahdesta kotiinpäin. Muista vain silloin tulla mukaan, Niilo, kun menemme tästä ohitse! Lauantaina saavat sitten pojat katsella[5] Turkua, ja sunnuntaina he voivat lähteä maalle. Hyvästi nyt kaikki! — Hyvästi, hyvästi!

[1] the coffee. [2] § 168. [3] Partitive of *se*; here the object is put in the partitive because one is not thinking of the *conclusion* of the action (of drinking up one's coffee): see § 52. [4] § 162. [5] *katsele-*, shortened stem *katsel-*. Grammar §§ 49, 132, 133.

7.

Viikko kului, ja perjantaina sai[1] Niilo lähteä matkalle. Ensin hän söi[1] aamiaista ja joi[1] kahvia, ja sitten hän kävi[2] ullakolla, toi[1] sieltä matkalaukun ja vei[1] sen saliin, jossa pani sen pöydälle.

'Missä on vaateharja?' sanoi Niilo äidille. — 'En löydä sitä[3] mistään[4]. Kotiapulainen sai käyttää sitä eilen ja vei sen keittiöön. Ehkä se tuli mukaan, kun kannoimme matot ulos pihalle.' — 'No, sitten te kai unohditte harjan pihalle', sanoi äiti. 'Sinne se kai jäi, ja nyt se on poissa, se kallis harja, jonka isä osti sinulle.' — 'Älä[5] nyt enää toru, äiti kulta', sanoi Niilo. 'Kotiapulainen muisti kyllä ottaa sen mukaan, kun menimme sisään. Odota vain, minä kysyn häneltä.' Ja hetken perästä[6] kuului huuto keittiöstä: 'Tässä se on.' Ja sitten

hän tuli äidin luo harja kädessä[7] ja kertoi, että tyttö otti harjankin mukaan keittiöön, kun äiti huusi[8], että alkoi sataa, ja keittiössä hän pani sen hyllylle ja unohti viedä sen siihen[9] paikkaan missä sen[10] piti olla. 'Tiesin[11] kyllä, että sen piti olla täällä jossakin', sanoi Niilo.

[1] *saa-, syö-, juo-, tuo-, vie-*. [2] *käy-*. [3] § 53. [4] § 172. [5] (Second person singular) imperative of the negative auxiliary verb ('do not!'). [6] after (literally, 'from the far end of'). [7] § 163. [8] *huuta-*: cf. § 21. [9] § 37. [10] § 165. [11] *tietä-*: cf. § 21.

Grammar §§ 106–109, 170, 184.

8.

'Nyt on kaikki valmista'[1], sanoi Niilo. 'Mutta matkalaukkuni on niin raskas, etten[2] jaksa kantaa sitä[3] asemalle.'

Sitten tuli isä ja kysyi: 'Onko nyt tämä meidän poikamme valmis lähtemään matkalle? Kyllä teidän matkanne tulee olemaan hauska tänään, kun sattuu olemaan niin kaunis ilma. Onko matkalaukkusi raskas? Kyllä se on hirveän raskas. Ei ole muuta neuvoa[4] kuin ottaa auto.' — 'Tehkäämme niin', sanoi Niilo. 'Muuten emme päässe asemalle.' — 'Olkoon niin', sanoi äiti.

Niin lähtivät Niilo ja hänen äitinsä ajamaan autolla[5] asemalle ja tulivat sinne viisitoista[6] minuuttia[7] ennen[8] junan lähtöä.

[1] Partitive. [2] = *että en*. [3] § 53. [4] *ei ole* 'there is not' is combined with the partitive. [5] 'with a taxi'; *auto* has no gradation. [6] § 89. [7] § 86. [8] *ennen* is combined with (refers to) *lähtöä*.

Grammar §§ 4, 58, 94, 110–114, 118, 119, 151, 162.

9.

'Voi, kuinka paljon väkeä on junassa', huokasi Niilo. 'Kyllä olen iloinen, että olen saanut paikan teidän osastossanne. Kuinka te olette saaneet tämän paikan minulle?' — 'Se kävi niin', vastasi Mikko, 'että eräs tuttavamme oli kertonut isälle, että hän oli päättänyt matkustaa tänne. Ja niin me päätimme matkustaa yhdessä, ja nyt me olemme ottaneet hänen paikkansa sinulle.'

'Minun on nälkä', sanoi setä, kun olivat istuneet pari kolme tuntia junassa.[1] 'Niin meidänkin'[2], vastasi Mikko. 'Ja olemme jo syöneet

kaikki, mitä olimme saaneet mukaan Kuopiosta.' 'Älä pelkää!' sanoi setä. Minä voin taata[3], että kerkeämme syödä Toijalassa. Useinhan minä kuljen tätä tietä, eikä minun ole koskaan tarvinnut[4] kärsiä nälkää, vaikka juna on sattunut myöhästymäänkin.'

[1] *-ssa* may be rendered by 'on' or 'in' here. [2] and so are we. [3] *takaa-*. [4] *tarvitse-*.

Grammar §§ 10, 139, 142–145, 165, 167. Verb paradigms, *vastaan*, indicative and imperative (active). Disyllabic verb stems ending in a long vowel and trisyllabic stems ending in two successive vowels have the weak grade in the *infinitive*: *taata* 'to warrant, to vouch for' (stem *takaa-*).

10.

Päivä oli ollut[1] hyvin kaunis ja taivas kirkas, mutta iltapuolella[2] nousi kirkkaalle taivaalle raskas pilvi. 'Hohoo jajaa!' huokaisi setä raskaasti. 'Nyt on kai kohta kauniin ilman aika lopussa. Kun kerran on tottunut tällaiseen kauniiseen ja kirkkaaseen kesäilmaan, niin tuntuu perin raskaalta[3], kun se viimein loppuu — niin minusta[4] ainakin. Kun ei näe aurinkoa eikä kirkasta taivasta moneen päivään[5] ja kun sataa yöt päivät[6] taukoamatta, niin tulee mieli synkäksi. Vasta kun sade on tauonnut[7], voi taas ruveta[8] elämään.'

Isä jatkoi näin: 'Vasen käsivarteni on reumaattinen, ja jos en hoida sitä enkä pidä sitä lämpimänä, niin saan siihen[9] aivan sietämätöntä särkyä. Kyllä se on onneton, joka kadottaa terveytensä. Sairaus on joka ihmiselle suuri onnettomuus.'

[1] § 143. [2] towards evening. [3] § 183. [4] § 179. [5] § 180. [6] night and day. [7] *taukoa-*. [8] *rupea-*. [9] in it: cf. § 171.

Grammar §§ 19, 23, 28–30, 38, 39, 54, 57, 60–62.

11.

Juna lähestyi Turkua. Setä sanoi: 'Onpa meillä hirveän paljon kaluja! Kuinka me saamme ne kotiin? Emmehän jaksa kantaa niitä.[1] Täytyy ottaa ajuri tai auto. Onhan aina autoja ja vaunuja asemalla, joilla[2] voi ajaa. Noissa[3] autoissa on vain se vika[4] että niihin[5] mahtuu niin kovin vähän.' 'On kai parasta[6] että otamme ajurin, joka ottaa tavaramme[7] vaunuihinsa[8] ja itse ajamme autolla', vastasi Mikko. 'Niitä markkoja[9] meidän[10] ei pidä säästää.'

[1] Partitive of *ne*. [2] with (in) which. [3] Inessive of *nuo*. [4] The only thing that is wrong with those taxis is ... [5] Illative of *ne*: see § 170. [6] Partitive. [7] Plural. [8] into his car (see Glossary). [9] Partitive plural of *markka*. [10] § 165.

Grammar §§ 69, 78.

12.

Setä asui kaupungin laidassa, ja sinne oli kolmen, neljän kilometrin matka asemalta. Olihan siinä ajamista ja katselemistakin[1] — korkeita vuokrakasarmeja, pieniä huviloita ja nokisia tehtaita, isoja toreja ja kauniita puistoja, leveitä katuja ja kiveämättömiä teitä, käveleviä herroja ja rouvia ja juoksevia poikia, autoja, raitiovaunuja, pyöräilijöitä ja muita kaupungin nähtävyyksiä.

Viimein he olivat perillä. Nyt he siis olivat kotona kaikkien[2] noiden[2] kalujen, isojen ja pienten matkalaukkujen, päällystakkien, kirjojen ja muiden kaikenlaisten kapineiden kanssa.

Illallisen jälkeen istuivat setä ja hänen rouvansa vierashuoneessa poikain kanssa juttelemassa kaikista matkan vaiheista[3] ja vaivoista[3]. Ja setä puhui pojille näin: 'Kun tulemme rikkaiksi, niin ostamme itsellemme[4] suuren auton ja pyydämme Niiloa ja Niilon veljeä ja Mikon muita ystäviä tulemaan mukaan huvimatkoille kaikkiin kauniisiin osiin maatamme.[5] Eikö tule olemaan hauska kulkea siinä[6] suuressa autossa ohi suurten järvien ja korkeiden vuorien, läpi leveiden laaksojen ja synkkien metsien?'

[1] It was quite a distance to drive indeed, and there was much to look at too; cf. § 160. [2] Like all the following genitives in this sentence, this refers to *kanssa*. [3] § 177. [4] 'ourselves' (must not be translated). [5] of our country. [6] § 34, note.

Grammar §§ 11, 17, 70-77, (78), 88, 130, 154.

In *poikain, rikkaiksi*, etc., the diphthong has come about by the contraction of two vowels belonging to two different syllables; thus, the second syllable has previously been *open*, and this accounts for the fact that we have the *strong* grade here.

13.

Seuraavana päivänä eli kesäkuun viidentenätoista päivänä pojat kävelivät kaupungilla, juoksentelivat kaduilla ja puistoissa ja heittelivät kiviä jokeen, niin että viimein eräs poliisi huusi heille, että

mitä tyhmyyksiä te teette? Silloin pojat juoksivat minkä vain kerkesivät[1], ettei[2] poliisi saisi heitä[3] kiinni. Olisihan hirveän häpeällistä, jos joku voisi sanoa heidän istuneen putkassa.

'Tässä on meillä soutuvene', sanoi Mikko. 'Lähdemmekö soutamaan?' Sitten Mikko tahtoi avata[4] veneen lukon avaimellaan[5], mutta ei se ottanut onnistuakseen. 'Kas vain', hän sanoi. 'En ottanut oikeata avainta. Tässä on oikea.'

Vene ei näyttänyt olevan aivan tiivis, ja heidän soutaessaan ja jutellessaan keskenänsä tuli heidän huomaamattaan niin paljon vettä veneeseen, että lopulta[6] alkoi näyttää oikein uhkaavalta[7]. Niilo viskasi kyllä kaikin voimin vettä viskaimella, mutta turhaan.[8] He pyrkivät nyt nauraen ja huutaen jokea ylöspäin[9] päästäkseen rannalle. Niilon viskatessa[10] ja Mikon soutaessa he viimein pääsivätkin perille.

[1] all (= as fast as) they (just) managed (*kerkeä-*). [2] = *että ei.* [3] § 53. [4] *avaa-*. [5] with his key. [6] § 183, note. [7] § 183. [8] § 181. [9] up the river. [10] *viskaa-*.

Grammar §§ 20, 24, 63, 92, 95, 116, 117, 123, 131–137, § 140 (the first half), §§ 149, 157. Verb paradigms: *vastaan*, infinitive.

14.

Helsingin yliopisto lienee kaikkine monine tiedekuntineen Euroopan suurimpia korkeakouluja.[1] Ensin se ei sijainnut[2] Helsingissä, vaan Turussa, ja vasta v. 1828 (vuonna tuhatkahdeksansataakaksikymmentäkahdeksan) se siirrettiin Helsinkiin. Turun vanha yliopisto eli oikeammin sanoen[3] akatemia oli Suomen silloisen kenraalikuvernöörin eli korkeimman virkamiehen, kuuluisan kreivi Pehr Brahe nuoremman perustama ja alkoi toimintansa v. 1640. Sitä ennen[4] suomalaisten nuorten miesten täytyi käydä Upsalassa tai jossakin ulkomaan yliopistossa, jos halusivat[5] korkeampaa sivistystä. Lyhyin matka oli tietysti Upsalaan. Ainoastaan rikkaimmat voivat ajatella[6] ulkomaanmatkoja, ja köyhemmät saivat tyytyä kotimaan oppilaitoksiin. Kaikkein köyhimmät eivät kai tavallisesti päässeet[7] mihinkään kouluun. Parhaimmassa tapauksessa he voivat oppia sisäluvun ja kirjoittamisen taitoa vanhempiensa luona tai lähimmän papin johdolla.[8]

Niinkuin tiedetään, on kansanopetus Suomessa nykyään erittäin korkealla tasolla.

[1] § 187. [2] *sijaitse-*. [3] § 136, second section. [4] before that time. [5] *halua-*. [6] think of. [7] § 143. [8] *-lla* may be rendered by 'under' here.
Grammar §§ 9, 25–27, 50, 64, 65, 79 91, 115, 125–129, 152, 158.

15.

Mustalaisakka lohdutti lastaan[1]: 'Älä itke, lapsi kulta, kun tullaan taloon, otetaan kaksi leipää velaksi, toinen syödään ja toisella maksetaan syöty.'

[1] Partitive + possessive pronoun.
Grammar §§ 56, 146.

A Gipsy woman comforted her child: 'Don't cry, (my) dear child; when we come to a farm, we (will) get two loaves on the cuff, (and) we'll eat one of them, and with the other we'll pay for what we have eaten.'

16.

Keisari piti juhlaa ja oli kutsunut sinne yhden talonpojankin herrojen joukkoon. Syötiin. Pöytään[1] oli tuotu lusikkaruokaa, muttei[2] ollut tuotu lusikoita[3]. Talonpoika otti silloin leivästä[4] kuoren ja alkoi sillä[5] syödä keittoa. Keisari sanoi: 'No niin, siinä[6] näette, että talonpoika on paljon viisaampi[7] kuin herrat, vaikka ei ole käynyt kouluja.'[8]

[1] on the table. [2] = *mutta ei*. [3] Partitive plural of *lusikka*. After the *diphthong oi*, *-ta* implies the weak grade; in such a case as this, there may be some difference of opinion as to whether the third syllable should be considered open or closed. [4] Nominative *leipä*. [5] *se*; see § 63, the first two sentences. [6] there. [7] § 29. [8] to school.
Grammar § 147.

17.

Poika on kutsuttu käräjille vastaamaan lapseneläkejutussa. Kun kaikki ovat sisällä, kysyy tuomari: 'Ovatko kaikki saapuvilla?'[1] — 'Ovat', vastaavat kaikki yhteen ääneen.[2] — 'Ovatko todistajat läsnä?' — 'Ovat.' — 'Onkos lapsen äiti läsnä?' — 'On', vastaa tyttö.

— 'Onkos lapsen isä läsnä?' — 'On', vastaa poika. — 'Asia on siis selvä', sanoo tuomari, 'astukaa ulos!'

[1] Adessive plural (!) of the present participle of *saapu-* 'arrive': 'present'. [2] § 181, note.
Grammar § 88, note.

18.

Eräällä[1] akalla[2] oli sellainen ukko, joka ei syönyt heravelliä. Kerran ukon ollessa[3] ulkotöissä akka keitti heravelliä ja käski sitten ukon syömään. Ukko söi hyvällä ruokahalulla[4] akan keittoa, tietämättä[5] mitä se oli. 'Maistuuko hyvältä?'[6] kysyi akka. 'Erinomaiselta, mitä tämä nyt onkaan[7], ethän sinä ennen ole tällaista keittänyt?' — 'Se on nyt sitä[8] heravelliä', vastasi akka. Ukko heitti lusikkansa nurkkaan ja ärjäisi: 'Mitä sinä sellaista keität, kun tiedät, etten[9] minä sitä syö.'

[1] Here *eräs* is almost equivalent to the indefinite article in English, and should be rendered by 'an'. [2] § 182. [3] § 137. [4] *-lla* 'with'. [5] § 157. [6] § 183. [7] *-kaan* 'really' (he has a vague notion of knowing it). [8] 'such ... you know'. [9] = *että en*.

19.

Oli kerran kolme veljestä[1], joista[2] yksi sanoi: 'Kun olisivat maailman meret kaikki kirjoitusmustetta[3] ja minä saisin sen myydä, niin minusta[4] tulisi rikas mies!' Toinen tuumi: 'Kun olisi kirkollinen neuloja ja joka neulalla[5] neulottaisiin[6] säkkejä ja minä saisin joka säkillisen täynnä[7] kultaa, niin sitten olisin rikas!' Mutta kolmas veli arveli: 'Kun te olisitte sitten minulla[8] renkeinä[9], niin minä se[10] vasta rikas olisin!'

[1] Partitive of *veljes-* (this form is used as first part of compounds), nominative plural *veljekset* 'brothers (mutually)'; cf. § 86. [2] § 175. [3] § 59. [4] § 174. [5] § 63. [6] § 128. [7] Essive of *täysi*: cf. § 50. [8] in my service, with me. [9] § 49, last section. [10] *se* has not to be translated; it has an emphatic function here ('it would be me that would be rich indeed').

20.

Kerran pappi epäili erään isännän ilmoittaneen[1] lehmälukunsa pienemmäksi[2] kuin mitä se oli. Hän piti sitten rippikirjoitusta ja huomasi mainitun isännänkin tulevan[1] kirjoituttamaan perhettään

Herran ehtoolliselle. Pappi arveli, että nyt ei isäntä ainakaan valehtelisi, ja kysyi sen vuoksi, kun isäntä emäntineen[3] astui vuorollaan[4] hänen eteensä[5] ja ilmoitti itsensä[6] ja vaimonsa pyrkivän[1] ehtoolliselle: 'Montako teillä on lehmää?' Isäntä vastasi: 'Ei meiltä tule lehmät ehtoolliselle, vain minä emäntäni kanssa.' Pappi ei kysellyt enempää.

[1] § 149. [2] § 189. [3] §§ 65, 68. [4] *-lla* 'in'. [5] *Eteen* is the illative of a (defective) noun (stem *ete-*, nominative, occurring as first part of compounds, *esi-*) with the meaning 'front, the space in front', and therefore it may, if it has a personal pronoun as a qualifier (*hänen* 'his, . . . of him'), be accompanied by a possessive pronoun: cf. § 94, note. [6] *Itse* 'myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself, oneself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves' has no plural forms; all the cases except the nominative are always accompanied by a possessive pronoun, e.g. *itselleni* 'to myself', *itselleen* 'to himself, to herself' or 'to themselves', *itsellemme* 'to ourselves'.

21.

Mies varasti kerran härän, mutta tuli tunnonvaivaan ja meni tunnustamaan papille, että hän oli tehnyt syntiä, oli varastanut nuoran. Pappi kysyi: 'Oliko se pitkä?' Mies sanoi, ettei sitä[1] ollut kuin pari kyynärää. 'No, ei se nyt ole niin kovin suuri synti. Kun viet sen takaisin ja pyydät anteeksi, niin kyllä Jumalakin sen sinulle antaa anteeksi.' Mies jatkoi: 'Sen päässä oli härkä.' Silloin pappi sanoi: 'Oijoijoi sinua jumalatonta![2] Sehän on suuri synti. Mutta jos tuot minulle leiviskän voita ja tynnyrin rukiita[3], niin minä rukoilen sinun puolestasi.'

[1] The partitive of *se* refers to the generic notion of 'rope' (so that the clause responds to the question: 'How much rope was it?'). [2] Note the use of the partitive in exclamations. [3] Partitive plural (!) of *ruis*.

22.

SANANLASKUJA

Ahkeruus kovan onnen voittaa, ahkeruus unenkin estää.
Ei kaikkia kenkiä yhdellä lestillä tehdä.[1]
Ei lyö, joka[2] uhkaa, eikä pure, joka haukkuu.
Ei ole häitä[3] kaikki päivät, joka päivä juominkia.
Ei oppi ojaan kaada, eikä tieto tieltä työnnä.

Ei tule tuohesta takkia, eikä vanhasta[4] pappia.
Elä maassa maan tavalla, tahi maasta pois pakene!
Joka kuritta[5] kasvaa, se kunniatta kuolee.
Jos hullu taitaisi vaiti olla, niin usein viisaana[6] pidettäisiin.
Kyllä maalla viisaita on, kun vedellä vahinko sattuu.
Kylä talon voittaa, pitäjä kylän hyvänkin.
Minä herra, sinä herra: kumpi meistä[7] kontin kantaa?
Pannaan[8] suu säkkiä myöten.
Parempi köyhän kunnia kuin rikkaan kulta.
Pata kattilaa soimaa, musta kylki kummallakin.[9]
Puhuttu puhe ammuttu nuoli.
Rikas pääsee[10] rahallaan, köyhä selkänahallaan.[11]
Sitä kuusta kuuleminen[12], jonka juurella asunto.
Talo työlle, vieras tielle hyvistäkin juomingeista.
Valkeata varoo se lapsi, joka kerran kyntensä[13] poltti.

[1] § 132, note. [2] = *se joka*. [3] § 72; cf. § 88, note. [4] § 174. [5] § 62. [6] § 185. [7] § 175. [8] § 125, the last sentence. [9] § 98. [10] escapes, gets off. [11] § 12. [12] § 159. [13] *kynsi*.

In adages, the verb form *on* is often omitted.

23.

On olemassa tilanteita, joissa ihminen on oikeutettu neuvottelemaan ainoastaan omantuntonsa[1] kanssa.

Älköön kuitenkaan unohdettako[2], että pienten kansain kansallisuutta uhkaa moni vaara[3]. . . . Onkohan Suomi välttävä[4] tuon kovan päivän? Historia ei anna siitä[5] mitään toivoa. Älköön se vain tulko[6] . . . ennenkuin se täällä kohtaa yksimielisen kansakunnan.

Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881).

[1] Genitive of *omatunto* (cf. § 94). [2] § 129. [3] Here there is a different word order in Finnish from the English, but the clause can be rendered in English without changing the word order if you replace 'threatens' (*uhkaa*) by 'is threatened by' (cf. § 125, note). [4] § 140. [5] § 177. [6] § 124.

24.

OTTEITA SUOMEN HALLITUSMUODOSTA

Suomi ja ruotsi ovat tasavallan kansalliskielet.

Suomen kansalaisen oikeus käyttää oikeudessa ja hallintoviran-

omaisen luona omassa asiassaan äidinkieltään, suomea tai ruotsia, sekä tällä kielellä saada toimituskirjansa on turvattava[1] lailla, varteenottamalla[2], että maan suomen- ja ruotsinkielisen väestön oikeus järjestetään samanlaisten perusteiden mukaan.

Suomen- ja ruotsinkielisen väestön sivistyksellisiä ja taloudellisia tarpeita tulee valtion[3] tyydyttää samanlaisten perusteiden mukaan.

Hallintoalueiden rajoja uudestaan järjestettäessä[4] on varteenotettava, että alueet, mikäli asianhaarat sallivat, tulevat yksikielisiksi, suomen- tai ruotsinkielisiksi, taikka että toiskieliset vähemmistöt niillä tulevat niin pieniksi kuin mahdollista.

[1] § 141. [2] § 156. [3] § 165. [4] § 138.
Grammar: Paradigms, the verb *vastaan*.

25.

MATKASAUVASTA[1]

Sinun[2] maksettava[3] on takaisin aina[4]
joka[5] onnen hetki ja otettu laina.

Ei kulje se tyhjänä maailman rantaa[6],
joka[7] ilonsa omassa repussa kantaa.

Sitä miestä kuunnella kannattaa,
ken ei sano aina[8] amen ja jaa.

Missä latva nousee korkealle,
menee juuri syvään mullan alle.

Se ei halua pimeyttä poistaa,
joka tahtoo itse valona[9] loistaa.

V. A. Koskenniemi (born 1885).

[1] *Matkasauva* ('Wanderer's staff', a collection of rhymed aphorisms and adages) appeared in 1926. [2] § 166. [3] § 141. [4] Sinun on aina takaisin maksettava. [5] every. [6] *-a* may be rendered by 'along'. [7] who. [8] joka ei aina sano. [9] *-na* 'as'.

26.

TAIVAAN JA MAAN VÄLILLÄ

'Olen alku ja loppu kaikkien[1]',
sanoo maa — ja taivas samaten.

Mut[2] välillä taivahan[3] ja maan
olen tuomittu totuutta hakemaan,
ja matkalla kehdosta hautahan[3]
joka kerta kun tartun sauvahan[3],
sekin viittoo minua kahtahalle[3],
alas maahan ja ylös taivahalle![3]

V. A. Koskenniemi.

[1] kaikkien alku ja loppu. [2] = *mutta*. [3] *taivaan, hautaan, sauvaan, kahtaalle, taivaalle*: see § 38, note.

27.

Silmät tummat[1] tutkivin[2] kysymyksin[3]
lapsi leikkinyt äkkiä äitiin luo:
'Äiti, miksi ńe niin ovat kaikki yksin,
puut ja ihmiset, talot ja tornit nuo?'

— 'Eihän, kulta, ne viihtyvät vieretyksin,
kaikki talot, tornit, ihmiset, puut.' —
'Ei, ei, katso, ne niin ovat kaikki yksin.
Kuinka kunkin on[4], sit'[5] ei[6] tunne muut.

Toiset toisistaan[7] kiviseinä sulkee,
rautaportit lukkohon[8] kierretään.
Yksin äitikin käy, isä yksin kulkee,
Jumala taivahassa on yksinään.'[9]

. . .

Otto Manninen (1872–1950).

[1] Lapsi, joka (äsken) on leikkinyt, luo äkkiä äitiin tummat silmät ja tekee tutkivia kysymyksiä. [2] § 140. [3] § 63. [4] How everybody is (lives). [5] *sitä*. [6] In colloquial speech and in poetry, the third person singular is sometimes used instead of the third person plural. [7] = *toisen toisesta* 'them from each other (one from another)'. [8] Illative of *lukko* 'lock': so that they are locked. [9] Essive plural (!) of *yksi*: 'alone'.

28.

ILOINEN TARINA JÄNIKSESTÄ JA POJASTA

'Katsopas tätä!' huudahti Pekka ja heitti tuvan ovesta sisään valkean, jäätyneen jäniksen.

Kaikki tuvassa olijat[1] riensivät Pekan saalista ihailemaan ja häntä itseään[2] kiittelemään.

'No, jopahan sai saaliin!'

'Mistä sinä sen sait?'

'Jo sitä on poikaa!'[3]

'Sinusta se vasta metsämies tulee!'

Olikin se Pekka nyt miestä[4] mielestään[5]. Kaiken talvea[6] oli jänislanka ollut pellon alla aidan raossa, ja melkein joka päivä hän oli käynyt pyydystään kokemassa, mutta aina se oli ollut tyhjä. Nyt oli siihen vihdoinkin käynyt[7], kun ei sitä enää osannut odottaakaan. Pekan posket hehkuivat, silmät loistivat, ja voitonriemuisena hän riiputteli saalista takajaloista. Kaikki muut häntä kehuivat, äiti vain ei mitään virkkanut. Äänetönnä hän vain hämmenteli puuropataa lieden ääressä. Sitten hän sanoi:

'Pupu parka! Kun toki raatsit pihajäniksen tappaa!' Pekka ei ollut ensin kuulevinaankaan.[8] Äidin säälitteleminen häiritsi kuitenkin hiukan hänen iloaan, ja hän koetti puolustella itseään[9] sillä, että sanoi:

'Itsepähän kävi lankaan!'

'Mutta kukas sen pani, sen langan?'

Mutta siitä Pekka ei välittänyt, virkkoi vain:

'Nyt niitä vasta oikein aletaan pannakin lankoja!'

Eikä hän nyt koko talvena joutanut muuta tekemään eikä ajattelemaan kuin jänislankojaan. Päiväkaudet hän hiihteli talon takalistolla, ja missä vain pupu oli polkua tehnyt aitain alitse laihopeltoihin tai tepastellut syönnöksillään haapapuiden ympärillä, siihen[10] Pekka sitoi pyydyksensä ja oppi vähitellen niin taitavasti niitä asettelemaan, että oli melkein ainainen jänisrokka mökin padassa porisemassa. Hyvin ne talonväet siitä Pekkaa kehuivat ja kylässäkin häntä kiiteltiin. Mihin hän vain tuli, sanottiin hänestä:

'Tämä Pekka se vasta poikaa on!' — Äiti vain ei koskaan kiitellyt. 'Kaulastaanpahan[11] on taas kuristunut. Kuinkahan kauan lie tuokin kitunut!' oli hänen tapanaan[12] surkutella.

Yksi oli kuitenkin Pekalla huoli, se, ettei saanut käymään lankaan sitä jänistä, jota mieli olisi kaikista enimmin himoinnut. Se oli pihajänis sekin, joka kaikilla uusilla lumilla laukkaili talon ym-

päryksen jälkiä täyteen.[13] Se oli tullut sen entisen pihajäniksen sijaan, joka oli Pekan ensimmäinen saalis, niinkuin uusi jänis usein ilmestyy entisen olinpaikoille.

'Antaisit tuon olla pyydystelemättä'[14], sanoi äiti. 'Se siinä niin somasti tepastelee.'

'Laihoapa tuo tärvelee', virkkoi Pekka vastaan.

Ja hän ponnisti nyt kaikki voimansa juuri tätä jänistä saadakseen.[15]

Mutta kun hän viritti lankansa yhteen aidan rakoon, alkoi jänis pitää polkuaan toisesta.[16] Pekka haki kaikki lankansa metsästä ja sulki joka raon. Mutta silloin jänis kulki sisään ja ulos veräjästä. Eikä se näyttänyt mitään pelkäävän.[17] Välistä pistihe[18], niin kuin se entinenkin pihajänis, ihan pirtin oven edessä, ikäänkuin ivatakseen[19] Pekan pyyntihommia.

Mutta nyt oli Pekka huomannut, että se kulkiessaan pihaan ja pihasta metsään, jossa sillä oli makuupaikkansa jossakin mökin takana olevan korkean vuoren rinteellä, pistäytyi alangon niittyladolla. Se kiersi aina ladon ihan lähitse nurkkia ja kävi syömässä heinänrippeitä ladon edestä. Pekka viritti lankansa siihen jäljen päälle ja pisti kepakon, johon vaskilanka oli kiinnitetty, ladon seinänrakoon. Panipa vielä vähän tuohenkäpryäkin jäljen alle, että se siihen astuessaan säikähtää ja lentää suin päin satimeen.

Varhain seuraavana aamuna, joka oli sunnuntai, Pekka lähti uutta pyydystään kokemaan. Jo kaukaa hän näki, että saalis oli käynyt satimeen ja oli vielä elossa. Pekalta pääsi ilon huudahdus, ja hän ponnisti pitkän potkun suksillaan. Se hyppi ja telmi siellä ja pölytteli lunta ympärilleen.[20] Kun se oli käynyt kiinni vain toisesta takajalastaan[21] ja Pekka pelkäsi sen pääsevän irti, hyppäsi hän lähelle tultuaan[22] alas suksiltaan ja aikoi käydä sulin käsin saaliiseensa kiinni. Mutta silloin katkesi lanka irti kepakosta ja Pekan kainaloiden alitse pääsi jänis pakoon. Ennenkuin Pekka ehti päästä syvästä lumesta taas suksilleen, oli se jo matkainsa päässä niityllä.

Takajalassa laahustava lanka vaikeutti kuitenkin jänön kulkua, ja hetken päästä Pekka oli sen kintereillä. Mutta juuri kun hän oli sen saavuttamaisillaan[23], se lähti taas menemään. Peräkkäin, jänis vähän edellä ja Pekka jäljessä, he kulkivat niittyä myöten,

poikkesivat pelloille, pistäytyivät vähän metsän reunassakin ja tulivat taas aukealle. Mutta sitten jänis lähti pyrkimään vuorta kohti ja pääsikin sinne. Vastamäessä Pekka jäi suksineen yhä enemmän jäljelle, ja kun jänis istua kökötti vuoren harjalla, ponnisteli Pekka vasta puolimäessä.

Pekkaa alkaa jo uuvuttaa, hiki valuu virtanaan[24] otsalta ja sydän läähättää niin, että täytyy välistä pysähtyä henkeä vetämään, kun jalkaakin livettää niin, että on[25] tuon tuostakin silmilleen tuuskahtaa. Päästyään[26] mäen päälle hän jaksaa tuskin jäsentä liikahduttaa.

Mutta uupunut on jäniskin. Se on painautunut kiven kupeeseen ja laskee[27] aivan lähelle. Vähän toinnuttuaan[26] Pekka lähättää sitä sauvallaan, mutta sauva menee sivu ja töksähtää hankeen. Siitä pelästyneenä jänis puhaltuu laukkaan entisiä jälkiään[28] alas vuoren rinnettä.[29]

Ehtimättä ottaa sauvaansakaan Pekka syöksee jälkeen. Siinä hän nyt viimeinkin luulee sen saavuttavansa[30] alamäessä, ja huimaavaa vauhtia[31] he nyt kiitävät molemmat rinnettä alas.

Mutta keskellä mäkeä on kaatunut puu, ja sen latvan alle jänis pujahtaa. Pekka ei saa suksiaan käännetyksi, vaan lentää rydön yli sen toiselle puolelle suin päin lumeen.

Kun hän siitä selviää, seisoo hän polviaan myöten kinoksessa. Toinen suksi on pystyssä hangessa, toinen on ryöstäytynyt menemään mäen alle. Jänis istu toisella puolen kaatunutta puuta ja katselee Pekkaa surullisin silmin. Sillä on lanka jalassa, ja lanka on hangannut sen verille, niin että hankikin punoittaa.

Pekka ei taida sille mitään.[32] Molemmat ovat uuvuksissa.[33] Pekka läähättää, niinkuin sydän olisi rinnasta ryöstäytymässä, ja jäniskin näyttää huohottavan. Voimatta siinä mitään he katselevat toisiaan.

Hetken päästä jänis kuitenkin tointuu sen verran, että lähtee hiljalleen kuukkimaan pois ja katoaa katajapensaiden taa.

Pekalta pääsee itku, ja kun hän on aikansa[34] itkenyt, hän kahlaa toisen suksensa avulla alas niitylle toisen suksensa luo ja pääsee viimein yhä vetistellen kotiinsa.

Äiti on juuri tullut kirkosta ja panee Pekan kertomaan, mitä hänelle on tapahtunut.

'Ja sitäkö sinä itket, ettet saanut jänistäsi?' sanoo äiti. 'Ja minä kun luulin sinun itkevän sitä, että pupuparka sinun tähtesi[35] nyt siellä vaivaisena kolmijalkana kulkea remputtaa. Entäs jos olisit *sinä* jäniksen sijassa ja lanka luutasi kalvaisi?'

Muuta äiti ei sanonut, mutta Pekka pillahti yhä katkerampaan itkuun ja itki nyt sitä, mitä äiti oli sanonut. Itki koko illan ja itki vielä yölläkin maatessaan[36] vuoteellaan seinään päin kääntyneenä. Niin pian kuin hän vain muisti jäniksen ja sen verisen jalan ja miten se oli häntä surullisesti katsellut, alkoivat kyyneleet aina vuotaa. 'Entäs jos olisit *sinä* jäniksen sijassa ja lanka luutasi kalvaisi?'

Heti kun päivä alkoi valjeta[37], hiipi Pekka ylös vuoteeltaan ja hiihti metsään sille paikalle, missä oli kaatunut mäen rinteessä. Siinä hän löysi helposti jäniksen jäljet, joihin oli verta tippunut. Hän noudatteli niitä ja tapasi vähän päästä[38] jäniksen makuultaan[39] näreen juuresta.[40] Se ei yrittänytkään pakoon lähteä, sillä lanka oli takertunut näreeseen.

Pekka irroitti langan jänön jalasta ja päästi sen menemään. Iloisena se otti muutamia lyhyitä laukkoja ja kapsahti sitten takajaloilleen istumaan. Se katseli kuin ihmeissään Pekkaa, vilkutteli korviaan ja puulautui sitten menemään, töpöhännällään ystävällisesti vilkuttaen.

Kun Pekka tuli kotiin, ei ollut hänellä muuta saalista kuin katkennut jänislanka. Mutta hän ei ollut saanut milloinkaan mielestään niin hyvää saalista. Hänen oli niin herttainen olla ja elää, että ilonkyynel kihahti hänen silmissään.

Sen päivän perästä Pekka ei enää pitänyt jänislankoja, vaan hävitti muidenkin panemat[41] langat, jos niitä milloin[42] tapasi metsässä.

Se jänis, jonka hän oli päästänyt menemään, koteutui taas pian tepastelemaan talon ympärillä — ja eikö tuo tepastelle tuolla vielä nytkin.

Juhani Aho (1861—1921).

[1] those who were. [2] himself. [3] 'Well, that is a splendid boy indeed!' [4] quite a man. [5] § 179. [6] during the whole winter. [7] No subject is mentioned. [8] § 140, note. [9] himself. [10] § 171. [11] § 172. [12] she used to.

[13] full of footprints. [14] § 157. [15] § 134. [16] § 176. [17] § 150. [18] Reflexive = *pistäytyi*. [19] *ivaa-*. [20] § 95, § 94, note. [21] *-sta* 'by' (cf. § 172). [22] § 148. [23] *-maisilla, -mäisillä* plus a possessive pronoun means 'on the point of' (doing something). [24] gushing. [25] The normal expression would have been *oli tuuskahtaa* 'was on the verge of stumbling, almost stumbled'. [26] § 148. [27] No object mentioned. [28] The partitive ending may be rendered by 'following'. [29] The partitive ending means 'along (the surface of)', but ought not to be translated here, because *down* (the counterpart of *alas*) is sufficient. [30] § 149. [31] The partitive ending should be rendered by 'at'. [32] cannot achieve anything against it, cannot get at it. [33] § 46. [34] adequately, sufficiently (: when he had cried himself out). [35] = *tähden* + *-si* (cf. § 94, note). [36] The inessive of the infinitive of *makaa-*. [37] *valkene-*: see § 161, the last section. [38] before long, soon. [39] lying. [40] § 172. [41] § 152. [42] *jos milloin* 'whenever'.

Grammar § 161.

29.

KALEVALA

Kolmas runo

Vaka vanha Väinämöinen
elelevi aikojansa
noilla Väinölän ahoilla,
Kalevalan kankahilla,
laulelevi virsiänsä,
laulelevi, taitelevi.

Lauloi päivät pääksytysten,
yhytysten yöt saneli
muinaisia muisteloita,
noita syntyjä syviä,
joit' ei laula kaikki lapset,
ymmärrä yhet urohot
tällä inhalla iällä,
katovalla kannikalla.

Kauas kuuluvi sanoma,
ulos viestit vierähtävät
Väinämöisen laulannasta,
urohon osoannasta;
viestit vierähti suvehen,
sai sanomat Pohjolahan.

Olipa nuori Joukahainen,
laiha poika lappalainen,
se kävi kylässä kerran,
Kuuli kummia sanoja,
lauluja laeltavaksi,

parempia pantavaksi
noilla Väinölän ahoilla,
Kalevalan kankahilla,
kuin mitä itseki tiesi,
oli oppinut isolta.

Tuo tuosta kovin pahastui,
kaiken aikansa kaehti
Väinämöistä laulajaksi,
paremmaksi itseänsä;

jo tuli emonsa luoksi,
luoksi valtavanhempansa,
lähteäksensä käkesi,
tullaksensa toivotteli
noille Väinölän tuville
kera Väinön voitteloille.

Iso kielti poikoansa,
iso kielti, emo epäsi
lähtemästä Väinölähän
kera Väinön voitteloille:

'Siellä silma lauletahan,
lauletahan, lausitahan
suin lumehen, päin vitihin,
kourin ilmahan kovahan,
käsin kääntymättömäksi,
jaloin liikkumattomaksi.'

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'Hyväpä isoni tieto,
emoni sitäi parempi,
oma tietoni ylinnä;
jos tahon tasalle panna,
miesten verroille vetäitä,
itse laulan laulajani,
sanelen sanelijani,
laulan laulajan parahan
pahimmaksi laulajaksi,
jalkahan kiviset kengät,
puksut puiset lantehille,
kiviriipan rinnan päälle,
kiviharkon hartioille,
kivikintahat kätehen,
päähän paatisen kypärän.'

Siitä läksi, ei totellut,
otti ruunansa omansa,
jonka turpa tulta iski,
säkeniä säärivarret,
valjasti tulisen ruunan
korjan kultaisen etehen;
itse istuvi rekehen,
kohennaikse korjahansa,
iski virkkua vitsalla,
heitti helmiruoskasella,
läksi virkku vieremähän,
hevoinen helettämähän.

Ajoa suhuttelevi,
ajoi päivän, ajoi toisen,
ajoi kohta kolmannenki;
jo päivänä kolmantena
päätyi Väinölän ahoille,
Kalevalan kankahille.

Vaka vanha Väinämöinen,
tietäjä iänikuinen
oli teittensä ajaja,
matkojensa mittelijä
noilla Väinölän ahoilla,
Kalevalan kankahilla.

Tuli nuori Joukahainen,
ajoi tiellä vastatusten,
tarttui aisa aisan päähän,
rahe rahkehen takistui,
länget puuttui länkilöihin,
vemmel vempelen nenähän.

Siitä siinä seisotahan,
seisotahan, mietitähän;
vesi vuoti vempelestä,
usva aisoista usisi.

Kysyi vanha Väinämöinen:
'Kuit' olet sinä sukua,

kun tulit tuhmasti etehen,
vastahan varattomasti,
säret länget länkäpuiset,
vesapuiset vempelehet,
korjani pilastehiksi,
rämäksi re'en retukan?'

Silloin nuori Joukahainen
sanan virkkoi, noin nimesi:
'Mie olen nuori Joukahainen,
vaan sano oma sukusi,
kuit' olet sinä sukua,
kuta, kurja, joukkioa?'

Vaka vanha Väinämöinen
jo tuossa nimittelihe;
sai siitä sanoneheksi:
'Kun liet nuori Joukahainen,
veäite syrjähän vähäisen,
sie olet nuorempi minua!'

Silloin nuori Joukahainen
sanan virkkoi, noin nimesi:
'Vähä on miehen nuoruuesta,
nuoruuesta, vanhuuesta;
kumpi on tieolta parempi,
muistannalta mahtavampi,
sep' on tiellä seisokahan,
toinen tieltä siirtykähän.

Lienet vanha Väinämöinen,
laulaja iänikuinen,
ruvetkamme laulamahan,
saakamme sanelemahan,
mies on miestä oppimahan,
toinen toista voittamahan.'

Vaka vanha Väinämöinen
sanan virkkoi, noin nimesi:
'Mitäpä minusta ompi
laulajaksi, taitajaksi?

Ain' olen aikani elellyt
näillä yksillä ahoilla,
kotipellon pientarilla
kuunnellut kotikäkeä;

vaan kuitenki, kaikitenki,
sano korvin kuullakseni,
mitä sie enintä tieät,
yli muien ymmärtelet?'

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'Tieänpä minä jotaki,
sen on tieän selvällehen,
tajuelen tarkoillehen:
Reppänä on liki lakea,
liki lieska kiukoata.

Hyvä on hylkehen eleä,
ve'en koiran viehkuroia;
luotansa lohia syöpi,
sivultansa siikasia.

Siiall' on sileät pellot,
lohella laki tasainen;
hauki hallalla kutevi,
kuolasuu kovalla säällä;
ahven arka, kyrmyniska,
sykysyt syvillä uipi,
kesät kuivilla kutevi,
rantasilla rapsehtivi.

Kun ei tuosta kyllin liene,
vielä tieän muunki tieon,
arvoan yhen asian:
Pohjola porolla kynti,
etelä emohevolla,
Takalappi tarvahalla.

Tieän puut Pisan mäellä,
hongat Hornan kalliolla;
pitkät on puut Pisan mäellä,
hongat Hornan kalliolla.

Kolme on koskea kovoa,
kolme järveä jaloa,
kolme vuorta korkeata
tämän ilman kannen alla:

Hämehess' on Hälläpyörä,
Kaatrakoski Karjalassa;
ei ole Vuoksen voittanutta,
yli käynyttä Imatran.'

Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:
'Lapsen tieto, naisen muisti,
ei ole partasuun urohon,
eikä miehen naisekkahan;
sano syntyjä syviä,
asioita ainoisia!'

Se on nuori Joukahainen
sanan virkkoi, noin nimesi:
'Tieän mä tiaisen synnyn,
tieän linnuksi tiaisen,
kyyn viherän käärmeheksi,
kiiskisen ve'en kalaksi.

Rauan tieän raukeaksi,
mustan mullan muikeaksi,
varin veen on vaikeaksi,
tulen polttaman pahaksi.

Vesi on vanhin voitehista,
kosken kuohu katsehista,
itse Luoja loitsijoista,
Jumala parantajista.

Vuoresta on vetosen synty,
tulen synty taivosesta,
alku rauan ruostehesta,
vasken kanta kalliosta.

Mätäs on märkä maita vanhin,
paju puita ensimmäinen,
hongan juuri huonehia,
paatonen patarania.'

Vaka vanha Väinämöinen
itse tuon sanoiksi virkki:
'Muistatko mitä enemmin,
vain jo loppuivat lorusi?'

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'Muistan vieläki vähäisen,
muistanpa ajan mokoman,
kun olin merta kyntämässä,
meren kolkot kuokkimassa,
kalahauat kaivamassa,
syänveet syventämässä,
lampiveet on laskemassa,
mäet mylleröittämässä,
louhet luomassa kokohon.

Viel' olin miesnä kuuentena,
seitsemäntenä urosna
tätä maata saataessa,
ilmoa suettaessa,
ilman pieltä pistämässä,
taivon kaarta kantamassa,
kuuhutta kulettamassa,
aurinkoa auttamassa,
otavaa ojentamassa,
taivoa tähittämässä.'

Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:
'Sen varsin valehtelitki;
ei sinua silloin nähty,
kun on merta kynnettihin,

meren kolkot kuokittihin,
kalahauat kaivettihin,
syänveet syvennettihin,
lampiveet on laskettihin,
mäet mylleröitettihin,
louhet luotihin kokohon.

Eikä lie sinua nähty,
ei lie nähty, eikä kuultu
tätä maata saataessa,
ilmoa suettaessa,
ilman pieltä pistettäissä,
taivon kaarta kannettaissa,
kuuhutta kuletettaissa,
aurinkoa autettaissa,
otavaa ojennettaissa,
taivoa tähitettäissä.'

Se on nuori Joukahainen
tuosta tuon sanoiksi virkki:
'Kun ei lie minulla mieltä,
kysyn mieltä miekaltani;
oi on vanha Väinämöinen,
laulaja laveasuinen,
lähe miekan mittelöhön,
käypä kalvan katselohon!'

Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:
'En noita pahoin pelänne
miekkojasi, mieliäsi,
tuuriasi, tuumiasi;

vaan kuitenki, kaikitenki
lähe en miekan mittelöhön
sinun kanssasi, katala,
kerallasi, kehno raukka.'

Siinä nuori Joukahainen
murti suuta, väänti päätä,
murti mustoa haventa,
itse tuon sanoiksi virkki:

'Ken ei käy miekan mittelöhön,
lähe ei kalvan katselohon,
sen minä siaksi laulan,
alakärsäksi asetan,

panen semmoiset urohot
sen sikäli, tuon täkäli,
sorran sontatunkiohon,
läävän nurkkahan nutistan.'

Siitä suuttui Väinämöinen,
siitä suuttui ja häpesi,
itse loihe laulamahan,
sai itse sanelemahan;

ei ole laulut lasten laulut,
lasten laulut, naisten naurut,
ne on partasuun urohon,
joit' ei laula kaikki lapset,
eikä pojat puoletkana,
kolmannetkana kosijat
tällä inhalla iällä,
katovalla kannikalla.

Lauloi vanha Väinämöinen,
järvet läikkyi, maa järisi,
vuoret vaskiset vapisi,
paaet vahvat paukahteli,
kalliot kaheksi lenti,
kivet rannoilla rakoili.

Lauloi nuoren Joukahaisen,
vesat lauloi vempelehen,
pajupehkon länkilöihin,
raiat rahkehen nenähän;
lauloi korjan kultalaian,
lauloi lampihin haoiksi.

Lauloi ruoskan helmiletkun
meren rantaruokosiksi,
lauloi laukkipään hevoisen
kosken rannalle kiviksi.

Lauloi miekan kultakahvan
salamoiksi taivahalle,
siitä jousen kirjavarren
kaariksi vesien päälle,

siitä nuolensa sulitut
havukoiksi kiitäviksi,
siitä koiran koukkuleuan
sen on maahan maakiviksi.

Lakin lauloi miehen päästä
pilven pystypää kokaksi,
lauloi kintahat käestä
umpilammin lumpehiksi,

siitä haljakan sinisen
hattaroiksi taivahalle,
vyöltä ussakan utuisen
halki taivahan tähiksi.

Itsen lauloi Joukahaisen
lauloi suohon suonivöistä,
niittyhyn nivuslihoista,
kankahasen kainaloista.

Jo nyt nuori Joukahainen
jopa tiesi, jotta tunsi,
tiesi tielle tullehensa,
matkallen osannehensa,
voittelohon, laulelohon
kera vanhan Väinämöisen.

Jaksoitteli jalkoansa,
eipä jaksa jalka nousta,
toki toistakin yritti,
siin' oli kivinen kenkä.

Siitä nuoren Joukahaisen
jopa tuskaksi tulevi,
läylemmäksi lankeavi;
sanan virkkoi, noin nimesi:

'Oi on viisas Väinämöinen,
tietäjä iänikuinen,
pyörrytä pyhät sanasi,
peräytä lausehesi,

päästä tästä pälkähästä,
tästä seikasta selitä,
panenpa parahan makson,
annan lunnahat lujimmat!'

Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:
'Niin mitä minulle annat,
jos pyörrän pyhät sanani,
peräytän lauseheni,
päästän siitä pälkähästä,
siitä seikasta selitän?'

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'Onp' on mulla kaarta kaksi,
jousta kaksi kaunokaista,
yks' on lyömähän riveä,
toinen tarkka ammunnalle,
ota niistä jompikumpi!'

Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:
'Huoli en, hurja, jousistasi,
en, katala, kaaristasi,
on noita itselläniki
joka seinä seisoteltu,
joka vaarnanen varottu;
miehittä metsässä käyvät,
urohitta ulkotöillä.'
Lauloi nuoren Joukahaisen,
lauloi siitäki syvemmä.

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'Onp' on mulla purtta kaksi,
kaksi kaunoista venoa,
yks' on kiistassa kepeä,
toinen paljo kannattava;
ota niistä jompikumpi!'

Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:
'Enp' on huoli pursistasi,
venehistäsi valita;
on noita itselläniki
joka tela tempaeltu,
joka lahtema laottu,
mikä tuulella tukeva,
mikä vastasään menijä.'
Lauloi nuoren Joukahaisen,
lauloi siitäki syvemmä.

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'On mulla oritta kaksi,
kaksi kaunoista hepoa,
yks' on juoksulle jalompi,
toinen raisu rahkehille;
ota niistä jompikumpi!'

Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:
'En huoli hevoisiasi,
sure en sukkajalkojasi;
on noita itselläniki
joka soimi solmieltu,
joka tanhua taluttu,
vesi selvä selkäluilla,
rasvalampi lautasilla.'
Lauloi nuoren Joukahaisen,
lauloi siitäki syvemmä.

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'Oi on vanha Väinämöinen,
pyörrytä pyhät sanasi,
peräytä lausehesi,
annan kultia kypärin,
hopeita huovan täyen
isoni soasta saamat,
taluttamat tappelosta!'

Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:
'En huoli hopeitasi,
kysy en, kurja, kultiasi;
on noita itselläniki,
joka aitta ahtaeltu,
joka vakkanen varottu;
ne on kullat kuun ikuiset,
päivän polviset hopeat.'
Lauloi nuoren Joukahaisen,
lauloi siitäki syvemmä.

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'Oi on vanha Väinämöinen,
päästä tästä pälkähästä,
tästä seikasta selitä,
annan aumani kotoiset,
heitän hietapeltoiseni
oman pääni päästimeksi,
itseni lunastimeksi!'

Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen:
'En halaja aumojasi,
herjä, hietapeltojasi;
on noita itselläniki,
peltoja joka perällä,
aumoja joka aholla;
omat on paremmat pellot,
omat aumat armahammat.'
Lauloi nuoren Joukahaisen,
lauloi ainakin alemma.

Siitä nuori Joukahainen
toki viimein tuskautui,

kun oli leuan liettehessä,
parran paikassa pahassa,
suun on suossa, sammalissa,
hampahin haon perässä.

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'Oi on viisas Väinämöinen,
tietäjä iänikuinen,
laula jo laulusi takaisin,
heitä vielä heikko henki,
laske täältä pois minua,
virta jo jalkoa vetävi,
hiekka silmiä hiovi!

Kun pyörrät pyhät-sanasi,
luovuttelet luottehesi,
annan Aino siskoseni,
lainoan emoni lapsen
sulle pirtin pyyhkijäksi,
lattian lakaisijaksi,
hulikkojen huuhtojaksi,
vaippojen viruttajaksi,
kutojaksi kultavaipan,
mesileivän leipojaksi.'

Siitä vanha Väinämöinen
ihastui iki hyväksi,
kun sai neion Joukahaisen
vanhan päivänsä varaksi.

Istuiksen ilokivelle,
laulupaaelle paneikse,
lauloi kotvan, lauloi toisen,
lauloi kotvan kolmannenki,
pyörti pois pyhät sanansa,
perin laski lausehensa.

Pääsi nuori Joukahainen,
pääsi leuan liettehestä,
parran paikasta pahasta,
hevoinen kosen kivistä,
reki rannalta haosta,
ruoska rannan ruokosesta.

Kohoeli korjahansa,
reutoihe rekosehensa,
läksi mielellä pahalla,
syämellä synkeällä
luoksi armahan emonsa,
tykö valtavanhempansa.

Ajoa karittelevi,
ajoi kummasti kotihin,
rikki riihe'en rekensä,
aisat poikki portahasen.

Alkoi äiti arvaella,
isonen sanan sanovi:
'Suottapa rikoit rekesi,
tahallasi aisan taitoit;
mitäpä kummasti kuletki,
tulet tuhmasti kotihin?'

Tuossa nuori Joukahainen
itkeä vetistelevi
alla päin, pahoilla mielin,
kaiken kallella kypärin,
sekä huulin hyypynyisin,
nenän suulle langennuisen.

Emo ennätti kysyä,
vaivan nähnyt vaaitella:
'Mitä itket, poikueni,
nuorna saamani, nureksit,
olet huulin hyypynyisin,
nenän suulle langennuisen?'

Sanoi nuori Joukahainen:
'Oi on maammo, kantajani,

jo on syytä syntynynnä,
taikoja tapahtununna,
syytä kyllin itkeäni,
taikoja nureksiani!

Tuot' itken tämän ikäni,
puhki polveni murehin,
annoin Aino siskoseni,
lupasin emoni lapsen
Väinämöiselle varaksi,
laulajalle puolisoksi,
turvaksi tutisevalle,
suojaksi sopen kululle.'

Emo kahta kämmentänsä
hykersi molempiansa,
sanan virkkoi, noin nimesi:
'Elä itke, poikueni,
ei ole itettäviä,
suuresti surettavia:

Tuota toivoin tuon ikäni,
puhki polveni halasin
sukuhuni suurta miestä,
rotuhuni rohkeata,
vävykseni Väinämöistä,
laulajata langokseni.'

Sisar nuoren Joukahaisen
itse itkullen apeutui,
itki päivän, itki toisen,
poikkipuolin portahalla,
itki suuresta surusta,
apeasta miel'-alasta.

Sai emo sanelemahan:
'Mitä itket, Ainoseni,
kun olet saava suuren sulhon,
miehen korkean kotihin,
ikkunoillen istujaksi,
lautsoille lavertajaksi?'

Tuon tytär sanoiksi virkki:
'Oi emoni, kantajani,
itkenpä minä jotaki,
itken kassan kauneutta,
tukan nuoren tuuheutta,
hivuksien hienoutta,
jos ne piennä peitetähän,
katetahan kasvavana.

Tuotapa ikäni itken,
tuota päivän armautta,
suloutta kuun komean,
ihanuutta ilman kaiken,
jos oisi nuorna jättäminen,
lapsena unohtaminen
veikon veistotanterille,
ison ikkunan aloille.'

Sanovi emo tytölle,
lausui vanhin lapsellensa:
'Mene, huima, huolinesi,
epäkelpo, itkuinesi!

Ei ole syytä synkistyä,
aihetta apeutua;
paistavi Jumalan päivä
muuallaki maailmassa,
ei isosi ikkunoilla,
veikkosi veräjän suulla.

Myös on marjoja mäellä,
ahomailla mansikoita
poimia sinun poloisen
ilmassa etempänäki,
ei aina ison ahoilla,
veikon viertokankahilla.'

Line 4 *kankahilla* = *kankailla*, nominative sing. *kangas* (§§ 29, 38). 5 *laulelevi* = *laulelee*. 12 *yhet* (= *yhdet*, nom. plur. of *yksi*) even. 14 *katovalla* = *katoavalla*. 18 *osoannasta* = *osaannasta*, elative of *osaanta*, derived from *osaa-*. 26 *pantavaksi* = *pantavan*. 29 *ts* does not cause metric length in Karelian; *itseki* may be read *i|tsekki* (short-long-short). 30 *isolta* = *isältä*. 34 *itseänsä* than he (himself). 37 *lähteäksensä* = *lähteä*. 38 *tullaksensa* = *tulla*. 48 *kova ilma* storm. 53 *sitäi* = *sitäkin* still. 57 I shall myself enchant him who tries to enchant me. 67 *siitä* then, after that. 68 *oman ruunansa*. 75 Read *vitsalla* short-long-short! 95 *länkilöihin* = *lankiin*. 102 To whom (what people) are you related? 119 *veäite*, see *vetä-*. 127 *sep'* = *sepä*. *on* should not be translated. (This applies likewise to 133, 197, 222, 238, 242, 259, 318, 345, 387, 408, 426, 450, 512.) 127 *seisokahan* = *seisokoon*. 128 *siirtykähän* = *siirtyköön*. 129 *lienet* = *jos lienet, jos olet*. 131 *ruvetkamme* = *ruvetkaamme*. 137 How could I do (be suitable) for a singer? 140 *yksillä* same. 145 *enintä* most, i.e. best (better than all the other people do). 152 *lieska* is (in Karelian) that part of the oven which is above the opening; but it usually means (in Finnish) 'flame', and so Lönnrot interpreted it. 155 he can catch salmon close to himself (immediately in front of or beside himself) and eat them. 162 *sykysyt* = *syksyt* (during) the whole autumn. 168, 169 *Pohjola* = the people of P., *etelä* = the people of the South. 175 *kovoa* = *kovaa*. 203 *vetonen* = *vesi*. 204 *taivonen* = *taivas*. 209 *huonehia* = *huoneita*. 213 *mitä enemmin* anything more, anything else. 225 *viel'* = *vielä*. 226 *urosna* = *urhona*. 228 *ilmoa* = *ilmaa*. *suettaessa*, see *sukea-*. 230 *taivo* = *taivas*. 231 *kuuhut* = *kuu*. 234 *tähittämässä* = *tähdittämässä*, see *tähti*. 249 *pistettäissä* = *pistettäessä* (see § 138). 250 *kannettaissa* = *kannettaessa*. 256 then he uttered these words. 261 Before a duel, the swords had to be measured against each other. 264 *pelänne*, potential of *pelkää-*. 265 The plural is sometimes used in a bragging way; here, it is meant ironically. 271 *siinä* then. 273 *mustoa* = *mustaa*. 275 *ken* = *se joka*. 285 *loihe*, third person sing. preterite reflexive of *luo-*, began, started. 290 *joit'* = *joita*. 292 *kolmannet* every third (a third part of them). — In poetry and in colloquial prose, the third person singular is sometimes used instead of the plural: cf. chapter 27, footnote 6. 301, 302, 305, 306, etc., *lauloi* enchanted by magic song, transformed by song. 313 *siitä* then. 320 *pystypää kokaksi* = *pystypääksi kokaksi*. 327 *itsen* (accusative) = *itse*. 330 *kankahasen* = *kankaaseen*. 332 *jopa* indeed. *jotta* and. 334 *matkallen* = *matkalle*. 340 *siin'* = *siinä*. 343 *läylemmäksi lankeavi* is getting into (still) worse distress. 360 *onp'* = *ompi, on*. 362 *yks'* = *yksi*. 369 they are standing (put to stand) along every wall. 371, 372 *miehittä, urohitta*, see §§ 62, 69. 374 *siitäki* still. *syvemmä* = *syvemmäksi*. 377 *veno* = *vene*. 379 *paljo* = *paljon*. 382 *enp'* = *enpä*. 385 they are hauled up on all the rollers, or: all the stocks (cradles) are full of them. 387, 388 some of them are steady in hard weather (wind), some sail against the wind. 392 *oritta kaksi* = *kaksi oritta*; see *ori*. 394 *juoksulle jalompi* fitter for running fast. 395 *on raisu*

rahkehille presses on the hames, literally: the hame-straps, is eager to pull. 401, 402 they are tied to every crib, they have been (are being) led to every paddock: there is one in every stall, all the paddocks are crowded with them. 403, 404 with lard (pure, clear like water) along the spine, a lake of fat on the crupper. 411 then I shall give you a hatfull of gold (pieces, coins). 413 *saamat*, see § 152. 421 *on kullat* = *kullat on*. 434 *halaja* = *halua*. 445 *leuan* up to the chin, with his chin. 455 *jalkoa* = *jalkaa*. 459 *Aino siskoseni* = *sisareni Ainon*. 460 *lainoan* = *lainaan* (here) 'I shall give you'. 461 *sulle* = *sinulle*. 471, 472 *istuiksen, paneikse*, 3rd sing. present reflexive. 484 *reutoihe*, 3rd sing. preterite reflexive. 489 *ajoa* = *ajaa*. 492 *portahasen* = *portaaseen*. 497 *mitäpä* why. 501 *pahoilla mielin* = *pahalla mielellä* (see § 192, 46). 502 with his hat quite askew. 504 with his nose drooping over his mouth, crestfallen. 506 *vaaitella* = *vaaditella*, see *vaati-*. 507 *poikueni*, see *pojut*. 508 *nuorna* = *nuorena*; see *nuori*. 513 *syntynynnä* = *syntynyt* (*syntynynnä* is an essive = *syntyneenä*). 529 *itettäviä* = *itkettäviä*: there is nothing to cry about. 538 *itkullen* = *itkulle*. 542 *miel'-ala* = *mieliala*. 545—547 *olet saava suuren sulhon kotihin, ikkunoillen istujaksi* you are going to (come to) the home of a noble fiancé, to sit at the window(s). 555 *piennä* = *pienena* while I am small (young). 556 *kasvavana* while I am growing up. 561 *oisi* = *olisi*. *jättäminen*, see § 159. 573 *ei aina* not only. 577 *sinun* for you (see § 166).

30.

Järven toisella rannalla oli iso kylä ja toisella pieni torppa.

Järvi oli jäässä ja lunta pyrytti, sillä oli talvi ja joulun aika.

Rikkaan talon emäntä tahtoi panna ohralyhteen varpusille, mutta isäntä sanoi: 'Leivo sinä vain joululeipä ja pidä huolta porsaanpaistista; mitä me varpusista huolimme.'

Mutta torpassa oli pantu viimeinen ohralyhde varpusille jouluksi. Ja torpan lapset kuuntelivat, kuinka ne iloisina visertelivät katonharjalla.

'Jos olisimme puineet ohralyhteen, olisi meillä nyt tuores kakku lapsille jouluksi', huokasi torpparin vaimo.

'Etkö tiedä, että armelias on rikas', sanoi hurskas torpparivanhus ja katsoi lempeästi vaimoonsa. 'Olen sitäpaitsi säästänyt niin paljon, että lapset voivat kylästä käydä ostamassa neljä tuoretta joulukakkua ja kannun maitoa.'

'Kunhan vain ei olisi susia jäällä!' vaimo arveli. 'Minä annan Tanelille vahvan kepin, kyllä hän pitää puolensa', ukko sanoi.

On one side of a lake was a big village and on the other a small croft.

The lake was covered with ice and the snow whirled, for it was winter and Christmas-time.

The housewife of the rich farm wanted to put a barley-sheaf to the sparrows, but the farmer said: 'You just bake Christmas-bread and take care of the pig-roast; what do we care about the sparrows?'

But at the croft the last barley-sheaf was put out to the sparrows for Christmas. And the children of the croft listened, how they twittered gaily on the ridge of the roof.

'If we had threshed the barley-sheaf, we should now have a new-baked loaf for the children for Christmas', sighed the crofter's wife.

'Don't you know that he who is charitable is rich', said the pious old crofter and looked gently at his wife. 'Besides, I have saved so much that the children can go and buy in the village four new-baked Christmas-loaves and a jug of milk.'

'If there only were not wolves on the ice!' said the wife. 'I shall give Daniel a solid stick, he will certainly hold his own', said the old man.

Lapset lähtivät kelkkoineen kylään. Joulupäivä alkoi jo pimetä, kun he lähtivät kylästä kotimatkalle.

The children started with their sledge for the village. Christmas-evening had already begun to fall, when they started from the village for the trip home.

He kulkivat reippaasti yhä lisääntyvässä lumessa, mutta vielä oli pitkä matka torppaan.

They walked briskly in the ever increasing snow, but there was still a long way to the croft.

Silloin liikkui jotakin mustaa jäällä pimeässä. Se tuli lähemmäksi, ja lapset tunsivat sen sudeksi.

Then something black moved in the dark. It came nearer, and the children recognized it as a wolf.

'Älä pelkää, minulla on keppi', sanoi Taneli sisarelleen.

'Don't be afraid, I have a stick', said Daniel to his sister.

Mutta susi ei tehnyt pahaa lapsille. Kauniisti se pyysi pienille pennuilleen vähän ruokaa.

But the wolf did no harm to the children. It asked nicely for some food for its little whelps.

Anni antoi sudelle kaksi leipää. 'Me syömme kyllä kovaa leipää, mutta isän ja äidin pitää saada joululeipänsä', Anni sanoi. Susi kiitti ja supsutteli tiehensä.

Anni gave the wolf two loaves. 'We can certainly eat hard bread, but father and mother must have their Christmas-bread', said Anni. The wolf thanked her and padded away.

Hetken päästä tuli karhukin. Se mörisi ja pyysi nöyrästi pienille pennuillensa ruokaa.

After a while a bear came too. It growled and asked humbly for food for its small cubs.

Taneli kaasi puolet maidosta tuohiseen, jota karhu kantoi etukäpälissään. Karhu kiitti ja lönkytti tiehensä.

Daniel poured half the milk into a birch-bark receptacle, which the bear carried in his fore-paws. The bear thanked him and trotted away.

Kotona lapset kertoivat, että he olivat antaneet sudelle leipää ja karhulle maitoa. Vanhemmat katselivat kummastellen toisiinsa. Mitähän tämä merkinnee, kun lapset ovat olleet armeliaita metsän pedoille?

At home, the children told how they had given the wolf bread and the bear milk. Their parents looked in astonishment at each other. What could it mean, this charity of the children towards the beasts of the forest?

Ilta oli. Torpanväki luki Raamattua. Sitten he siunasivat ruokansa ja rupesivat syömään. Mutta vaikka he

It was evening. The croft-folk read the Bible. Then they blessed their food and started eating. But

kuinka taittoivat leipää, ei kannikka pienentynyt, ja vaikka he kaasivat maitoa kannusta, ei maito näyttänyt vähenevän.

however they broke the bread, the remnants did not become any smaller, and although they poured milk from the jug, the milk did not seem to grow less.

Juuri kun he tätä ihmettelivät, kuului rapinaa ikkunan takaa. Karhu ja susi siellä seisoivat etukäpälät pystyssä ja nyökyttelivät kiitokseksi.

Just when they were wondering about this, a scratching was heard at the window. The bear and the wolf were standing there with their fore-paws in the air and nodded thanks.

Silloin ukko ja akka ja lapsetkin ymmärsivät, että siunaus oli suotu heidän pienille ruokavaroillensa. He panivat kätensä ristiin ja kiittivät Jumalaa. Ja niin kauan kuin mökki oli pystyssä ja nuo hyvät ihmiset siinä elivät, oli heillä aina sama joululeipä ja maito koskematonna.

Then the old man and the old woman and the children understood that a blessing had been bestowed on their small supply of food. They clasped their hands and thanked God. And as long as the cottage stood erect and those good folk lived there, they always had the same Christmas-bread and milk intact.

Mutta rikkaan isännän aitat tyhjenivät. Sudet ja karhut raatelivat hänen hevosensa ja lehmänsä. Köyhyys oli ovella.

But the rich farmer's sheds were emptied. The wolves and the bears tore his horses and cows to pieces. Poverty was at the door.

'Minä menen torpanväen luo kysymään, kuinka heiltä aina riittää leipää', sanoi rikkaan talon emäntä.

'I will go to the croft-folk to ask how they always manage to have enough bread', said the housewife of the rich farm.

Hän meni ja kertoi palattuaan, että torpanväki usein lahjoittaa viimeisen leipäpalansa köyhille. Sen takia Jumala antoi heille kymmenkertaisesti takaisin.

She went, and reported after her returning that the croft-folk often gave their last piece of bread to the poor. Therefore God gave it them back tenfold.

'No, ota sitten viimeinen leipämme ja heitä noille kerjäläisille ja käske heidän sitten laputtaa tiehensä', sanoi isäntä vihaisena.

'Well, then take our last loaf and throw it to those beggars, and then tell them to pack off', said the farmer angrily.

Mutta vaimo sanoi, että on annettava hyvästä sydämestä. Ei saa odot-

But his wife said that one must give from a good heart. One must

taa edes kiitosta eikä sitä, että Jumala antaa kymmenkertaisesti takaisin.

not even expect thanks or that God will repay tenfold.

'Kuulepas, eukkoseni', sanoi silloin ukko, 'riihessä on vielä yksi puimaton ohralyhde. Sen säästämme ensi jouluksi varpusille. Olkoon se alkuna uuteen elämään.'

'Well, listen, my old woman', said the old man then, 'in the kiln there is still one unthreshed barley-sheaf. We will save it for the sparrows next Christmas. May that be the beginning of a new life for us.'

järven, gsg of *järvi* lake (lp *jawlre* | ch *jär*, *jer*; md *eŕke* etc. is a derivative). || *toisella*, adessive of *toinen* ~ *toise-* other, second; *toinen . . . toinen* (the) one . . . the other; perhaps derived from *tuo* 'that, yonder' (U). || *rannalla*, adess. of *ranta* shore, bank (< Scand.; cf. Engl. *strand*). || *oli*, 3sg prt of *ole-* to be (FU). || *iso* big (md *oću*; cf. fi *isä* father [U]). || *kylä* village (FU, UA). || *ja* and; probably < Scand., cf. Gothic *jah*; on the other hand, cf. the pronominal (?) stem *ja-* in *jahka* 'as soon as, when'. || *pieni* small, little (cf. zr *pońi*, vty *pińal*, *pinal*). || *torppa* small rented farm, croft (< Scand.). || *jäässä* iness. (here: 'covered with') of *jää* ice (FU). || *lunta*, partitive of *lumi* snow (lpS *lubmě*; md *lov*, *loy*). || *pyrytti*, 3sg prt of *pyryttä-* whirl (about); *pyry* whirling snow-storm; see U fi *purku*. || *sillä* for, because: adess. of *se* 'this, that, it' (FU). || *talvi* winter (FU). || *joulu* Christmas, Yule (< Scand.). || *-n*, gsg. || *aika* time; lv also 'weather' and 'measure'. || *rikas* ~ *rikkaa-* rich (< Scand.). || *talo* farm, house; earlier probably, as in lv (*ta'l*, npl *talud*), 'yeoman, farmer'. || *emäntä* housewife; *emä* mother (U). || *tahtoi*, 3sg prt of *tahto-* to will, wish. || *panna*, infinitive of *pane-* put (U). || *ohra*, *otra* barley; kr *ozra*, veps *ozr*, vt *õzra*, est *oder*, *ohr* (IE?). || *lyhde* ~ *lyhtee-* sheaf; kr *liühe*. *-n*, asg. || *varpusille*, allative of *varpunen* sparrow, diminutive of *varpu*, id. (R). || *mutta* (dialectal *muutta*) but: a modal (?) case of *muu* 'other' (FU). || *isäntä* master, head of the house, yeoman; see sub *iso*. || *sanoi*, 3sg prt of *sano-* say; *sana* word. || *leivo*, 2sg imperative of *leipo-* bake; *leipä* bread (< PScand. asg **hlajβa* = Gothic *hlaif*, OEngl. *hláf*, Engl. *loaf*). || *sinä* thou (U). || *vain* only, < *vaivoin*, instructive of *vaiva* 'trouble, pain' (descriptive word?). ||

pidä, 2sg imperative of *pitä-* keep, hold (FU). || *huolta*, part. of *huoli* care. || *porsaan*, gsg of *porsas* pig (IE). || *paistista*, elative of *paisti* roast, derived from *paista-* shine, roast, fry, broil. || *mitä* what: part. of *mikä* which, what (U). || *me* we (U). || *varpusista*, elative pl. || *huolimme*, 1pl prs of *huoli-* to care, derived from *huoli*. || *torpassa*, inessive of *torppa*. || *pantu*, ptc prt pass. of *pane-*. || *viimeinen* last, latest; *viime* last (FU). || *-ksi*, translative (here: 'to, for'). || *torpan*, gsg of *torppa*. || *lapset*, npl of *lapsi* child (U). || *kuuntelivat*, 3pl prt of *kuuntele-* listen; see U fi **kunne*. || *kuinka* how: instructive of the interrogative *ku-*, + the same particle as in *kuka* 'who' (U). || *ne* these, they (U), npl of *se* (see sub *sillä*). || *iloisina*, essive pl. of *iloinen* glad, gay, delighted; *ilo* joy, delight. || *visertelivät*, 3pl prt of *visertele-*, frequentative of *visertä-* twitter (onomatopoeic; cf. lp *vizârdâ-*). || *katon*, gsg of *katto* roof, derived from *katta-* to roof, cover, derived from *kansi* ~ *kante-* lid, cover; see UA, No. 71. || *harjalla*, adessive of *harja* ridge, top, mane, brush (< Balt. asg **šarjan*, nsg **šarjas* > [Lituanian *šerys* pig's-bristle,] Latvian *sar(i)s*, plur. *sari* pig's-bristles, hairs of the mane and the tail of horses, mane, hair). || *jos* if (probably translative of the pronominal relative stem *jo-* [lp *juo-*, S *ju-*, *jâ-*, md, ch *ju-*]). || *olisimme*, 1pl conditional of *ole-*. || *puineet*, npl of *puinut*, ptc prt act. of *pui-* thresh; probably derived from *puu* tree, wood, piece of wood (U). || *olisi*, 3sg cond. || *meillä*, adess. of *me*. || *nyt* now (dial. *nyyttä*; est. *nüüd*; inflected form of fi *nyky-* present, [partitive] *tätä nykyä* nowadays, for the time being). || *tuores* (dialectal) = *tuore* fresh, newbaked. || *kakku* loaf, cake (< Scand.: OSwedish asg *kaku*). || *lapsille*, allative pl. || *huokasi*, 3sg prt of *huokaa-* sigh (onomatopoeic; cf. lp *šuokˈke-*). || *torppari* tenant, crofter (OSwed. *torpari*). *-n*, gsg. || *vaimo* wife, (married) woman; see sub U lp *vuoiˈgŋâ*. || *et*, 2sg of the negative auxiliary verb *e-* (U). || *-kö* ~ *-ko*, interrogative particle (may be = the pronominal stem *ko-* [~ *ku-*] in *koska* 'when', etc.; see U fi *kuka*). || *tiedä*, neg. form (identical with 2sg imper.) of *tietä-* know (something) (cf. ch [derivative] *təšle-* observe, [causative] *tušte-* set [a person] a riddle, vty *dyš*[*y*]- learn, know, understand; on the other hand, *tietä-* may be derived from *tie* way). || *että* that (conjunction); see U fi *e-* (in *että*). || *armelias* merciful, charitable;

armo grace, mercy; *armas* dear, beloved, loving, tender, lovable (< PScand. **armaz* > ONorse *armr* poor, wretched, wicked; in ancient Germanic, **armaz* has also assumed the meaning of Latin *misericors*, of which Gothic *armahairts* is a literal translation; or fi *armas* may be an abbreviation of this compound). || *on*, 3sg prs of *ole-* (historically, *on* < **omi* ~ *oma* 'own'). || *hurskas* pious, wise (< PScand. **hurskaz* > ONorse *horskr* wise). || *vanhus* ~ *vanhukse-* old man, old woman; *vanha* old (vty *vuž*, zr *važ*). || *katso-* look, view, watch, regard (lp *gæčʹčâ-*, zr [derivative] *kaźal-* observe, notice, perceive, see). || *lempeä* mild, sweet, gentle; *lempi* love. *-sti*, modal ending (cf. the elative ending *-sta* ~ *-stä*). || *vaimoonsa*, illsg Px3. || *olen*, 1sg prs. || *sitäpaitsi* besides, also, moreover; *sitä*, part. of *se*; *paitsi* except, save, but, without (seems to be a prolative). || *säästänyt*, ptc prt act. of *säästä-* save, spare; cf. *säkö* collected heap, pile, heap of live-coals covered with ashes. || *niin* so (instructive of *ne*). || *paljon*, gsg (or asg ?) of *paljo* much (U). || *voivat*, 3pl prs (and prt) of *voi-* be able (to), be capable (of). || *kylästä*, elative (belongs to *ostamassa*, not to *käydä*). || *käydä*, inf. of *käy-*, (before a vowel:) *käv-* go, walk; ch *keje-*, *kaje-* go, go away, depart; cf. yr *häe-* go; (derivative:) *häewa*, *käema* the action of going away, departure. || *ostamassa*, inessive of *ostama*, verb noun of *osta-* buy (FU ?). || *neljä* four (FU). || *tuoretta*, part. of *tuore*. || *-a*, partitive. || *kannu* can, jug; about $2\,^2/_3$ litre (OSwed. asg *kannu*). *-n*, asg. || *maito* milk; birch sap (cf. vty *mõl'* tree-honey, sweet tree-juice). || *kun* when; as (historically, = *kuin*); *k. vain* if only. || *-han* ~ *-hän* why, is'nt it, you know (probably, = *hän* he, she [FU]). || *ei*, 3sg prs of *e-*. || *olisi*, neg. conditional. || *susia*, part. pl. of *susi* ~ *sute-* wolf. || *-llä*, adessive. || *arveli*, 3sg prt of *arvele-* think, consider, suppose, believe, say; *arvaa-* suppose, presume, guess; *arvo* value, worth, rank, esteem, regard (IE). || *minä* I (U). || *annan*, 1sg prs of *anta-* give (FU). || *Taneli* Daniel. *-lle*, allative. || *vahva* thick, strong, solid. || *kepin*, asg of *keppi* stick (OSwed. asg *kepp*). || *kyllä* certainly, indeed, yes (as defective noun: 'enough') (lp *gâlʹlĕ*). || *hän* he, she (see sub *-han*). || *pitää*, 3sg prs (< *pitävi*). || *puolensa*, asg Px3 of *puoli* half, side (one of two) (md *pola* husband, wife). *pitä- puolensa*, *pitä- puoliansa* hold one's own, stand one's ground. || *ukko*

old man. || *lähte-* go, leave, depart, start (FU). || *kelkkoineen*, comitative (Px3) of *kelkka* toboggan, sledge (< Scand.) || *kylään*, illsg. || *päivä* day, sun (cf. zr *bi* fire?). || *alkoi*, 3sg prt of *alka-* begin (FU). || *jo* already (< Scand.? cf. Gothic *ju*). || *pimetä*, inf. of *pimene-* grow dark, darken; *pimeä* dark (U). || *he* they, pl. of *hän*. || *koti* home; *kota* (Lapp) tent, hut, conical hut used for cooking in summer (IE). || *matka* journey, trip (lp *muotʲke* isthmus, narrow neck of land between two fjords, lakes or [not confluent] rivers; good-sized promontory in a river, across which one walks or drives instead of going by water). || *kulkivat*, 3pl prt of *kulke-* go, walk, stroll (U). || *reippaasti*, modal case of *reipas* brisk, lively, cheerful (< Scand.). || *yhä* still, ever, continually (may be a lative case of **yhtä-* ~ *yhte-* 'one' [FU *yksi*]). || *lisääntyvä*, ptc prs of *lisäänty-* increase, augment (intr.); *lisä* addition, increase (lp *lâsse* id., md *lezdõ-* add, augment [trans.] = fi *lisää-* ~ *lisät-*). || *vielä* still, yet (Balt., cf. Lituanian *vėl*). || *pitkä* long, tall (md *pokš* big). || *silloin* then, at that time (cf. *se*). || *liikku-* move (intr.), stir (U?). || *jotakin*, part. of *jokin* some, any, something, anything (pronominal stem *jo-* + *-ki(n)* 'also' (cf. lp *-ge* and, km *-gõ* too, also). || *mustaa*, part. of *musta* black, dark (cf. *museva* dark, blackish). || *tuli*, 3sg prt of *tule-* come (U?). || *lähemmäksi*, translative of *lähempi*, comparative of *lähe-*, nsg *lähi-* near, close (cf. *läsnä* present, on the spot; ch *lišnə* near [of position], *liškə* near [of movement]) || *tunsivat*, 3pl prt of *tunte-* know (somebody), recognize, feel (U). || *sen*, asg of *se*. || *sudeksi*, translative of *susi*: 'as a wolf'. || *älä*, 2sg imper. of the negative verb (U). || *pelkää*, neg. form of *pelkää-* be afraid, fear; *pelko* fear, dread (U). || *minulla*, adessive of *minä*. || *sisarelleen*, allative Px3 of *sisar* sister (probably Balt.; cf. IE md *sazor*). || *tehnyt*, ptc prt act. of *teke-* do, make (FU). || *pahaa*, part. of *paha* bad, evil (lp *buošše* ill-tempered, quick-tempered [of women and female animals]). || *kauniisti*, modal case of *kaunis* beautiful, fair, lovely, fine (< Scand., cf. Gothic *skauns* < **skauniz*). || *pyysi*, 3sg prt of *pyytä-* ask, request, beg, catch (U?). || *pennuilleen*, allative plur. Px3 of *pentu*, *penttu*, *penu* whelp (of dog, fox, wolf), variant of *peni* (probably dim. of **penä* 'dog' = md *pine*, *pinɛ*, ch *pi*, *pij*, cf. vty *puny*, zr *pon*; lp *bænâ* ~ *bædnâgâ-* is a derivative). || *vähän*, gsg (or asg?) of *vähä* little (cf. md *veška*,

viška small, *vežińće* youngest, vg *viś*, *viš* small, younger). || *ruokaa*, part. of *ruoka* food. || *antoi*, 3sg prt of *anta-* give (FU). || *kaksi* two (U?). || *syömme*, 1pl prs. || *kova* hard. || *äidin*, gsg of *äiti* mother (< Scand., cf. Gothic *aiþei*). || *saada*, inf. of *saa-* get, receive; come, arrive (U). || *-nsä*, Px3. || *kiitti*, 3sg prt of *kiittä-* thank, praise (lv 'say, tell'). || *supsuttele-* rustle. || *tiehensä* away: illsg Px3 of *tie* way, road, journey (zr *tuj*). || *hetken*, gsg of *hetki* moment, instant, while, (earlier:) hour, ol *hätki* long time ([?] md *ška* time, vty *čož* a fixed time, zr *ńem-ćõž* lifetime [*ń.* life, lifetime], *vo-ćõžja* lasting for a year, a year old [*v.* year]). || *päästä* after (cf. French *au bout de*): elative of *pää* head, end (U). || *karhu* bear (cf. *karhea* rough, coarse, ol *karhakka*; probably a *noa* name: 'the coarse-haired one'). || *-kin*, see sub *jotakin*. || *mörise-* growl (onomatopoeic). || *nöyrä* humble, meek (earlier: 'flexible, pliant'). || *kaasi*, 3sg prt of *kaata-* overturn, upset, fell, pour. || *puolet*, napl! || *tuohinen* birch-bark receptacle (of varying size); *tuohi* birch bark (probably < Balt.: Lituanian *tošis*). || *jota*, part. of the relative pronoun *jo-*, nsg *joka* (cf. sub *jotakin*). || *kantoi*, 3sg prt of *kanta-* carry, bear (U). || *etu* advantage, benefit, *etu-* front, derived from *ete-*, nsg *esi-* ahead, in front, before (in space or time) (FU). || *käpälissään*, iness. plur. Px3 of *käpälä* paw (cf. *käpy* cone [of fir etc.], paw, *käppä* id., *käppärä* cone, paw, est *käpp* paw, md *kepe* barefoot). || *lönkyttä-* trot, jog (descriptive word?). || *kotona* at home: essive of *koto* (the) home (= *koti*). || *kerto-* relate, narrate, tell (earlier: 'repeat'), derived from *kerta* time, turn (cf. mdE *kirda*, M *kõrda*, ch *pülä-gerdə* rather long ago [: **kerdə* 'time'?]; < Balt.). || *antaneet*, npl ptc prt of *anta-*. || *vanhemmat* parents: nsg *vanhempi*, comparative of *vanha*; *-mpi* = lp *-b* (Kola *-mp*), hu *-bb*. || *katsele-* = *katso-*. || *kummastellen*, genitive of inf. of *kummastele-* be astonished; *kumma* wonder, marvel. || *toisiinsa* at each other (literally: 'their others'): illpl Px3 of *toinen* ~ *toise-* another, other, second. || *tämä* ~ *tä-* this (U). || *merkinnee*, 3sg potential of *merkitse-* mark, mean, signify; *merkki* mark, sign (< Scand.). || *ovat*, npl prs of *ole-* (cf. sub *on*). || *olleet*, npl of ptc prt of *ole-*. || *armeliaita*, part. plur. || *metsä* forest (lp *mæcɨce*). || *pedoille*, allative plur. of *peto* (wild) beast. || *ilta* evening (cf. FU mdM *ilɛt'*). || *väki* people, folk, men, forces (FU). || *luki*, 3sg prt of *luke-* read,

count (IE). || *raamattu* bible (est *raamat* book; < R). || *sitten* then, after that (may be a contamination of *siittä* 'then' and *siten* 'so, in that way', both being 'cases' of *se*). || *siunasivat*, 3pl prt of *siunaa-* bless (< Scand.: Swed. *signa* < Lat. *signare* 'sign'). || *rupesivat*, 3pl prt of *rupea-* seize, begin, start, set about; *älä rupee minuun* noli me tangere! || *syömään*, illative of verb noun in *-ma* ~ *-mä*, of *syö-* eat (FU). || *vaikka* although, even if, even though; *vaikka kuinka* however, no matter how (= *vai* 'or' [in interrogative clauses] + the particle *-ka*; *vai* may be a shortened form of *vaadi*, 2sg imper. of *vaati-* demand, claim, urge: cf. Latin *vel* 'or', and hu *vagy* 'or' ~ *vágy-* to wish, yearn, and *akár* 'even', *akár* . . . *akár* 'whatever . . . or' ~ *akar-* 'to wish, will'). || *taittoivat*, 3pl prt of *taitta-* bend, bow, fold, break (trans.); see U fi *tai-*. || *kannikka* the end or edge of something; *kanta* base (FU). ||*-pienentynyt*, ptc prt act. of *pienenty-* become smaller, decrease (see *pieni*). || *näyttänyt*, ptc prt act. of *näyttä-* show, appear, seem; *näky-* be seen, be visible; *näke-* see (FU). || *vähenevän*, asg of ptc prs of *vähene-* lessen, diminish, be reduced (see sub *vähän*). || *juuri* just: case form of *juuri* 'root' (md *jur*). || *tätä*, part. of *tä-*, nsg *tämä*. || *ihmettele-* wonder (at); *ihme* wonder, marvel, miracle (lp *âmâs* foreign, strange). || *kuulu-* be audible, be heard; *kuule-* hear (FU). || *rapinaa* part. of *rapina* rustle, scratching; *rapise-* to rustle, patter (onomatopoeic). || *ikkuna* window; *akkuna* id. (R). || *takaa*, part. of *taka-* that which is behind (U). || *siellä* there (adessive of *sikä-* [cf. *sikäläinen* living there, . . . at that place, *sikäli* so far, to such an extent], derived from *se*). || *seiso-* stand (FU). || *pystyssä*, iness. of *pysty-* erect, vertical. || *nyökyttele-* frequentative of *nyökyttä-* nod. || *kiitokseksi*, transl. of *kiitos* thanks; see *kiittä-*. || *akka* old woman ('Lallwort'). || *ymmärsivät*, 3pl prt of *ymmärtä-* understand (derived from *ympäri* around, about). || *siunaus* blessing (see *siunaa-*). || *suotu*, ptc prt pass. of *suo-* grant, give, wish. || *heidän*, gen. of *he*. || *varoillensa*, allative plur. of *vara* reserve, supply, stock, store (< Scand.). || *kätensä*, napl Px3 of *käsi* hand (FU). || *ristiin*, illsg of *risti* cross (R). || *jumala* god (cf. est *jume* complexion, expression of the face, *päeva-j.* the first dawn [*päev* day], md *jondol* lightning ['fire of the sky': *tol* 'fire'], ch *jumo* sky, god, tutelary genius). || *kauan* long, (for) a long time: acc. of *kauka-* (not used in the nom.),

cf. *kauko-* far; see FU *kauka-*. || *mökki* cottage, cabin, hut. || *nuo* (used as) plural of *tuo* that, yonder; see U fi *nämä*. || *hyvä* good (FU?). || *ihmiset*, npl of *ihminen*, *inehmo*, *inhimi-* man, human being (cf. md *inže* guest). || *siinä* there: iness. (earlier essive plur.?) of *se*. || *elivät*, 3pl prt of *elä-* live (U). || *heillä*, adessive of *he*. || *aina* always, still (< Balt.?, or < Aryan?, < Scand.?). || *sama* same (< Scand.). || *koskematonna*, essive of *koskematon* ~ *-ttoma-* untouched, intact; *koske-* touch; hurt (cf. *kose-* touch; refer to, [?] est *kosi-* beat, thrash, lpLule *guosyâtâ-* beat [with a stick], South *guosˈyě-* go into the net [of fish] [JpN *guosˈkâ-* 'touch' may be < fi]). || *aitat*, npl of *aitta* shed, larder, storehouse, granary. || *tyhjene-* become empty, be emptied; *tyhjä* empty (< Balt.: Lituanian *tuščias*). || *raatele-* tear to pieces, lacerate, mutilate; *raato* carcass, carrion (cf. vty *žyž* decayed [of stuff], brittle, zr *ryž* brittle, weak, vg *ruš*, *rus* brittle [of wood], weak). || *hänen*, gen. of *hän*. || *hevosensa*, napl Px3 of *hevonen* horse (cf. *hepo* id.). || *lehmä* cow (md *lišme* horse). || *köyhyys* poverty; *köyhä* poor. || *ovella*, adessive of *ovi* door (U). || *menen*, 1sg prs of *mene-* go (U). || *luo* to, lative case of the defective noun *luo*: *luona* near to, close to, close by, by, *luota* from (lp *lunˈně* by, *lutˈtě* from, *lusâ* to). || *kysymään*, ill. of verb noun in *-ma* ~ *-mä* of *kysy-* ask, inquire (lp *gâččâ-*; derivative: fi *kysyttä-*, est *küsita-* question, make inquiries about, lp *gâžâtâ-* question [closely], mdM *kizəfˈtə-*, E *kevšte-*, *kevkšte-* ask). || *heiltä*, abl. of *he*. || *riittää*, 3sg prs of *riittä-* be enough, suffice (probably, = *riittä-* cover [with ice: without subject, or said of the cold, the frost]; cf. *riite* ~ *riittee-*, *riitto* thin layer of ice, *riitta* id., pile, est *riie* ~ *riide-* article of dress, plur. clothes). || *palattuaan*, part. Px3 of ptc prt pass. of *palaa-* ~ *palat-*, *palaja-* return (intr.), come back; turn (intr.) (lv *palu-* turn [hay]). || *usein* often: instructive of *usea* many. || *lahjoittaa*, 3sg prs of *lahjoitta-* give, donate; *lahja* gift, present. || *palansa*, asg Px3 of *pala* bit, piece (U). || *köyhille*, all. pl. || *sen*, gsg of *se*. || *takia* for the sake of, because of: part. pl. of *taka-* that which is behind, rear (U). || *kymmenkertaisesti*, modal case of *kymmenkertainen* tenfold; *kymmen-*, *-kymmen* ~ *kymmene-*, nasg *kymmenen* ten (md *kemeń*); *-kertainen* -fold (see sub *kertoivat*). || *takaisin* back, re- (see sub *takia*). || *no* well, now (< Scand.?). || *ota*, 2sg

imper. of *otta-* take (FU). || *-mme*, Px1pl. || *heitä*, 2sg imper. of *heittä-* throw, cast. || *noille*, allative of *nuo*. || *kerjäläisille*, allative plur. of *kerjäläinen* beggar; *kerjää-* beg (FU). || *käske*, 2sg imper. of *käske-* order, command, ask (vty *kosy-*). || *heidän*, gen. of *he*. || *laputta-* get away, hasten away, pack off (descriptive word?). || *vihaisena*, essive of *vihainen* angry; *viha* anger, hatred; inflammation in a wound; venom (IE). || *annettava*, ptc prs pass. of *anta-*. || *sydämestä*, elative of *sydän* heart (U). || *edes* at least, even: translative of *esi* (see sub *etu-*). || *kiitosta*, part. of *kiitos*. || *-kä* and (after the negative verb). || *sitä*, part. of *se*. || *antaa*, 3sg prs. || *kuule*, 2sg imper. of *kuule-* hear (FU). || *-pa(s)* ~ *-pä(s)* well, indeed (cf. lp *-bâ*, *-be*). || *eukkoseni*, nsg Px1sg of *eukkonen*, diminutive of *eukko* old woman (perhaps derived from *emä* 'mother, female' [U]). || *riihessä*, inessive of *riihi* kiln, drying-house (vty *šynyr*, *inšyr*, zr *rynyš*). || *puimaton* ~ *-ttoma-* unthreshed. || *ensi* first, next. || *olkoon*, 3sg imper. of *ole-*. || *alkuna*, essive of *alku* beginning (see sub *alkoi*). || *uuteen*, illsg of *uusi* new (FU). || *elämään*, illsg of *elämä* life (see sub *elivät*).

VOCABULARY

As to the alphabetic order, see p. 3.

If a word stem is followed by a hyphen (without brackets), this means that it is a verb stem.

If a disyllable ends in *i* in the nsg, the implication is that the gsg ends in *e*.

aamu morning; *aamiainen* breakfast (U)
ahkera diligent, industrious; *ahkeruus* (*-uute-*) diligence (*ahku* eagerness)
aho burn-beaten land, clearing
ahta- fill, stuff; *ahtaele-* be filling, fill repeatedly, etc. (FU)
ahven perch, Perca fluviatilis
aihe reason, cause; subject matter
aika, gen. *ajan* time
aiko- intend, propose (to do something) (cf. *aika*)
aina always; still; *ainakin*, (chiefly in negative clauses) *ainakaan* at least, at any rate; *ainainen* permanent, perpetual (loan-word?)
Aino, diminutive *Ainonen*; *aino* is the same word as *ainoa*, and the name is coined by Lönnrot
ainoa only, single; unique, incomparable, outstanding; *ainoastaan* only, solely; *ainoinen* unique, unequalled, exceptional, extraordinary (G)
aisa shaft, thill, pole (of a vehicle) (loan-word?)
aita fence
aitta storehouse (B?)
aivan quite, altogether (IE?)
aja- drive; *ajaja* driver, one who drives; *oli teittensä ajaja* was driving along the road(s); *ajuri* coachman (IE?)
ajattele- think; *ajatus* (*-ukse-*) thought (cf. *aja-*)
akatemia academy
akka (old) woman
akkuna = *ikkuna*
ala area, region (U)
ala(-), *ali*(-) under(-), inferior, the place under (adjacent to) something; *alla* (being) under; *alle* (going down) under; *alas* (going) down; *alemmaksi* (K *alemma*) (going) further down; *alitse* (moving, taking one's way) under; *alanko* dell, low terrain, lowland (U)
alka- begin; *alku* beginning (FU)
alue territory, region, area (cf. *ala*)
ampu- shoot; *ammunta* shooting
anta- give (FU)
anteeksi (for a gift); *anta- anteeksi* remit, let off; forgive, excuse; *anteeksi* excuse me! (cf. *anta-*)

Antti, gen. *Antin* Andrew
apea sad, melancholy; *apeutua* become sad (R)
apu help, aid, assistance; *apulainen* assistant
arka afraid, timid, shy (G)
armas (*armaa-*) dear, beloved; *armaus* (*-ute-*) loveliness; *armelias* (*armeliaa-*) merciful (G)
arvaa- (K *arvoa-*), inf. *arvata* suppose, guess; *arvaele-* guess, be guessing; *arvele-* suppose, be guessing (IE *arvo*)
asema situation; station; *asemapäällikkö* station-master (cf. *asu-*)
asetta- place, put, set; *asettele-* be placing, put in different places (cf. *asu-*)
asia thing; matter; *asianhaara* circumstance (cf. *asu-*?)
askel (*askelee-* or *askele-*) step (U)
asti right away, all the way, all the time (to or from a certain point of space or time) (cf. *astu-*, *asu-*?)
astu- step (cf. *askel*)
asu- live, dwell, reside; *asunto* dwelling, residence (cf. *asema*) (U)
aukea open terrain (not covered by wood), plain; open, wide (FU)
auki (uninflected) open (cf. *aukea*)
auma rick, stack
aurinko sun
auto (no gradation) automobile, taxi
autta- help (cf. *apu*)
avaa-, inf. *avata* open (FU)
avain (*avaime-*) key (cf. *avaa-*)

e- do not (negative auxiliary verb); *ei* does not, *eivät* they do not (U)
edes at least, even (cf. *esi-*)
ehkä perhaps
ehti- have time, find time (to); (manage to) arrive in time (FU?)
ehtoollinen (supper;) the Communion
eilen yesterday
eli or
elä- live; *elele-* spend (one's time); *elo* crop(s); life; *elossa* alive; *eläin* (*eläime-*) animal; *eläke* (*eläkkee-*) pension, support, maintenance, alimony; *elämä* life (U)
elä = *älä* do not!
emä mother (of an animal); (as first part of compounds) female; mother-; *emo* mother; *emäntä* housewife, hostess, (farmer's) wife (U)
ensi (*ente-*; defective word) the first; the next (in this use, it is uninflected); *ennen* before, formerly; *ensin* first, at first; *ensimmäinen* the first; *entinen* former, previous
entä(*s*) what about . . .; suppose (what if) . . . (G?)
enä(-) (defective word, hardly used in the nominative; it means "big, much"); *enää* (mostly in negative clauses) any more (again); *enempi* (as a rule, *enemmän* is used instead of the nominative singular) more; *enin* (*enimpä-*) most; greatest; *enimmin* most, to the greatest extent, in the highest degree (U)
epä(-) (privative prefix; historically speaking, the present participle of *e-*) un-, non-; *epää-* (K *epeä-*), inf. *evätä* deny, refuse; *epäile-* doubt; suspect
erinomainen extraordinary, remarkable, splendid (cf. *erä* and *oma*)

erittäin particularly, extraordinarily (cf. *erä*)

erä parcel, lot; share; item, entry; part-payment; *erämaa* wilderness, desert (lp?/os)

eräs (*erää-*) a (certain) (cf. *erä*)

esi(-) (stem *ete-*; defective word; the nominative is used only as first part of compounds) fore-, front, foremost; *edessä* in front (of); *edestä* from in front; instead of; for; *eteen* ahead, forward, along; *edellä* before (in time); *etempänä* (being) more ahead; *eteinen* vestibule, (entrance) hall; *etelä* south (: the usual direction of the tent door) (FU)

estä- prevent, hinder, impede

etten, ettei = *että en, että ei*

etu (the former end;) advantage

eukko old woman

haapa, gen. *haavan* aspen

hake- seek, search

hako sour, waterly log, floating beneath the surface of the water

halaa-, inf. *halata* = *halaja-*

halaja- want, covet

haljakka coat (of fine light-coloured stuff)

halki across (cf. *halko-*)

halko- cleave, split

halla frost (B)

hallitse-, inf. *hallita* rule, reign, govern, command; *hallinto* administration; *hallintoviranomainen* administrative authority (department, office; cf. *virka* and *oma*); *hallitus* (*-ukse-*) government, ministry; *hallitusmuoto* (the written) constitution (of a country) (G)

halu desire; *halua-*, inf. *haluta* desire, want, covet

hammas (*hampaa-*) tooth (B)

-han, -hän to be sure, as is known, you know (cf. *hän*)

hankaa-, inf. *hangata* chafe, rub (cf. *hanka* rowlock)

hanki crust on the snow

harja brush; ridge, crest (B)

harkko pile, heap

hartiot (*hartio-*; plurale tantum) the back between the shoulders (G)

hattara small (fleecy) cloud

hauki pike, Lucius esox

haukka, havukka hawk (G)

hauska pleasant, nice

hauta pit, hollow, cavity; grave; *kalahauta* hollow, depression in the bottom of the sea, where the fish are supposed to dwell

haven (*hapene-*) beard

he (*hei-*; § 4, note, §§ 32, 72) they (FU *hän*)

hehku- glow

heikko weak, feeble

heinä hay; *heinänrippeet* (plural) fragments of hay (B)

heittä- throw; lash; throw away, give up; leave, spare; *heittele-* throw (repeatedly)

helettä- run nimbly, with nimble feet

helmi pearl; *helmiruoskanen* a whip with pearls or beads fastened to the cracker

helppo easy; *helposti* easily (G?)

henki breath; life; spirit; living being, person (FU?)

hepo, hevonen (dial. *hevoinen*) horse

hera whey

herja, herjä wretch (G)

herra gentleman; master; Mr.; Lord (God) (G)

herttainen nice, charming (G)
heti at once, instantly (cf. *hetki*)
hetki moment, instant; (a) while
hevo(i)nen, see *hepo*
hiekka sand
hieno fine; thin; *hienous* (*-ute-*) fineness
hieta sand
hiihtä- go on skis; *hiihtele-* be going on skis, go hither and thither on skis
hiipi-, 1st sing. present *hiivin* sneak, move so as not to be observed
hiki, gen. *hien* sweat
hiljaa quietly; *hiljalleen* (the allative of the stem of which *hiljaa* is the partitive, + the possessive pronoun of the third person) leisurely, at an easy pace, slowly
himo (ardent) desire; *himoitse-* desire (ardently), covet
hio- whet, grind; rub
hirveä horrid, terrible
hiukka grain of sand; *hiukan* a little, a trifle
hius (*hiukse-*) hair (on the head)
hivus = *hius*
hoita- tend, nurse, take care of
homma task, work, business
honka (tall) Scotch fir, Pinus silvestris
hopea silver
Horna, a hill in the parish of Leppävirrat in the province of Savo in Finland
hotelli hotel
huima scatter-brained; *huimaava* dizzying
hulikka firkin, tub (G)
hullu mad, crazy; foolish
huohotta- gasp, pant
huokaa-, inf. *huoata* sigh; *huokaise-* sigh once
huokea cheap (G)
huoli care, trouble, anxiety; *huoli-* care (about, for); *huolimatta* notwithstanding
huomaa-, inf. *huomata* awake, wake up (intr.); notice, observe
huomen morning; (the day) tomorrow; *huomenna* tomorrow (cf. *huomaa-*)
huone room; house
huono bad
huopa felt; felt hat (G)
hurja wild, mad
hurskas (*hurskaa-*) pious; wise (G)
huuhto- rinse, wash
huuta- shout, cry, scream; *huudahta-* utter a cry, cry out; *huudahdus* exclamation, (sudden) cry
huvi, gen. *huvin* pleasure, amusement; *huvila* villa (cf. FU *hupa*)
hykertä- rub
hylje (*hylkee-*) seal, Phoca (FU?)
hylly shelf (G)
hyppi- jump
hyppää-, inf. *hypätä* jump, make a jump (G?)
hyvä good; good-humoured; *hyvin* well; very; *hyvästi* well; farewell, good-bye; *hyvää päivää* how do you do? (FU?)
hyypynyinen pouting
hyöty profit, use, advantage
häiritse- disturb
Hälläpyörä, rapids in the province of Satakunta
Häme Tavastland, Tavastia
hämmentele- stir, be stirring (e.g. porridge in the pot)
hän he, she (FU)
-hän, see *-han*
häntä tail (FU)
häpeä shame; *häpeä-*, inf. *hävetä* be ashamed

härkä ox (B)
hävittä- destroy
häät (*hää-*, plurale tantum) wedding, nuptials
höyry steam; *höyrypursi* small steamer

-i (K) ← *-kin*
ihaile- admire (IE?)
ihan quite, altogether; nothing but
ihana delicious, lovely; *ihanuus* (*-uute-*) loveliness
ihastu- become delighted
ihme miracle, wonder; *ihmeissään* (inessive plural + possessive pronoun) amazed; *ihmettele-* be astonished, wonder; admire
ihminen man, human being
iki very, extremely (cf. *ikä*)
ikkuna window (R)
ikä age, lifetime, epoch; *ikäänkuin* (quite) as if; *ikävä* dull, boring; *ikuinen* as old as . . . (FU)
ilma air; sky; world; *ilman* without; *ilmesty-* appear; *ilmoitta-* declare, announce, communicate (FU)
ilo joy; *iloinen* glad, merry
ilta evening, (the beginning of the) night (see FU mdM *ilɛt'*)
Imatra, the most known rapids in Finland (on the Vuoksi)
inha repulsive, evil, bad
irti (let, get) loose (: not tied up or fastened); *ole- irrallaan* (adessive of the stem *irta-* + possessive pronoun) be loose, be unfastened; *irroitta-* set free, set loose; detach (B?)
iske- strike; hit, knock
iso big (cf. *isä*)
iso (K) father
istu- sit; *istuja* one who sits
isä father; *isäntä* housefather; farmer (U)
itke- weep, cry; *itku* crying, tears
itse (no plural form) myself, yourself, etc., ourselves, etc. (U)
itä east; *itäinen* eastern (FU *itä-*)
iva scorn, derision, mockery; *ivaa-*, inf. *ivata* deride, scoff at, mock
iänikuinen extremely old (cf. *ikä* and *ikuinen*)

ja and (G)
jaa yes (G)
jaksa- be able (be strong enough etc.); feel (well or bad), be in (good or bad) health: *kuinka jaksat* how are you?; loose, unfasten; *jaksoittele-* try to unfasten, try to move
jalka foot; leg (FU)
jalo mighty; noble
jatka- continue
jo already; now (G?)
jo(-) see *joka*
johta- lead, guide, conduct; *johto* guidance; conduct, conduit
joka (stem *jo-*; gen.-acc. sing. *jonka*, nom. plur. *jotka*) who, which (relative pronoun); *jossa* where
joka (uninflected) every
joki, gen. *joen* river, brook (U)
joki(n) (*jo-* is inflected) some, something; *jossakin* somewhere
joku (both *jo-* and *ku-* are inflected) somebody, some
jompi, jompikumpi (both *jompi* and *kumpi* are inflected like comparatives) one of the two, one or the other
jos if
joskus sometime, sometimes
jossa, see *joka*
jossakin, jotakin see *joki(n)*

jotta that, so that; (K) and
Joukahainen is supposed by Setälä to be a personification of the winter or the ice; according to the same theory, Väinämöinen represents the water and the break-up of the ice in the spring
joukko flock, herd, multitude; *miesten joukossa* among the men; *joukkio* flock, clan
joulu Christmas, Yule (G)
jousi bow, crossbow (U)
jouta- have got the time (to do something)
juhla festival, feast (G)
Jumala God; *jumalaton* godless, ungodly
juna (railway) train
juo- (§ 109) drink; *juoma* drink, beveridge; *juominki* drinking-bout (FU)
juokse-, inf. *juosta* run; *juoksu* running, run; *juoksentele-*, inf. *juoksennella* run to and fro, hither and thither (FU)
juttu story, tale; (law) case; *juttele-*, inf. *jutella* talk, chat
juuri root
juuri just, quite; freshly, newly (cf. *juuri* root)
juusto cheese (G)
jälki (§ 10) footstep, footprint, trace; *jälkeen* after; *senjälkeen* after that, then; *jäljessä* after (in space); *jäljellä, jäljelle* remaining, left (not having gone, disappeared, or been consumed)
jänis (*jänikse-*) hare; diminutive *jänö*
järise- quiver, shake, rock
järki (§ 10) understanding, reason, (common) sense; *järjestä-* arrange, organize
järvi lake
jäsen joint; member
jättä- leave (tr.; cf. *jää-*)
jää ice; *jääty-* freeze (intr.) (FU)
jää- remain, stay

-kaan, -kään (mostly in negative clauses) either, even
kaari arch; bow (U?)
kaata- (§ 108, note) fell; pour; *kaatu-* fall (over)
kade (*katee-*) envy; *kadehti-* envy
kadotta-, see *katoa-*
kahdeksan (*kahdeksa-*) eight
kahlaa-, inf. *kahlata*, or *kaalaa-*, inf. *kaalata* wade (U)
kahtaalle, see *kaksi*
kahva hilt; *kultakahva* gold-hilted, having a golden hilt
kahvi, gen. *kahvin* coffee
kai presumably (I suppose)
kaikki (*kaikki* is used instead of the nom.-acc. plur., which seldom occurs, and also often instead of the acc. sing. *kaiken*) all; *kaikkein* (combined with a superlative) of all; *kaikitenkin* anyhow; *kaikenlainen* of all kinds (B?)
kainalo armpit; the place below the armpit (FU?)
kaiva- dig
kaksi (*kahte-*; partitive *kahta*) two; *kahtaalla, kahtaalle* in two directions (U?)
kala fish (U)
Kaleva, a mythical Finnish hero, ancestor of Väinämöinen and the smith Ilmarinen; *Kalevala*, the domicile or land of the descendants of Kaleva
kallio rock (G)
kallis (*kallii-*; §§ 79,84) dear (expensive; beloved, sacred)

kalpa sword (B?)
kalte(-) (defective word) inclination, slope, inclined or sloping position; *kallella* a-tilt (G?)
kalu (usually in plural) things, articles, kit
kalva- gnaw, scrape, chafe
-kana = *-kaan*
kangas (*kankaa-*) sandy heath, moor
kannatta-, see *kanta-*
kansa people (nation); *kansakunta* nation; *kansallinen* national; *kansallisuus* nationality; *kansanopetus* public instruction (including the whole people)
kansi (*kante-*) lid, cover (UA Nr. 71)
kanssa with (cf. *kansa*)
kanta heel; foundation, ground, basis; *kannikka* the end of a loaf (which cannot be cut into slices); the end, the verge of an epoch (FU)
kanta- bear, carry; *kantaja* bearer; mother; *kannatta-* carry (load, e.g. of a boat); be profitable, pay (U)
kapine object, contraption, gadget; (in the plural) things, articles, kit
kappale piece (B)
kapsahta- fall plump, come down flop
karittele- rattle; K *ajoa karittelevi* drives with a rattling noise
Karjala Karelia
karvas (*karvaa-*) bitter (of taste)
kas look! (cf. *katso-*)
kasarmi barracks (for housing troops), caserne
kassa long, tight hair (chevelure) — a characteristic of unmarried women in Karelia, because the married women wore a kerchief (R)
kasva- grow (FU?)
kataja(*pensas*) juniper (bush)
katala wretched, miserable
katkea-, inf. *katketa* break, get broken (of an object that gets broken across)
katkera bitter (cf. U *katku* heavy smoke)
katoa-, inf. *kadota* (K *kato-*) disappear; *kadotta-* lose, drop (U *kato*)
katso- look, regard; *katse* look; remedy; *katsele-* look (repeatedly or at more than one object); *katselo* examining, scrutiny
katta- cover, put a lid on; set, lay (the table; the basic word is *kansi* lid); *katto* roof
kattila boiling-pot, kettle (G)
katu street (G)
kauan long, for long, for a long time
kauas (going) far away
kaukaa from far away
kaukana (being) far away (FU *kauka-*)
kaula neck (B)
kaunis (*kaunii-*; §§ 79, 84) beautiful; *kauneus* (*-ute-*) beauty (G)
kaunoinen, kaunokainen beautiful
kauppa commerce; shop; *kauppapuoti* shop, (small) store (G)
kaupunki town, city (G)
kehno feeble, bad
kehto cradle (G)
kehu- praise
keisari emperor (G)
keittä- cook; *keittiö* kitchen; *keitto* soup (U est *kee-*)
kello bell; clock, watch (G)
kelpo efficient, capable
ken (*kene-*, *ke-*: § 97) who, which (U)

kenkä shoe
kepeä light (of weight), easy (U *keveä*)
keppi, gen. *kepin* stick; *kepakko* small stick (G)
kera, *keralla* (together) with
kerkeä-, inf. *kerjetä* have time (to); manage (to do within a certain time); get ready (by accomplishing an activity)
kerma cream (FU *keri* bark)
kerta time (= occasion); *kerran* once (B)
kerto- tell, relate (cf. *kerta*)
keski(-) (defective word) mid-; *keskellä* amidst, in the middle of; *keskenään* (essive + possessive pronoun) mutually, with one another; *keskiviikko* Wednesday
kesä summer
keveä = *kepeä*
kevät (*kevää-*) spring, spring-time
kieli tongue; language; *-kielinen* -speaking; written in (the language the first part of the compound stands for); *kieltä-* forbid, deny (U)
kiertä- go around (something); go out of one's way; turn, wind (something) (FU *kierä*)
kihahta- start rolling, trickling
kiinni (the "lative" case of the otherwise almost obsolete stem *kiinti-*) (coming) into or (being) in a fixed or fastened or captured state; *saa- kiinni* catch, get hold of; *kiinnittä-* fasten, attach; *kiinto* interest, *kiinto(-)* fix, immovable; *mielenkiinto* interest (cf. *mieli*); *mielenkiintoinen*, *kiintoisa* interesting
kiintoisa, see *kiinni*
kiiski, gen. *kiiskin* ruff (the fish Perca cernua); diminutive *kiiskinen*
kiista strife; contest, race, match
kiittä- thank; praise; *kiitos* (*kiitokse-*) thanks (expression of gratitude, grateful acknowledgement of obligation); *kiitos*, (more polite) *kiitoksia* thanks, thank you! *kiittele-* praise (or thank) repeatedly
kiitä- speed, fly fast
-ki(n) also, even
kinnas (*kintaa-*) glove, gauntlet (B?)
kinner (*kinteree-* or *kintere-*) Achilles tendon, the tendon at the back of the heel; hock, *kintereillä* at the heels (of)
kinos (*kinokse-*) snow-drift
kirja ornament; book; *kirjavarsi* having ornaments on the stock (handle); *kirje* letter (written document conveying message, greeting etc.); *kirjoitta-* write; *kirjoitus* (*-ukse-*) something written, writ; (as second part of certain compounds) inscribing, enrollment; *kirjoitutta-* get somebody to write (something); inscribe, enroll
kirkas (*kirkkaa-*) clear, bright
kirkko church; *kirkollinen* a (whole) church full (of); ecclesiastical (G)
kitu- suffer pain, languish, pine away (FU)
kiuas (*kiukaa-*), K *kiukoa* stove made of stones, without mortar (cf. *kivi*)
kivi stone; *kivinen* stone (= made of stone); stony; *kiveä-*, inf. *kivetä* pave; *kiveämätön* not paved (FU)
-ko, *-kö* (indicates a question; it is added to the predicate verb or

to the word to which the question refers)

kohenta-, 3d sing. present reflexive *kohennaikse* arrange, set right; reflexive: sit down comfortably

kohoa-, inf. *kohota* rise, ascend (to higher level); *kohoele-* rise little by little

kohta place; point; . . . *kohdalla* at, in front of . . .; *kohta* soon; almost; *kohti* (moving) towards; *kohtaa-*, inf. *kohdata* meet, find

koira dog (U)

koivu birch (U)

koke- examine, inspect (a fishing-net, a trapping-tackle); experience; try; *koetta-* try (U)

kokka anything that projects upwards, e.g. the stem of a vessel; *pilven kokka* a little pointed (vertical) cloud

koko size; whole; (in a few oblique cases) gathering, group; *kokoon* (come, bring) together; *kokonaan* altogether; *kokoa-*, inf. *koota* collect

kolkko hollow, cavity

kolme (*kolme-*) three; *kolmas* (*kolmante-*; §§ 24, 55) (the) third; *kolmijalka* three-footed, three-legged (FU)

komea splendid, magnificent

kontti, gen. *kontin* knapsack (of birch-bark) (FU)

korja "basket-sleigh", a sleigh with plaited sides

korkea high; *korkeakoulu* special or incomplete university (having only one or two faculties, or cultivating some branch of applied science, e.g. agriculture, engineering, dentistry); university (in a wide sense, comprising all kinds of institutions for advanced studies)

korkki, gen. *korkin* cork; *korkkiruuvi* corkscrew (G)

korva ear

-kos, -kös = *-ko, -kö*

kosi- propose, offer marriage

koska as, seeing that, since (implying motivation); when; *koskaan* (chiefly in negative clauses) ever; *ei koskaan* never (U *kuka*)

koski rapids (in a river)

koti, gen. *kodin* (a) home; *kotiin* (going) home; *kotiinpäin* homewards, towards one's home; *kotiapulainen* domestic servant, maid; *kotimaa* native country, one's own country; *koteutu-* begin to feel at home (cf. *kota* hut, tent, and *koto*) (IE *kota*)

koto = *koti*; *kotona* at home; *kotoa* from home; *kotoinen* domestic

kotva while, a short time

koukku hook, curve; *koukkuleuka* having a hooked chin

koulu school (G)

koura fist (FU)

kova hard; *kovin* very

kreivi, gen. *kreivin* count (G)

kruunu crown (G)

kuiva dry

kuka (§ 97), in colloquial speech also *kukas*, who (interrogative pronoun); *kun* when (= at the time when); as (seeing that, since); often used instead of *kuin*; *kuin* than (after a comparative); as (in comparisons, after an expression involving equality; cf. *niinkuin*); *kuinka* how; *kukaan* (§ 98; chiefly in negative clauses) anybody (whatever); *ei kukaan* nobody; *kukin* (§ 98) everybody;

kuka kukin on who is who?; *kuitenkin* however; *kumpi* (§ 97) which (of two); *kumpikin* (§ 98) each (of two), both (U)

kukka flower

kulke- (§ 10) go, travel, ramble, migrate; *kulku* movement, course, way; *kuljetta-* move (tr.), transport (U)

kulta gold; sweetheart; *äiti kulta* dear mother; *kultainen* golden (G)

kulu worn out thing; *sopen kulu* an old wreck (decrepit person) dwelling in the corner of the living-room (U *kulu-*)

kumma strange, curious

kumpi, kumpikin, see *kuka*

kumppani fellow, companion (G)

kunnes until (till the time when) (cf. *kuka*)

kunnia honour (G)

kuohu- seethe, boil (intr.); *kuohu* froth, spray

kuokki- dig (*kuokka* hoe)

kuola slime, slaver, slobber; *kuolasuu* the one that has a slimy mouth (this probably refers to the pike)

kuole-, inf. *kuolla* die; *kuollut* dead; *kuolema* death (U)

kuori shell, crust; bark

kuri, gen. *kurin* discipline; chastisement (FU)

kurista- strangle; *kuristu-* be strangled

kurja wretched, miserable, poor

kute- spawn

kuto- weave; *kutoja* weaver

kutsu- call, invite

kuu moon; month; *kuuhut* (*kuuhue-*) moon (diminutive); *kuukausi* (*-kaute-*) month (U)

kuukki- toddle, stump; crouch down, squat

kuule-, inf. *kuulla* hear; *kuulu-* be heard, be audible; *kuulu(isa)* famous, renowned (FU)

kuuntele-, inf. *kuunnella* listen (U)

kuusi (*kuuse-*) (Norwegian) spruce, Picea abies (U)

kuusi (*kuute-*) six; *kuudes* (*kuudente-*) (the) sixth (FU)

kuve (*kupee-*) bend; bay, cove; (chiefly used in the plural) waist, loins, groins; *kupeeseen* to (the side of), beside . . . (G?)

kyky (§ 9) ability

kyllä (defective word) enough; yes, indeed, to be sure; *kyllin* enough, sufficient

kylä village (FU; UA, No. 61)

kylpe- bathe; *kylpy* bath

kymmenen (*kymmene-*) ten

kynsi (*kynte-*) nail, claw (U??)

kyntä- plough

kypärä helmet, (K also) hat

kyrmy arched, curved

kysy- ask; ask for, want; *kysymys* (*-mykse-*) question; *kysele-* ask questions, interrogate

kyy viper (U)

kyynel (*kyynelee-* or *kyynele-*) tear (in the eye etc.) (U)

kyynärä, a measure of length, about 24 inches (FU)

-kä (after the negative auxiliary verb) and; *ei . . . eikä* neither . . . nor

käkeä-, inf. *käetä* intend

käki, gen. *käen* cuckoo (B?)

kämmen the back of the hand; paw (of the bear) (FU)

käpry roll (of birch-bark)

kärsi- suffer, endure

kärsä snout (of a pig); *alakärsä* with his (its) snout turned downwards
käräjät (*käräjä-*; plurale tantum) district-court sessions
käsi (*käte-*) hand; *käsivarsi* arm (FU)
käy-, (before a vowel) *käv-* walk, go; *k. kylässä* pay a visit, give a call somewhere; *käyttä-* keep (something) going; use, employ
-kään, see *-kaan*
kääntä- turn (something); translate; *käänty-* turn (intr.); *kääntymätön* unable to turn round
käärme snake (B)
-kö, *-kös* = *-ko*, *-kö*
kököttä-: *istua k.* sit motionless, sit squatting
köyhä poor, penniless, indigent

laahaa-, inf. *laahata* drag (tr.); *laahusta-* drag (intr.)
laakso valley
laatikko box, case (G)
lahti bay, gulf; *lahtema* little bay, cove (FU?)
laiha lean, thin (B)
laiho crop(s)
laina loan; *lainaa-* (K *lainoa-*), inf. *lainata* lend; borrow (G)
laita edge, margin; *kultalaita* gold-edged, having a golden edge
laitta- prepare, make, establish; *laitos* (*-okse-*) institution, establishment
laiva ship, vessel
lakaise- sweep (the floor etc.); *lakaisija* one who sweeps
laki, gen. *laen* ceiling
laki, gen. *lain* law (G)
lakki, gen. *lakin* cap
lampi, gen. *lammen* or *lammin* tarn, small lake, pond (U)
lanka yarn, thread, wire; snare; springe
lankea-, inf. *langeta* fall; K *langennuinen* = *langennut*
lanko brother-in-law; (K) male relative by marriage
lanne (mostly in the plural: *lanteet*) hip(s), loin (G)
lappalainen Lapp; Lappish
lapsi (§ 56) child (U)
laske- let loose, let out, let go; put on its place (FU)
lato barn (G)
lato- pile, stack, arrange; *latele-* be piling, etc. (G)
lattia floor (G)
latva (tree-)top
lauantai Saturday (G)
laukka leap, bound; gallop; *laukkaile-* be leaping, run (by a series of leaps)
laukki, gen. *laukin* blaze = white mark on forehead of a horse etc.; *laukkipää* (horse) that has a blaze on its forehead (B)
laukku knapsack
laula- sing; *laulaja* singer; *laulanta* (activity of) singing; *laulu* song; *laulele-* sing, be singing; *laulelo* singing, song
lausu- utter, say; *lause* utterance; incantation, spell; *lausi-* bewitch, enchant (B?)
lauta board, plank; *lautanen* plate (for food); crupper (B?)
lautsa bench (fixed to the wall) (R)
lavea wide, broad
lehmä cow
leikki, gen. *leikin* (children's) play, game; *leikki-* play, be at play (G)
leipä bread; *leipo-* bake; *leipoja* baker (G)

leiviskä a weight, about 19 pounds (G)
lentä- fly
lepo rest, repose
lesti, gen. *lestin* last (mould, model of foot) (G)
letku cracker (at the end of a whip); *helmiletku* having pearls or beads on the cracker
leuka chin; *leuan* up to the chin
lie-, *liene-* (§ 115) may be . . . (U)
liesi (*liete-*) hearth, stove, kitchen range
lieska flame; (K) mantleshelf
liete (*liettee-*) mud
liha flesh; meat
liika(-) (defective word) superfluous, excessive, too big, etc.; *liian* too (more than it ought to be, excessively)
liikku- move (intr.); *liikkumaton* immovable, unable to move; *liikahta-* make a sudden move; *liikahdutta-* put in motion, move (something) (U)
liki near
lintu bird (FU)
livettä- be slippery; *jalkaa livettää* the feet slide, it is slippery
lohdutta- console, comfort
lohi salmon (B)
loista- shine
loitsi- perform sorcery; *loitsija* sorcerer
loppu- end, cease; *loppu* end; *lopussa* ended; *lopulta* at last; *loput* the rest, the remnants
loru idle talk, chatting, tittle-tattle
louhi rock
luja firm; strong; *lujin* (*lujimpa-*) firmest, strongest; excellent, abundant
luke- read; count, reckon; *luku* (§ 9) (the activity of) reading; chapter; number (amount) (IE)
lukko lock (of a door etc.) (G)
lumi, partitive *lunta* snow
lumme (*lumpee-*) water-lily
lunasta- redeem; *lunastin* (*-ime-*) ransom (cf. *lunnaat*)
lunnaat (plurale tantum) ransom (G)
luo(-) (defective word) the abode or immidiate vicinity of somebody: with, at the house (etc.) of; *luota* from; *luo*, K *luoksi* to
luo- make, produce, create; put; throw; *luo- kokoon* bring together, pile up; *luo- silmät johonkuhun* look at somebody; *luoja* creator (FU)
luopu- renounce, give up; *luovuttele-* withdraw (tr.), cancel (cf. *luo-*)
luote (*luottee-*) incantation, spell (G)
lupa permission; *lupaa-* (K *lupoa-*), inf. *luvata* permit; promise (G)
lusikka spoon (R)
luu bone (U)
luule-, inf. *luulla* believe, suppose, think
lyhyt (§§ 27, 54) short; superlative *lyhyin* or *lyhin*
lyö- (§ 109) strike, beat (FU)
lähi(-) (defective word: § 48) neighbourhood, vicinity; *lähellä* near, in the neighbourhood; *läheltä* from near; *lähelle* near, to the neighbourhood; *lähitse* (passing) near by; *lähin* (*lähimpä-*) (the) nearest; *lähesty-* come nearer, approach
lähte-, 3d sing. preterite *lähti* or *läksi* start, go, depart; *lähtö* start, departure; *lähettä-* (with anomalous gradation) send (FU)
lähättä- thrust, try to hit

läikky- lap, ripple, splash
lämmin (§ 28) warm
länget (*länke-*, plurale tantum) hames
länkä curved
länsi (*länte-*) west; *läntinen* western
läpi hole; through
läsnä present (at the place)
läyli hard, grave, painful
läähättä- pant (for breath); *sydän läähättää* (he) has palpitations
läävä cowshed, cow-house (R)
löi, see *lyö-*
löytä-, 3d sing. preterite *läysi* (§§ 107, 21) find (FU)

maa earth; soil; land, country; *maakivi* immovable stone, rock; *maatila* landed estate (U)
maailma world (cf. *maa* and *ilma*)
maammo mother
maanantai Monday (G)
mahta- be able (to do something); *mahtava* mighty, eminent; *mahdollinen* possible; *mahdollisesti* possibly; *mahtu-* find place (= not be too bulky or too many for the container or the room in question; the word for the latter is put in the illative)
mainitse-, inf. *mainita* mention (G)
maista- taste (eat or drink a small quantity of, so as to perceive the taste or flavour of it); taste (convey a taste sensation, good or bad, or of a specific kind; the word for the sensation is usually put in the ablative, sometimes in the allative); please, be agreeable on account of its taste or flavour
maito milk
makaa-, inf. *maata* (§ 161) lie, be lying (be in a recumbent position); *pane- maata* go to bed; *makuultaan* (be found) lying, in a recumbent position; *makuupaikka* place to sleep or rest in
makkara sausage
maksa- pay; cost; *maksu*, (K) *makso* payment
mansikka strawberry
marja berry (FU)
markka Finnish coin and unity of currency; before World War I, about 20 c., now, about $^1/_4$ c. (G)
matala low; shallow
matka journey, travel, trip; distance; *matkalaukku* port-manteau, suit-case, travelling-bag
matto carpet, rug (G)
me (*mei-*: § 4, note, §§ 32, 72) we (U)
melkein almost
mene-, inf. *mennä* go; *menijä* one that goes . . . (U)
meri (§ 54) sea, ocean (loan-word)
merkki, gen. *merkin* mark, sign, token
mesi (*mete-*: § 54) honey (IE)
metsä forest; *metsämies* hunter
mi(-), see *mikä*
mie = *minä*
miekka sword (G)
miel'-ala = *mieliala*
mieli mind; *mielellä/ni* (*-si*, *-än*, etc.) willingly, gladly; *mieliala* state of mind; *mielenkiinto* interest; *mielenkiintoinen* interesting; *mieluummin* more willingly, rather, preferably; *mieluimmin* "most willingly", preferably (speaking of more than two alternatives)
mies (*miehe-*, partitive *miestä*) man, male person (FU)
mietti- cogitate, ponder think (G? R?)

mikä (*mi-*: § 97) which, what (interrogative and relative); *mikä . . . mikä* one . . . the other (of more than two); the partitive *mitä* is also used as subject in the meaning "what"; *missä* where; *mistä* where from; *mihin, minne* whither; *miksi* why; *miten* how; *mikäli* in so far as; *milloin* when; *ei milloinkaan* never; *mikään* (§ 98; mostly in negative clauses) any, anything (at all); *missään* anywhere (at all); *mistään* from anywhere (at all) (U)

minä (*minu-*: §§ 18, 32) I (U)

mitta measure; *mittaa-*, K *mittoa-*, inf. *mitata* measure; *mittele-* measure (more than one object, or repeatedly); *mittelijä* one who measures; *oli matkojensa mittelijä* was travelling; *mittelö* (the act of) measuring (G)

mokoma such

molemmat (*molempa-*; plurale tantum) both

moni, partitive *monta* (§ 54) many, many a; *monta* (often used as subject) several, many; *montako* how many (IE)

muikea sour

muinainen old, ancient

muista- remember; *muistanta* memory = faculty of recollecting; *muisti*, gen. *muistin* = *muistanta*; (K) memory = remembrance; *muistele-* relate, narrate, tell; *muistelo* tale, story, narrative (FU)

muka(-) (defective word): *mukana* (being) along, together with somebody; *mukaan* (coming along, together with somebody; according to; *mukava* comfortable; *mukavasti* comfortably

mulla = *minulla* (see *minä*)

multa humus, earth (G)

muoto form (G)

mure, murhe grief, care; *murehti-* grieve

murta-; break (tr.); distort (U *muru*)

musta black; *mustalainen* gipsy; *muste* ink

mutta but (at the beginning of a clause) (cf. *muu*)

muu other, else; *muuten* otherwise; *muualla* elsewhere; *muu(d)an* (*muutama-*), *muutama* a (certain), some, a few; *muutta-* change (something) (FU)

mylleröittä- bring together with effort and noise

myy- sell (U)

myöhä(-) (defective word) late; *myöhästy-* be late, fail to arrive at the time appointed

myös(*kin*) also (cf. *myötä*)

myöten along, alongside; up till

myötä along; downwards (FU)

mä = *minä*

mäki, gen. *mäen* hill

märkä wet

mätäs (*mättää-*) tussock (U)

mökki, gen. *mökin* cottage, hut

nai- marry; *nainen* woman; *naisekas* (*-kkaa-*) married (= who has a wife) (FU)

naula nail, spike; peg (G)

naura- laugh; *nauru* laughter

ne (§ 96) these, they (U *nämä*)

neito maiden, girl; (K) sister; *neiti*, gen. *neidin* unmarried lady; Miss (U)

neljä four; *neljäs* (*-nte-*) (the) fourth (FU)

nenä nose; end
neula needle; *neulo-* sew (G)
neuvo advice, counsel; *neuvottele-* deliberate, discuss, confer, consult
niemi (§ 55) cape, point, tongue of land
niin so, then; yes; *niinkuin* (just) as, like (U *nämä*)
niittä- mow, cut; *niitty* meadow
nimi name; *nimeä-*, inf. *nimetä* name; K say; *nimittä-* mention (by name); *nimittele-*, 3d sing. preterite reflexive *nimittelihe*, name, mention by name, tell the name(s) of (U)
niska nape, occiput; *kyrmyniska* (one) whose neck is arched
nivus (*nivukse-*) groin
no well, now!
noin so, in that way; about (something like), . . . or so; (cf. *nuo* and *tuo*)
noki, gen. *noen* soot; *nokinen* sooty
nouse- rise
nouta- fetch; *noudattele-* follow (U)
nukku- sleep; fall asleep
nuo (§ 96) those (U *nämä*)
nuoli arrow (U)
nuora rope (G)
nuori young; *nuoruus* (*-uute-*) youth; *nuorna saamani* whom I got when I was young
nureksi- grieve, be mortified
nurkka corner
nutista- pack together; humiliate
nyky(-) (defective word; the nominative occurs only as first part of compounds) present, (now) existing; *nykyään* (partitive + possessive pronoun) nowadays
nyt now (cf. *nyky-*)
nyökyttä-, *nyökyttele-* nod

näke-, inf. *nähdä* (§ 113, § 132, note, § 143) see; *näkö* sight, vision (faculty of seeing); *näköala* view, outlook, vista; *näky-* be seen, be visible; *näyttä-* show (something); look (like something), seem to be (FU)
nälkä hunger (§ 167)
nämä (§ 96) these (U)
näre (young) spruce

odotta- wait; expect (U)
ohi(-) (defective word; the nominative occurs as first part of compounds): *ohi* (pass) by; *ohitse* (pass, take one's way) past, by
oi oh
oikea right, true; right (opposite to left); *olet oikeassa* you are right; *oikein* right (= in the right way, etc.); very; *oikeus* (*oikeute-*) right, justice; court of law, tribunal; *oikeutta-* justify, entitle (FU?)
oisi = *olisi*, see *ole-*
oja ditch; brooklet
ojenta- adjust, set right (cf. *oikea*)
ole-, inf. *olla* (§§ 104, 115) be; *ollenkaan* (chiefly in negative clauses) at all; *olo* existence; situation; circumstances; *olinpaikka* (place of) recidence, abode (FU)
olut (§§ 27, 54) beer, ale (G? B?)
oma own; *omatunto* (both parts of the compound are inflected) conscience
on is (cf. *oma*)
on (K) expletive word (should not be translated)
onni happiness, luck; *onneton* unhappy; *onnettomuus* unhappiness, misfortune, bad luck; *onnistu-* succed, be successful

oppi- learn; try; *oppi*, gen. *opin* doctrine, teaching, learning; *oppilaitos* educational institution (school); *opisto* teaching institution, in a large sense, school; *yliopisto* university; *opetta-* teach; *opettaja* teacher; *opettajatar* lady teacher, schoolmistress; *opetus* instruction, teaching (FU)

ori (*orii-*, partitive *oritta*) stallion (IE?)

osa part; *osasto* section, division, (in a railway waggon) compartment (IE)

osaa- (K *osoa-*), inf. *osata* be able; know the way, find one's way; K *osoanta* ability, skill (FU?)

osta- buy (FU?)

otsa forehead

otta- take; *ote* (*ottee-*) grip, hold; extract, excerpt (FU)

Oulu Uleåborg (a Finnish town)

ovi door (U)

ovat they are (see *ole-*; cf. *oma*)

-pa, -pä indeed

paasi (*paate-*) stone slab; flat rock; diminutive *paatonen*; *paatinen* consisting of, made of thin stone

paha evil; *pahoin* badly; *pahastu-* become annoyed, get angry

paikka place; patch; (*heti*) *paikalla* on the spot

paina- press; print; *painautu-* squat, lie low

paista- broil; shine (intr.)

paitsi besides; except; *sitäpaitsi* besides (that), moreover

paju willow, osier (U)

paketti parcel, packet

pakko compulsion, coërcion, necessity

pako flight, escape; *pakene-*, inf. *paeta* (§ 161, the last section) flee

pala piece, bit, morsel, mouthful; diminutive *palanen* (U)

paljas (*paljaa-*) bare, naked

paljo (as a rule, *paljon* is used instead of the nominative) much (U)

pane-, inf. *panna*, 3d sing. present reflexive *paneikse*, put; make, compose (U)

pankki, gen. *pankin* bank (money-institution) (G)

pappa papa (G?)

pappi, gen. *papin* clergyman, priest (R? G?)

paras (*parhaa-* or *paraa-*, K *paraha-*) best; *parempi* better; *paranta-* improve, cure, heal; *parantaja* healer

parhain (*parhaimpa-*) = *paras*

pari, gen. *parin* pair, couple; two or three (approximately) (G)

parka (is put after the noun it qualifies, and this is not inflected; *parka* might as well be regarded as the latter part of a compound) poor, unhappy, pitiable

parta beard; *parran* up to the beard; *partasuu* bearded (B? G? R?)

-pas, -päs = *-pa, -pä*

pata cooking pot; *patarani* bad pot (U??)

paukku- crack (= make a sharp noise) repeatedly, but without interruption; *paukahta-* crack once, suddenly; *paukahtele-* crack suddenly (of more than one cracking thing, or repeatedly)

pehko bush

peittä- cover

Pekka Peter, Pete

pelko fear, fright; *pelkää-* (K *pelkeä-*), inf. *pelätä* be afraid (of); *pelästy-* get frightened (U)

pelto field (of grain); diminutive *peltonen* (G)

pensas (*pensaa-*) bush

perhe (*perhee-*) or *pere* (*peree-*) family (usually: group of persons consisting of two parents and their children) (U?)

perjantai Friday (G)

peruna potato (G)

perä stern (of a vessel); the back part or end; *perässä* at the end of, behind; *perästä* after, in (when this or this space of time has gone by); *joka perällä* in all quarters, everywhere; *perin* very, extraordinarily; *perin laski* withdrew, cancelled; *perillä* at one's destination, at the journey's end; *peräkkäin* after each other, in a file; *perusta-* found; *peruste* foundation, basis (FU)

pieli post, prop, pillar (U)

piennar (*pientare-*) grass edge of field

piha courtyard; *pihajänis* a hare that has the habit of visiting a farm in search of food (FU)

pika(-) (defective word; the nominative occurs only as first part of compounds) rapid, fast, swift; *pikajuna* fast train, express; *pian* soon

pillahta- spurt, squirt, spurt forth (intr.); *p. itkuun* burst out crying

pilvi cloud (U?)

pimeä dark; *pimeys* (*-yte-*) darkness (U)

pirtti, gen. *pirtin* the biggest room in a farmers's house, serving as kitchen and also as sleeping-room for some members of the household (B)

Pisa is said to be a hill at the point where the provinces of Pohjanmaa (Österbotten) and Savo converged with the province of Käkisalmi

pistä- put, thrust, stick; *pistäyty-* make a detour somewhere, make a short visit

pitkä long, tall; *pitkin* along, alongside; comparative *pitempi*; superlative *pisin*

pitä- keep; hold; consider (regard as); in the 3d sing. (§ 165): ought to, should, must (FU)

pitäjä parish (cf. *pitä-*)

Pohjola is synomymous with *Pohja*, which literally means "bottom" and "North"; in most cases the poets may have been thinking of *Pohjanmaa* (Österbotten) or some part of it

poika, gen. *pojan* boy; son (FU)

poikki across; in two (speaking of an oblong object that is broken across the middle); *poikkipuolin* (right) across, athwart; *poikkea-*, inf. *poiketa* deviate, turn off, make a detour; diverge; *poikkeus* (*-ukse-*) exception

poimi- pick, cull

pois (go) away; off; *poissa* (be) away; *poista-* remove

pojut (*poikue-*), diminutive of *poika*

polke- tread; *polku* (foot-)path (FU?)

poloinen (poor) wretch; wretched, miserable

poltta- burn (something); smoke (tobacco); *polttama* burn; *pala-* burn (intr.) (FU *pala-*)

polvi knee; generation (= single stage in natural descent); life-

time; *polvinen* (preceded by a genitive) as old as . . . (U)

ponsi (*ponte-*) button (at the back end of a spear etc.); force; push; *ponnista-*, *ponnistele-* exert oneself, make an effort (efforts), strive, struggle

porise- seethe, bubble

poro (domesticated) reindeer (U)

porras (*portaa-*, K *portaha-*) step, stair; doorstep; front-door steps; plural: staircase (G)

portti, gen. *portin* door; gateway (G)

poski cheek (U)

posti, gen. *postin* post, mail; *postilaatikko* letter-box; *postimerkki* post stamp (G)

potki- kick; *potku* kick

puhki (right) through

puhu- speak; *puhe* speech; *puhalta-* blow; *puhaltu-* dash off (U?)

puikahta- slip, slide, slink (swiftly, suddenly)

puisto, see *puu*

pujahta- = *puikahta-*

puksut (*puksu-*) trousers

pullo bottle

puna red colour, red; *punainen* red; *punoitta-* be red, glow red (FU hu *fan*?)

puoli half; side; *puolet* the half (of something); *sinun puolestasi* as far as you are concerned, on your behalf, for your sake, for you; *puolipäivä* (both components are inflected) noon; *puolusta-* defend; *puolustele-* be defending, try to defend; defend oneself, try to defend oneself

puoti, gen. *puodin* shop, (small) store (G)

pupu bunny (hare)

pure-, inf. *purra* bite (FU)

pursi (*purte-*), sloop, (small) vessel

putka lock-up (place where arrested persons are), chokey, jail (R)

puu tree; wood; *puuseppä* joiner, carpenter; *puutarha* garden; *puinen* wooden; *-puinen* of such wood (as denoted by the first part of the compound); *puisto* park (U)

puulautu- slouch (along)

puuro porridge (B)

puuttu- be lacking

puuttu- interfere; become entangled

pyhä holy; magic

pyrki- strive, endeavour

pysty (defective word) upright, erect; *pystypää* with upright head, upright

pysy- remain, stay (without moving or being altered); *pysähty-* stop, (come to a) halt

pyyhki- wipe; *pyyhkijä* one who wipes

pyynti (the activity of) hunting or fishing (cf. *pyytä-*)

pyytä-, 3d sing. preterite *pyysi* (§§ 107, 21) ask (for), beg, request; hunt, fish, try to catch or find and kill (game, fish); *pyydys* (*-ykse-*) instrument for catching game or fish; *pyydystele-* be hunting, try to catch (U?)

pyörtä- turn (tr.); withdraw (tr.), cancel; *pyörryttä-* cancel (cf. *pyörä*)

pyörä wheel; *polkupyörä* bicycle; *pyöräilijä* cyclist (FU)

-pä = *-pa*

-päin, see *pää*

päivä day; sun; (*hyvää*) *päivää* how do you do? *päiväkaudet* day after day from the morning to the evening; *päivällinen* dinner

päläs (*pälkää-*) the place for the foot on a ski; pinch, straits (embarrassment)
pää head; end; *päässä* (preceded by a genitive) at so and so long a distance; *matkainsa päässä* gone; *päästä* from a point or place that is so and so far away; after, in (: when this or this space of time has gone by); *päällä*, *päälle* upon; *päin* with or on one's head; towards, in the direction of; *pääksytysten* on the top of each other; in succession; *päällikkö* chief, commander; *päällystakki* overcoat; *päättä-* finish, complete; decide, resolve; *pätty-* end (intr.); *pääty-* arrive, come (U)
pääse- escape; be let out, be permitted to leave; be let off; be spared (from something, from doing something); be admitted; *päästä-* let go, leave hold of; drop; relieve, let loose; *päästin* (*päästime-*) ransom (FU?)
pöly dust; *pölyttele-* put whirling
pöytä table (G?)
raatsi- have the heart to . . .
raha money (G)
rahje, K *rahe* (*rahkee-*) brace, draught (denotes especially the horizontal straps, one on each side of the harness, that connect the hames with the girth)
raisu mettlesome, fiery
raita sallow, Salix caprea
raitio track; *raitiotie* tramway; *raitiovaunu* tram car (G)
raja boundary, frontier (R)
rakas (*rakkaa-*) dear, beloved; *rakkaus* (*-ute-*) love; *rakasta-* love (U)
rako fissure, chink; *rakoile-* split
rani, see *pata*
ranta shore, bank; diminutive *rantanen* (G)
rapsehti- splash about
rasia small box; small packet (made of pasteboard etc.)
raskas (*raskaa-*) heavy; hard, severe
rasva fat, grease
rauha peace
raukea brittle, fragile; tired
raukka poor wretch (G?)
rauta iron; *rautatie* railway (R)
reki, gen. *reen* sleigh; diminutive *rekonen*
remputta-: *kulkea r.* go limping, dragging one's leg
renki, gen. *rengin* man-servant, farm-hand (G)
reppu knapsack (G)
reppänä the wide circular opening at the top of the tent or the (conical) hut
retukka hack, lath superstructure of a peasant sleigh
reumaattinen rheumatic
reuna margin, edge (B)
reuto-, 3d sing. preterite reflexive *reutoihe* jerk, fling, throw
riemu joy, delight, rejoicing, exultation
rientä- hasten, hurry
riihi kiln
riippa weight, sinking-stone; *riippu-* hang (= hang down, be suspended); *riiputta-* hang (= hang up, suspend); *riiputtele-* swing (something) to and fro (*takajaloista* keeping it by its hind legs)
rikas (*rikkaa-*) rich (G)
rikko- break (to pieces); *rikki* sunder, to pieces
rinne (*rintee-*) slope (G?)
rinta breast (G?)

rippeet (*rippee-*; plurale tantum) remainders; fragments

rippi, gen. *ripin* confession (the act of confessing sins to a priest in order to receive absolution and be admitted to the Holy Communion; *rippikirjoitus* the previous taking down of the names of the communicants (G)

riveä prompt, swift, smart

rohkea bold, brave

rokka soup, esp. pea soup (FU)

rotu family (= group of persons related by blood or marriage); race (R)

rouva lady; Mrs.; (someone's) wife (G)

ruis (*rukii-*) rye (speaking of the flour, the plural is used) (G? B?)

rukoile- pray

ruoka (§ 8) food; *ruokahalu* appetite

ruoko reed; diminutive *ruokonen*

ruoska whip (R)

ruoste rust (G)

Ruotsi, gen. *Ruotsin* Sweden; *ruotsi* the Swedish language; *ruotsalainen* Swede; Swedish (not = *ruotsi*) (G)

rupea-, inf. *ruveta* begin, start

ruuna gelding, castrated horse (G)

ruuvi, gen. *ruuvin* screw (G)

rytö windfalls, tree-trunks lying on the ground

ryöstä- rob, run away with; *ryöstäytyy-* break away, get loose by force

rämä wreck, fragments

saa- get; come; become; bring about; produce, make; *saapu-* arrive; *saapuvilla* (adessive plural of the present participle) present, on the spot; *saavutta-* overtake, catch up, reach, attain (U)

saalis (*saalii-*) prey, quarry; booty, spoils (cf. *saa-*)

saari island, islet; *saaristo* archipelago

sade, see *sata-*

sadin (*satime-*) trap

sairas (*sairaa-*) ill, sick; *sairaus* (*-ute-*) illness, malady (G)

salama flash of lightning (FU)

sali, gen. *salin* big room; dining room (G)

salli- allow

sama same; *samalla* at the same time; *samaten* likewise; *samanlainen* of the same kind (G)

sammal moss (B?)

sana word; *sananlasku* proverb, adage; *sano-* say; *sanoma* news, information; *sanele-* utter, deliver; practise witchcraft; dictate; K *sanelija* sorcerer

sata hundred (IE)

sata- rain; *sade* (*satee-*) rain

satama harbour, port

sattu- hit, strike (e.g. of a bullet); happen (by chance)

sauva staff, long stick

savu smoke; *savuke* (*savukkee-*) cigarette

se (*se-*, *si*, *sii-*: § 34, note, § 35, note, § 37, the end) this, it; he, she; *siinä* there; *siihen* thither; *sillä* because, for; *siksi* therefore; *siis* thus, consequently; *siten* so, in that way; *sitten* afterwards, then; *sinne* thither; *silloin* at that time, then; *silloinen* the then existing (living, being), the . . . of that time; *sikäli* thus far; (K) (going) that way (U)

seikka circumstance; awkward situation, plight
seinä wall (of a building) (B)
seiso- stand; *seisottele-* make (several objects) stand; *joka seinä seisoteltu* standing closely to each other along every wall (FU)
seitsemän (*seitsemä-*) seven; *seitsemäs* (*-nte-*) seventh
sekä and (also); *sekä . . . että* both . . . and, . . . as well as . . .
selittä- explain; save, rescue
selkä back (dorsum); ridge; bay
sellainen such (cf. *se*)
selvä clear; *selviä-*, inf. *selvitä* become clear; get off, get on, get along
senjälkeen, see *jälki*
senvuoksi, see *vuoksi*
seppä smith
setä father's brother, uncle (also used by children in addressing adult men and sometimes by young people speaking to very old men with whom they are closely acquainted) (U)
seura company; society; *seuraa-*, inf. *seurata* follow; accompany (B)
sie = *sinä*
siellä there; *sieltä* from there
sietä- endure, stand; *sietämätön* unendurable
siika whitefish, Coregonus lavaretus; diminutive *siikanen* (G)
siirtä- move, remove (something); *siirty-* move, yield place
siinä, siis, siksi, silloin, sinne, siten, sitten, etc., see *se*
sija place; space, room (where something may find place); *sijaan* instead of; *sijaitse-* be situated, be located
sika pig, hog, swine
sikäli, see *se*
sileä smooth
silli, gen. *sillin* herring (G)
sillä, see *se*
silma (K) = *sinua* (partitive of *sinä*)
silmä eye (U)
silta bridge (B)
sini blue colour, blue; *sininen* blue
sinä (*sinu-*: §§ 18, 32) you (speaking to one person with whom one is familiar, or to a child), thou (U)
sisar sister (B?)
sisko sister; diminutive *siskonen* (FU?)
sisä(-) (defective word; the nominative is used only as first part of compounds) the interior of something: *sisällä* (being) inside, indoors; *sisään* (come) in; *sisäluku* (the activity of) reading from the book
sito- bind, fasten
sitäpaitsi, see *paitsi*
sivistys (*-ykse-*) culture, education; *sivistyksellinen* cultural
sivu side, flank; page; *sivuitse* (move) past, by (without touching or staying); *sivu* = *sivuitse*
soimaa-, inf. *soimata* blame, abuse, revile
soimi crib (FU)
sokeri sugar (G)
solmi, solmu knot; *solmi-* tie, knot; *solmiele-* tie, knot (several objects) (FU)
soma nice, neat, handsome; *somasti* nicely, etc.
sonta manure
soppi corner
sorta- press down; oppress
sota war (FU?)

souta- row; *soutuvene* rowing-boat (U)

suhuttele- produce or cause a whizzing noise (the verb denoting the activity by which the noise is produced, is put in the infinitive; cf. *suhise-* whizz)

sukea-, inf. *sueta* form, build, make

sukka sock; stocking; *sukkajalka* dark horse with the lowest part of one or more of its legs white (G)

suksi ski (U)

suku (§ 9) family (= group of persons related by blood or marriage)

sula melted, fluid, liquid; mere; bare; *sulin käsin* with one's (bare) hands (FU)

sulho fiancé; bridegroom

sulka feather; *sulki-* (to) feather (an arrow)

sulke- (§ 10) close, shut

sulle = *sinulle* (see *sinä*)

sulo, *suloinen* sweet, delicious, delightful, lovely; *sulous* (*-ute-*) sweetness etc.

sunnuntai Sunday (G)

suo swamp, marsh

suoja protection, shelter (FU)

suoli intestine, gut (FU)

Suomi Finland; *suomi* the Finnish language; *suomalainen* Finn; Finnish (not = *suomi*)

suoni vein; sinew (U)

suotta without cause, wantonly

sure-, inf. *surra* mourn; grieve; care; *suru* sorrow, grief; *surullinen* sad (of both circumstances and living beings) (FU)

surkuttele- commiserate, pity

suu mouth; *suin* with, or on one's mouth; *suin päin* head first, precipitately; *-suinen* having such a mouth (as denoted by the first part of the compound) (U)

suuri big, great (U)

suuttu- get angry

suvi south; summer (U)

sydän (*sydäme-*: § 20) heart; *sydänvesi* the deepest water (U)

syksy, K *sykysy* autumn (FU)

synkkä, *synkeä* gloomy; melancholy, lugubrious; *synkisty-* become melancholy

synti, gen. *synnin* sin (G)

synty- be born; arise, come into existence, come about; *synty* origin; incantation or song revealing the origin of something (e.g. a disease) or somebody

syrjä side, edge; *syrjään* aside

syvä deep; *syvään* (sink, go) deep down, deep into something; *syvemmäksi*, K *syvemmä* deeper down (into something); *syväntä-* deepen, make deeper

syy reason, cause (U)

syö- eat; *syönnös* (*-ökse-*) nourishment; provisioning (FU)

syökse- rush, dash

säen (*säkene-*) spark

säikähtä- be startled

säkki, gen. *säkin* sack (container); *säkillinen* a sack full of . . . (G)

sänky bedstead (G)

särke- (§ 10) break, crush; ache; *päätä särkee* my head aches; *särky* ache

särki (§ 10) roach, Leuciscus rutilus

sää weather; *vastasää* head-wind, contrary wind (FU?)

sääli, gen. *säälin* commiseration, pity; *minun tuli sääli häntä* I

pitied him; *säälittele-* commiserate, pity (R)

sääri the small of the leg; *säärivarsi* leg, shank

säästä- spare, save

taas again, once more (cf. *taka-*)

tahto- will, wish; *tahto* will, volition; *tahalla* (with possessive pronoun) on purpose

tai, taikka, tahi or (cf. *tahto-*)

taika augury, omen; queer thing or circumstance (G)

taita- be able (to do something that requires skill); *taitava* skilful, able; *taitaja* artist, craftsman; *taito* ability, skill; *taitele-* exercise one's art (U *tai-*?)

taitta- break (in two; tr.) (U *tai-*)

tajua-, inf. *tajuta* understand; *tajuele-* understand; pretend to understand (U *tai-*?)

taivas (*taivaa-*) heaven; sky; diminutive *taivo, taivonen* (B)

taka(-) (defective word; the nominative is used only as first part of compounds) back, hind(er), posterior; *takana* (being) behind; *takaa* from behind; *taakse, taa* (to the space) behind; *takaisin* back (returning to original place, etc.); *takajalka* hind foot, hind leg; *takalisto* outlying land (of a farm or a village) (U)

takertu-, takistu- get caught; become entangled (U *takkala*)

takki, gen. *takin* coat (G)

talo house; farm; *talonpoika* farmer, farm-owner; *talous* (*-ute-*) housekeeping; economy; *taloudellinen* economic

talu- lead, direct course of . . . by physical contact; *talutta-* id.; bring

talvi winter (FU)

tanhua oblong enclosure for cattle and horses, corral; shed (G)

tanner (*tantere-* or *tanteree-*) piece of non-cultivated, bare ground (as e.g. a courtyard)

tapa fashion, manner, way; habit, custom; *tavallinen* ordinary, common, usual; *tavallisesti* ordinarily, usually (B)

tapaa-, inf. *tavata* meet, find; *tapaus* (*-ukse-*) occasion, case

tapahtu- occur, happen

tappa- slay; thresh; *tappele-* fight, be engaged in bodily struggle; *tappelu, tappelo* fight, fray, battle

tarha fenced place, yard, pen, park, etc. (B)

tarina legend, tale (B?)

tarkka exact; (K) *tarkoillehen* (allative plural + possessive suffix, 3d person) exactly

tarttu- (combined with the illative) grasp; catch, become fastened

tarvas (*tarvaa-*) elk, moose (?)

tarve (*tarpee-*) need; *tarvitse-* need (G)

tasa (defective word) (the same, a certain) level; (as first part of compounds) even, equal; *tasalle pane-* contend, compete on equal conditions; *tasavalta* republic; *tasainen* even, level; *taso* (a, the) level (U)

taukoa-, inf. *tauota* halt, make a pause

tavara ware, goods; (plural:) things, articles, kit (R)

te (*tei-*: § 4, note, §§ 32, 72) you (speaking to more than one, or

to a person with whom one is not familiar) (U)
tehdas (*tehtaa-*) factory (G)
teke-, inf. *tehdä* (§ 113, § 132, note, § 143) do, make (FU)
tela roller; pl. stocks, slipway (G)
telmi- struggle, exert oneself violently
tempaa- (K *tempoa-*), inf. *temmata* jerk, pull; *tempaele-* jerk, pull (a little or repeatedly)
tepastele- trip along
terve sound, healthy; *terve* hello! *terveiset* (only in plural) greetings; *terveys* (*-yte-*) health
tiainen titmouse
tie (§ 72) way, road, path
tietä-, 3d sing. preterite *tiesi* (§§ 107, 21) know (something); *tietysti* of course; *tietäjä* seer, soothsayer; *tieto* knowledge; *tiede* (*tietee-*) science; *tiedekunta* (university) faculty
tiistai Tuesday (G)
tiivis (*tiivii-*) tight
tikku splinter, tiny stick (G)
tila room, space, place, clearance; opportunity; landed estate; *tilanne* (*-ntee-*) situation (G)
tippa drop; *tippu-* drip, fall in drops (G?)
todista-, see *tosi*
toimi function, charge, deed; energy, push; *toimi-* function, act; *toiminta* activity; *toimitta-* perform, accomplish, discharge; *toimitus* performance; *toimituskirja* document (containing the decision of an authority), case proceedings; *tointu-* recover, get well again
toinen second; other; *toissapäivänä* (on) the day before yesterday (§ 50); *toisillemme* or *toinen toiselle* to each other; *toiskielinen* speaking another language, having another vernacular
tointu-, see *toimi*
toivo hope; *toivo-* hope; *toivotta-* wish (somebody good luck etc.); *toivottele-* wish (to do something)
toki however, still (G)
tomu dust
tontti, gen. *tontin* building plot, lot (G)
torni, gen. *tornin* tower (G)
Tornio Torneå (a Finnish town)
torstai Thursday (G)
toru- scold, quarrel (U)
tosi (*tote-*: §§ 21, 54) earnest, seriousness; truth; *se on totta* it is true; *todellakin* really; *totuus* (*totuute-*) truth; *todista-* testify, certify, witness; *todistaja* witness, deponent
tottu- get accustomed; *tottele-* obey (U)
toveri comrade, fellow (R)
tuhat (*tuhante-*: §§ 25, 55) thousand (B)
tuhma foolish, unwise; *tuhmasti* foolishly
Tukholma Stockholm
tuki support; *tukeva* steady, firm
tukka chevelure, the hair of the head
tule-, inf. *tulla* come (U?)
tuli fire; *tulitikku* (igniting) match; *tulinen* fiery, mettlesome (U)
tumma dark (of colour)
tunkio dunghill (G)
tunte- feel; know (somebody); *tunto* feeling, perception of touch; = *omatunto*; *tunnonvaiva* compunction, pangs of conscience; *tunne* (*tuntee-*) feeling (sensation); *tun-*

tu- be felt; *tunnusta-* confess, admit (U)

tunti, gen. *tunnin* hour (G)

tuo that, yonder; *tuossa* there; then; *tuon tuostakin* as often as not; *tuolla* there, yonder (U)

tuo- (§ 109) bring (here) (U)

tuohi birch-bark (B)

tuoli, gen. *tuolin* chair (G)

tuomi bird-cherry, Prunus padus (U)

tuomiokirkko cathedral (the principal temple of a bishopric) (G)

tuomitse- judge, sentence, condemn; *tuomio* sentence, doom; *tuomari* judge (G)

tupa cottage, cabin (G)

turha vain, useless; *turhaan* in vain, wantonly

Turku Åbo (a Finnish town)

turpa nose, muzzle (of a horse etc.) (FU)

turva safety, protection, shelter, safeguard

tuska pain, torment; *tuskin* hardly; *tuskautu-* become afflicted, distressed (R)

tutise- shake, tremble; *tutiseva* shaky, tremulous

tutki- investigate, examine (FU *tutkain*)

tuttava acquaintance, friend; *tuttu* (well) known, familiar (cf. *tunte-*)

tuuhea tight, bushy; *tuuheus* (*-ute-*) tightness, bushiness

tuura ice-pick; (K) spear

tuuskahta- fall plump

tyhjä empty (B)

tyhmä stupid; *tyhmyys* (*-yyte-*; § 73) stupidity, folly

tykö(-) (defective word) = *luo*(-); *tykö* to

tynnyri barrel, cask (G)

tytär (*tyttäre-*) daughter; *tyttö* girl (B?)

tyyty- be content, be satisfied; acquiesce

työ (§ 72) work

työntä- push, shove

tähti dot; star; *tähden* (preceded by a genitive) because of . . ., for the sake of; *sinun tähtesi* because of you, for your sake; *tähdittä-* spangle with stars

täkäli, see *tämä*

tällainen, *tämmöinen* such (as this; cf. *tämä*)

tämä (§ 96) this; *tässä* here; *tästä* from here; *tänään* = *tänäpäivänä* today; *tänne* hither; *täkäli* in this way; K (going) this way, in this direction (U)

tänne, *tässä*, etc., see *tämä*

tärkeä important

tärvää-, inf. *tärvätä* spoil, destroy; *tärvele-* spoil, be destroying (G)

täti, gen. *tädin* aunt (cf. *setä*)

täysi (*täyte-*, essive *täynnä* and *täytenä*; §§ 21, 50) full; *täyttä-* fill; fulfil (FU)

täyty- (only in the 3d singular: § 165) must

täällä here; *täältä* from here (cf. *tämä*)

töksähtä- push, give a bump

töp(p)öhäntä (very) short tail

uhka threat; *uhkaa-*, inf. *uhata* threaten

ui- swim (U)

ukko old man

ulko(-) (defective word; the nominative is used only as first part of compounds) outer, outside, outdoor; *ulkona* (being) out; *ulos* (going) out; *ulkomaa* foreign

country; *ulkopuolella* (on the) outside (of); *ulkotyö* outdoor work
ullakko garret, attic
umpi(-) (defective word) (state of being) closed, shut, stopped, or blocked up; *umpilampi* tarn (small lake) without outflow
uni sleep; dream
unohta- forget (U?)
urho hero, warrior; *uros* (*uroo-*, K *uroho-*) id.; man, male person; male (of animals) (FU)
usea several; *usein* often
usise- gush
usko- believe; *usko* belief; faith, creed
ussakka sash, woven belt
usva steam, mist
utu haze; *utuinen* hazy; fine
uupu- become weary, overtired; *uuvuksissa* (inessive plural!) weary, overtired; *uuvutta-* tire out; *minua uuvuttaa* I feel weary, overtired
uusi (*uute-*: §§ 21, 54) new; *uudestaan* (elative + possessive pronoun, 3d person) anew; *uunna vuonna* or *uutena vuonna* (§ 50) at new year; *uudista-* renew; *uudistus* (*-ukse-*) reform (FU)
vaan but (on the contrary); (in colloquial speech also:) only (cf. *vain*)
vaara mountain (FU?)
vaara danger (G)
vaarna (wooden) peg; diminutive *vaarnanen*
vaate(-) *vaattee-*; used chiefly in the plural; the nominative sing. is used as first part of compounds) cloth-, clothes (G)
vaati- claim, require; *vaadittele-* ask, interrogate (FU?)
vahinko damage; accident
vahva strong, solid
vai or (in interrogative clauses); well, is that so; *vai niin* well, is that so (cf. *vaati-*)
vaihe vicissitude; phase, period
vaikea difficult; painful; *vaikeus* (*-ute-*) difficulty; *vaikeutta-* render (more) difficult
vaikka, *vaikkakin* although
vaimo wife; married woman (not belonging to the upper classes)
vain only (cf. *vaiva*)
vain (K) = *vai* or
vaippa blanket; mantle (G)
vaiti (be) silent, quiet (for the moment, at a certain occasion)
vaiva trouble; pain; *vaivainen* lame, crippled, disabled; miserable, unhappy
vakaa, K *vaka* steady, staunch, firm
vakka box, wooden receptacle; a measure (about a bushel)
vala oath
vale, *valhe* lie; *valehtele-* lie, tell a lie
valitta- lament, complain; care (for)
valjasta- harness (the basic word is the plurale tantum *valjaat*, as first part of compounds *valjas-*, harness)
valkea white; fire; *valkoinen* white; *valkene-*, inf. *valjeta* (§ 161, the last section) dawn, get light; become white (FU?)
valmis (*valmii-*) ready
valo (the) light
valta power, might, force (cf. *tasavalta*); *valtavanhempi* excellent, venerable parent; *valtakunta* realm, state; (*Pohjois-Amerikan*) *Yhdysvallat* USA; *valtio* (the) state (G)

valu- flow; drip, drop (intr.)

vanha old; *vanhempi* older; parent (father or mother); *vanhin* oldest; parent (father or mother); *vanhus* (*-ukse-*) old man, old woman; *vanhuus* (*-uute-*) age, old age

vapaa free; *vapaus* (*-ute-*) freedom (R)

vapise- quake, tremble

vara resources, fortune; support; reserve; precaution; *varaton* penniless; unwary, incautious, careless; *varattomasti* in an unwary etc. fashion; *varo-* be on one's guard; be shy of, shun, avoid; look out; supply, provide (G)

varas (*varkaa-*) thief; *varasta-* steal (G)

varhain early (at an early hour, at an early point of time)

vari, gen. *varin* hot (R)

varma sure; *varmaan* certainly, to be sure

varsi (*varte-*) stalk, stem, shaft; stock (of a cross-bow etc.); *varsin* extraordinarily, exceedingly, very; *v. valehtelit* you are lying outright, you told a gross falsehood; *otta- varteen* take into consideration

varteenottamalla, see *varsi*

vasen (*vasempa-*: §§ 28, 57) left, sinister (opposite of right)

vaski bronze, copper; *vaskinen* made of or containing copper or bronze (U)

vasta(-) (defective word) contrary, opposite; *vasta* only (not until, not before); indeed; *vastaan* against; *vastatusten* opposite each other; *vastamäki* ascent, uphill road; *vastaa-*, inf. *vastata* answer, reply; *vastaus* (*-ukse-*) answer

vauhti speed

vaunu cab, carriage, waggon (speaking of horse vehicles, the plural is often used even to indicate *one* carriage) (G)

vehnä wheat

veikko brother

veistä- carve (in wood), do joiner's work; *veisto* carving, joiner's work (the basic word is *veitsi* knife)

veli (*velje-*) brother; *veljes*(-) (as first part of compounds) brother-; (plural) *veljekset* brothers (mutually); cf. § 88, note, last section

velka debt; *velaksi* on the cuff

velli, gen. *vellin* gruel (G)

vemmel (*vempelee-* or *vempele-*) harness-bow (in a harness of the Russian type, having partly the same function as has the saddle of a harness of the usual type)

vene, *venhe* boat; diminutive *veno*

veri, partitive *verta* blood; *verille* so as to draw blood, so that he bled; *verinen* bloody (FU)

verta measure, extent, degree; *verroille* (preceded by a genitive) *vetäitä* measure one's strength or skill with . . .; *sen verran* that much (G)

veräjä gate (R)

vesa sapling, young, slender tree; *vesapuinen* made of the stem of a young, slender tree

vesi (*vete-*: §§ 21, 54) water; diminutive *vetonen*; *vetinen* watery; *vetistele-* weep, cry (U)

vetä-, reflexiv inf. K *vetäitä*, 2d sing. imperative refl. K *veäite* draw, pull (FU? IE?)

vie- (§ 109) (take and) bring somewhere, convey, transport (IE)
viehkuroi- wallow, welter
vielä still; yet (B)
vieras (*vieraa-*) guest; visitor; *vieras-huone* guest-room, spare room; cf. *vieri*
vieri margin, side; *vieressä* beside, at the side of; *vieretyksin* side by side
vieri-, K *viere-* roll (intr.), run; *vierähtä-* suddenly start rolling (intr.); spread (intr.) fast; *viertä-* roll (tr.); *vierto* rolling, esp. the rolling of singed logs in a recently burn-beaten land; *viertokangas* sandy burn-beaten land
viesti, gen. *viestin* news, intelligence, information, report, signal (R)
vihdoin(*kin*) at last, at length
vihreä, K *viherä* green (IE *viha*)
viihty- thrive
viikko week; (K also) long time (G)
viime last (till now); *viimein* at last; *viimeinen* last (of all) (U)
viipy- stay; loiter, tarry
viisas (*viisaa-*) wise (G)
viisi (*viite-*) five (U?)
viitta sign-post; *viitto-* point (G)
vika fault, defect
vilkutta- wave; twinkle; *vilkuttele-* wave or twinkle repeatedly
virittä- set (a trap or snare) (cf. *virka*)
virka office, official position; *virkamies* official, public servant (U)
virkka-, and *virkkaa-*, inf. *virkata*, utter, say
virkku high-spirited (of a horse)
virsi (*virte-*) poem, song; hymn (B)
virta current, stream
virutta- put to soak, rinse
viskaa-, inf. *viskata* throw; scoop
viti, gen. *vidin* fresh, new (recently fallen) snow
voi butter; *voide* (*voitee-*) grease; salve, unguent (FU)
voi- be able; *voima* power; *voitta-* conquer, vanquish, win; *voitto* victory; gain; *voitonriemuinen* triumphant, exultant; *voittele-* try to win; *voittelo* contest
voi oh, alas!
vuode (*vuotee-*) bed, couch
vuokra rent; *vuokrakasarmi* big tenement house (G)
Vuoksi the big river that connects the Saimaa with the Ladoga (*vuoksi* stream)
vuoksi because of; *senvuoksi* therefore
vuori mountain, (big) hill (FU?)
vuoro turn (opportunity which recurs at regular intervals or comes at a certain point of a previously planned succession, or the like) (G)
vuosi (*vuote-*: §§ 21, 50) year (FU)
vuota- ooze, trickle; flow; *v. verta* bleed (the basic word is *vuo* "stream, current"; cf. also *vuoksi*)
vyö (§ 72) belt; waist; *suolivyö*, *suonivyö* (mostly used in the plural) the waist (U?)
väestö, see *väki*
vähä (as a rule, *vähän* is used instead of the nominative) little, very little (= not much); a little; *vähäinen* small, inconsiderable; *vähäisen* a little, a trifle; *vähitellen* little by little; *vähemmistö* minority (the smaller of two parts of a totality of human beings, etc.)
Väinämöinen is supposed to have been a water god or river god. In

the Kalevala he appears as an extremely aged seer, sorcerer and musician of the Kaleva clan, except in the first two songs, where he takes part in the creation of the earth; diminutive *Väinö*; *Väinölä*, the domicile of *Väinö*

väki force; people (workmen, employees); people (gathering of human beings); *väkevä* strong; *väestö* population (FU)

väli, gen. *välin* stretch between two places; *välissä* between (in space); *välistä* now and then; *välillä* between (in space or time, or in psychical relations); *välittä-* mediate; care about, pay attention to something

välttä- avoid

väri, gen. *värin* colour (G)

väsy- get tired; *väsynyt* tired

vävy son-in-law (U)

vääntä- turn, twist (tr.)

yhdeksän (*yhdeksä-*) nine

yhtä, see *yksi*

yhytysten, see *yksi*

yhä all the while, still; more and more

yksi (*yhte-*: §§ 22, 56) one; *yhdessä* together; *yhtä* just as . . ., to the same degree; *yhtä kuin* equal to, equivalent to; *yksin*, *yksinään* alone, lone; *yksikielinen* speaking only one language; uniform as to language; *yksimielinen* unanimous; *yksinkertainen* simple (cf. *kerta*); *yhdys*(-) (in compounds) common, united, etc.; (*Pohjois-Amerikan*) *Yhdysvallat* USA; K *yhytysten* constantly, unceasingly (FU?)

yli(-), *ylä*(-) (defective words) over-, upper; *yli* over, past, across, above, more than; *ylös* (come) up; *ylöspäin* upwards; *ylin* (*ylimpä-*) uppermost; *ylinnä* at the top, uppermost; *ylihuomenna* (on) the day after tomorrow; *yliopisto* university (U?)

ymmärtä- understand; *ymmärtele-* pretend to understand (cf. *ympäri*)

ympäri (all) round, around; *ympärillä* (being) around; *ympärille* (putting something) around; *ympärys* (*-ykse-*) circumference; (plural:) surroundings

ystävä friend; *ystävällinen* friendly

yö (§ 72) night (FU)

äiti, gen. *äidin* mother; *äidinkieli* mother tongue, native language, vernacular (G)

äkkiä suddenly

älä do not! (2d sing. imperative of the negative auxiliary verb) (U)

ämmä old woman

ärjy- yell (angrily) at somebody; *ärjäise-* yell suddenly

äsken newly, just

ääni voice; *äänetön* voiceless, silent (FU)

ääri brim, edge; *ääressä* at

ESTONIAN

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

Letters

§ 1. In genuine words and fully Estonianized loan-words the following letters are used: *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *ä*, *ö*, *õ*, *ü*, and in words of foreign origin *f*, *š*, *z*, *ž*.

§ 2. On the whole, the vowels are pronounced like the corresponding Finnish vowels. *ü* corresponds to Finnish *y*. *õ* is a slightly labialized middle-high (or high) back-tongue vowel.

§ 3. Estonian has a great many diphthongs: *ae*, *ai*, *ao*, *au*, *ei*, *iu*, *oe*, *oi*, *ui*; *äe*, *äi*, *äo*, *äu*; *öe*, *öi*, *õe*, *õi*, *õu*, etc.

§ 4. *b*, *d*, *g* are voiceless, pronounced almost like *p*, *t*, *k* between short vowels in English words like *copy*, *city*, *flicker*, e.g. *vaba* 'free', *sõda* 'war', *aga* 'but'.

§ 5. In initial position before a vowel, *p*, *t*, *k* are feebly articulated and sound almost like *b*, *d*, *g* between two vowels: *puu* 'tree', *ta* 'he, she', *ka* 'also'. Otherwise, *p*, *t*, *k* have the same quality as in Finnish (and French).

§ 6. Genuine and fully Estonianized words never begin with *b*, *d*, *g* (*pank* 'bank', *taani* 'Danish', *klaas* 'glass'); in foreign words and names *b*, *d*, *g* are found initially, but pronounced like Estonian *p*, *t*, *k*: *Berliin*, *balloon*.

§ 7. *h* is pronounced (with the same quality as in Finnish) in the interior and at the end of words: *raha* 'money', *lahti* 'open', *kah* 'also'. Many speakers drop it in the initial position, except in words of foreign origin.

§ 8. *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *v* are pronounced as in Finnish. *n* thus has the

dorsovelar articulation before *k* and *g*. It should be noted that in the combination *ng* the *g* is always pronounced separately, as in English *finger*, not as in English *singer*.

§ 9. The following consonants occur only in words of foreign origin and in foreign proper names:

f is pronounced as in English.

š (also written *sh*) is pronounced like English *sh*.

ž (also written *zh*) is the corresponding voiced sound, pronounced like English *s* in *pleasure*.

z is voiced *s*, pronounced like English *z*, e.g. *zooloogia* 'zoology'.

§ 10. Genuine words and fully Estonianized foreign words usually have only one consonant initially. Yet there are some common words, mostly onomatopoeic, which begin with *kl*, *kr*, *pl*, *pr*, e.g. *praegu* 'now' (cf. fi *paraikaa*), *klirisema* 'to clatter'.

Palatalization

§ 11. In certain words and forms the consonants *d*, *t*, *n*, *l*, *r*, *s* are palatalized and then sound as if they were combined with an *i* (e.g. palatalized *n* like French *gn*, etc.). The palatalization is stronger at the beginning of the consonant and becomes feebler toward the end. The palatalization is not indicated in the Estonian orthography; in the examples given below it is indicated by the sign ′ to the right of the palatalized consonant, e.g. *laad′* 'kind, sort, quality', *kot′t* 'sack, bag', *van′n* 'tub, bath', *pal′l* 'ball', *kor′v* 'basket', *kas′s* 'cat'.

Without palatalization	*With palatalization*
palk 'reward, wages'	*pal′k* 'beam, rafter'
tunde, gsg of *tunne* 'sentiment'	*tun′de*, part. pl. of *tun′d* 'hour'

The palatalization was caused by an *i* or a *j* in the following syllable, which is still preserved or has disappeared: *val′mis* 'ready', *pal′k* 'beam' (< **palki*), *sel′ja*, gsg of *sel′g* 'back'.

Stress

§ 12. In genuine words and fully Estonianized loan-words the main stress is on the first syllable. A great number of loan-words and

almost all foreign proper names keep their original stress, e.g. *kultúur*, *parkétt*, *poléerima* 'to polish', *Euróopa*, *Améerika*, *Paríis*.

Quantity

§ 13. There are three degrees of quantity, (1) short, (2) medium long, (3) extra long.

In the 3rd degree both vowels and consonants are written double. In the 2nd degree they are written simple (as in the 1st degree) or double according to certain rules.

§ 14. Vowels appear in the 3rd degree only in the first syllable. The 1st and 2nd degrees respectively are considerably shorter in the second syllable than in the first syllable.

§ 15. All initial consonants are in the 1st degree, and so are voiceless consonants in the position after a voiceless consonant.

§ 16. The 3rd degree of consonants occurs only in intervocalic position after a short vowel, and only after the vowel of the first syllable (and in partitive and illative forms of the suffix *-ik* ~ *-iku-* ~ *-ikku*).

§ 17. *b*, *d*, and *g* appear only in the 1st degree.

§ 18. *p*, *t*, *k*, *f* and *š* do not appear in the 1st degree, except in the cases mentioned in § 15. They are written double only in the 3rd degree. In some words there is a paradigmatic alternation *b* (*d*, *g*) ~ *p* (*t*, *k*), e.g. *tuba* 'room' ~ illsg *tuppa*.

§ 19. Non-syllabic *i* is written *j* in the 1st degree, e.g. *maja* 'house', whilst it is written *i* or *ij* in the 2nd degree, e.g. gsg *aia* of *aed* 'fence', and *jj* in the 3rd degree e.g. illsg *majja* of *maja*.

h is written double in the illative singular, e.g. *kehha*, illsg of *keha* ‚body', and in a few learned loan-words, e.g. *psühholoogia* 'psychology'.

§ 20. *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *v* are written double in the 2nd degree in intervocalic position after the (short) vowel of the first syllable. Thus, in *linna*, gsg of *linn* 'town' (= fi *linnan*, gsg of *linna* 'castle'), *n* is in the 2nd degree, whereas it is in the 3rd degree in the partitive of the same word: *linna* (= fi *linnaa*, < **linnaδa*).

If one of these consonants is in the position after a short (stressed) vowel at the very end of a monosyllable, it cannot be in the 1st

degree. If it is in the 2nd degree, it is written simple, e.g. *on* 'is'; if it is in the 3rd degree, it is usually written double, e.g. *onn* ‚hut'.

NOTE. In stressed position, the *n* of *on* 'is' is in the 3rd degree.

§ 21. *s* is written double in the 2nd degree, e.g. *pulss* 'pulse', part. *pulssi* (but gsg *pulsi*); *majasse*, illsg of *maja* 'house'.

§ 22. Vowels are written double in the 2nd degree in the first syllable. Exception: *nad* 'they'.

§ 23. At the end of monosyllables with a short vowel, every consonant that is written double, is in the 3rd degree. In the same position, one of the components of a consonant cluster is in the 2nd degree.

§ 24. There is a kind of equilibrium between the first syllable and the second syllable. If the first syllable is open, or closed by a consonant of the 2nd degree or by a cluster of consonants in the 1st degree, the vowel of the second syllable is in the 2nd degree, provided that the vowel of the first syllable is not in the 3rd degree, or in the 2nd degree in the position before a consonant of the 2nd degree. On the other hand, if the first syllable is closed by a consonant in the 3rd degree or by a cluster of consonants one of which is in the second degree, the vowel of the second syllable is in the 1st degree; and the same is the case if the vowel of the first syllable is in the 3rd degree, and if it is in the 2nd degree and is followed by a consonant of the 2nd degree.

In the following examples we symbolize the 2nd degree of all the sounds except *p*, *t*, *k* by doubling in all positions, and the 3rd degree by putting the letter thrice. The second degree of the vowel of the second syllable we symbolize by a grave accent.

A. *linà* 'flax'; *linnà*, gsg of *linnn* 'town'; *arvù*, gsg of *arrv* 'number'; *arstì*, gsg of *arsst* 'physician'; *kroonì*, gsg of *krooon* 'crown'.

B. *linnna*, psg of *linnn*; *arrvu*, psg of *arrv*; *võõrad*, npl of *võõràs* 'foreign'; *lõõsskab* '(the fire) is blazing, flaring'.

§ 25. The quantitative alternations in word stems are easy to explain historically. The structural type B is the result of substitutional lengthening, at least in most of the cases. Such lengthening has taken place when a syllable has disappeared. Thus, *arrv* has

developed from **arvo* (cf. fi *arvo* 'value'), and the partitive *arrvu* from **arvoδa* (fi *arvoa*), the partitive *linnna* has developed from **linnaδa* (fi *linnaa*). In some words, the 3rd degree has developed from the 1st degree, e.g. illsg *tuppa* (< **tupahan*) of *tuba*; illsg *sõtta* (< **sotahan*) of *sõda* 'war'.

Gradation

§ 26. As to the definition of Gradation, see Finnish Grammar, § 5. We find in Estonian much the same cases of gradation as in Finnish. (The paragraph numbers in brackets refer to FG.)

§ 27. (§ 5.) *Patt* 'sin' ~ gsg *patu*; *lõpp* 'end' ~ gsg *lõpu*.

After a long vowel or a diphthong or a consonant, the weak grade counterparts of *k*, *p*, *t* (see above, § 18) are *g*, *b*, and *d* respectively; e.g. *piip* 'pipe' (fi *piippu*), psg *piipu* ~ gsg *piibu* (fi *piipun*).

§ 28. (§ 6.) *Haab* 'aspen' ~ gsg *haava*; *hammas* 'tooth' ~ gsg *hamba*.

§ 29. (§ 7.) *Tund* 'hour' ~ gsg *tunni*; *varras* 'knitting-needle' ~ gsg *varda*.

§ 30. Between vowels, the weak grade counterpart of *d* is usually *Ø* (zero), sometimes *j*; after *h* it is always *Ø*: inf. *tahta* 'will, wish' ~ 1sg prs *tahan*; *koda* 'house' ~ gsg *koja*.

§ 31. (§ 8.) *tegu* 'deed' ~ gsg *teo*; *aeg* 'time' ~ gsg *aja*; *jalg* 'foot' ~ gsg *jala*.

§ 32. (§§ 8, 10.) *lg* ~ *lj* and *rg* ~ *rj* not only in *e*-stems, but also in *a*-stems after *e* and *ä*; e.g. *jälg* 'trace' ~ gsg *jälje*; *härg* 'ox' ~ gsg *härja*.

§ 33. (§ 11.) There is no alternation corresponding to fi *nk* ~ *ng*.

§ 34. (§ 12.) *Nahk* 'leather' ~ gsg *naha*.

§ 35. In Estonian, *sk* alternates with *s*, e.g. *lesk* 'widow' ~ gsg *lese*. (Cf. the Supplement to FG: Peculiarities of the Kalevala.)

§ 36. *ss* alternates with *s* after a voiced consonant or non-syllabic *i* or *u*; e.g. *pulss* 'pulse', psg *pulssi* ~ gsg *pulsi*; *poiss* 'boy' ~ gsg *poisi*; *kauss* 'vessel, bowl' ~ gsg *kausi*.

As to the distribution of the grades, see §§ 60, 61.

§ 37. There is an historical connexion between gradation and the interplay of the three degrees of quantity. The substitutional lengthen-

ing (see § 25) has taken place only before a vowel that was earlier in an open syllable. In words like *tuba* 'room', *sõda* 'war', and *jõgi* 'river', the lengthening has brought about a threefold alternation: nsg *tuba, sõda, jõgi* ~ gsg *tuva, sõja, jõe* ~ illsg *tuppa, sõtta, jõkke*. In words like *lõpp* 'end', *patt* 'sin', and *lakk* 'mane', psg *lõppu, pattu, lakka* ~ gsg *lõpu, patu, laka*, one may account for the 3rd degree without taking one's recourse to substitutional lengthening (cf. fi *hattu*, psg *hattua* ~ gsg *hatun*, and the like).

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

§ 38. The Estonian language has no definite article. The numeral *üks* 'one' sometimes functions as indefinite article, e.g. *üks maa* 'a country'.

§ 39. Estonian has no grammatical gender. The word for 'he', 'she', and 'it' is indiscriminately *tema* or *ta*.

CASES

§ 40. The Estonian declension has 14 cases. Besides the nominative, genitive, and partitive, there are seven local cases, and furthermore there are four cases corresponding to the English prepositions *as* ('in the capacity of'), (changing) *into, without*, and (together) *with*.

The substantive *raamat* 'book' has the following declension:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. Nominative	raamat	raamat*ud*
2. Genitive	raamatu	raamat*ute*
3. Partitive	raamat*ut*	raamat*uid*
4. Inessive	raamat*us*	raamat*utes*
5. Elative	raamat*ust*	raamat*utest*
6. Illative	raamatu*sse*	raamatu*tesse*
7. Adessive	raamat*ul*	raamat*utel*
8. Ablative	raamat*ult*	raamat*utelt*
9. Allative	raamat*ule*	raamat*utele*
10. Terminative	raamatu*ni*	raamatu*teni*

11. Essive	raamatu*na*	raamatu*tena*
12. Translative	raamatu*ks*	raamatu*teks*
13. Abessive	raamatu*ta*	raamatu*teta*
14. Comitative	raamatu*ga*	raamatu*tega*

§ 41. When an adjective is used independently (without a following substantive), it has the same declension as a substantive. When an adjective appears as a qualifier before a substantive, the terminative, essive, abessive, and comitative cases are replaced by the genitive. In the remaining cases the adjective has the same case as its substantive, though in colloquial Estonian this agreement is not always observed.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Nominative	odav raamat 'a cheap book'	odavad raamatud
Genitive	odava raamatu	odavate raamatute
Partitive	odavat raamatut	odavaid raamatuid
Inessive	odavas raamatus etc.	odavates raamatutes etc.
Terminative	odava raamatuni	odavate raamatuteni
Essive	odava raamatuna	odavate raamatutena
Translative	odavaks raamatuks	odavateks raamatuteks
Abessive	odava raamatuta	odavate raamatuteta
Comitative	odava raamatuga	odavate raamatutega

On the use of cases

§ 42. The direct object can be in the nominative, genitive, or partitive. It is either *total* or *partial*.

When the action indicated by the verb is regarded as leading to a result and is directed towards something in its entirety, the object is total. Otherwise it is partial. In negative sentences the object is always partial.

The partial object is in the partitive.

When governed by the affirmative imperative or the passive, the total object is in the nominative in the singular as well as in the plural; when governed by other verb forms it is in the genitive in the singular, and in the nominative in the plural.

TOTAL OBJECT	PARTIAL OBJECT
Poiss ostis leiva 'the boy bought the bread'.	*Poiss ostis leiba* 'the boy bought bread'.
Ma lugesin raamatu läbi 'I read the book through'.	*Ma lugesin raamatut* 'I was reading the book'.
Ta tõi mulle raamatud 'he brought me the books'.	*Ta tõi mulle raamatuid* 'he brought me books'.
Osta see raamat! 'Buy this book!'	*Ära osta seda raamatut!* 'Do not buy this book!'

§ 43. When the verb is in a finite passive form, the word indicating that which is concerned by the action is the object of the sentence: *raamat ostetakse* 'the book is bought', *raamatut ei osteta* 'the book is not bought'.

§ 44. The nominative forms of the personal pronouns *mina* 'I', *sina* 'you', *meie* or *me* 'we', *teie* or *te* 'you' are not used as objects. Instead, the partitive is used: *võta mind kaasa!* 'take me with you!', *ta võttis meid kaasa* 'he took us with him'.

§ 45. The inessive, illative, and elative are interior local cases, indicating position *in*, movement *into*, and movement *out of* something. The adessive, allative, and ablative are exterior local cases, indicating position *on* or *at*, movement *to*, and movement *from* something. The terminative is an external local case indicating the final point or goal of a movement ('all the way to . . . but not farther').

§ 46. Local cases are often used in non-local (abstract) meaning:

Inessive: *selles kahtlema* 'to be in doubt about it'.

Elative: *raamatust rääkima* 'to speak of the book', *seda temast uskuma* 'to believe it of him'. Note: *osa võtma pidust* (or *peost*) 'to take part in a feast'.

Allative (in the function of 'indirect object'): *ma andsin lapsele raamatu* 'I gave the child a book'.

Ablative: *ma sain isalt raamatu* 'I got a book from Father', *küsisin seda isalt* 'I asked Father about it' ('I asked it from Father').

§ 47. The essive indicates that someone or something acts, functions, or feels as something: *ta elas seal kaks aastat õpetajana* 'he lived there for two years as a teacher', *ta tunneb ennast tervemana* 'he feels better', *see tundub, näib paremana* 'that seems, looks better'.

§ 48. The translative indicates that someone or something a) becomes something or is changed into something, b) serves as something or is used for something, c) is taken for something or regarded as something: *vesi muutub jääks* 'the water turns to ice', *ta läks rikkaks* 'he became rich', *ta jäi haigeks* 'he became ill', *ta sai targaks* 'he became wise', *see oli mulle kepiks* 'this served me as a stick', *ma pidasin teda õpetajaks* 'I took him *for* a teacher', *ta arvas paremaks ära minna* 'he thought it better to go away'.

§ 49. The abessive corresponds to English expressions with the preposition *without*; it is sometimes preceded by the preposition *ilma* 'without'.

§ 50. The comitative expresses the same relationship as the English preposition (*together*) *with*.

Additional remarks on case endings

§ 51. The nominative singular has no case ending; it ends in one of the vowels *a, e, i, u,* or in a consonant.

§ 52. The genitive singular ends in *a, e, i, u,* or *o*. Many words have the same form in the nominative and the genitive singular, e.g. *isa* 'father'.

§ 53. The nominative plural has the ending *-d*.

§ 54. The genitive plural has the ending *-te* or *-de*: *raamatute* 'of the books', *majade* 'of the houses'.

§ 55. The partitive singular can end in

-t: *raamatut* (*raamat* 'book'), *keelt* (*keel* 'language'), *inimest* (*inimene* 'human being', stem: *inimese-*);

-d (after a long vowel or a diphthong): *maad* (*maa* 'country'); *võid* (*või* 'butter'); (after stems that have become monosyllabic by loss of final *e*, if the vowel of the first syllable is short and followed

by *l*, *n*, or *r*:) *tuld* (*tuli* 'fire', stem *tule-*), *und* (*uni* 'dream, sleep'), *merd* (*meri* 'sea'), *verd* (*veri* 'blood');

-a, *-e*, *-i*, *-u* (i.e. the final vowel of the stem): *jalga* (*jalg* 'foot'), *sulge* (*sulg* 'feather'), *pilti* (*pilt* 'picture'), *laulu* (*laul* 'song'), *õnnelikku* (*õnnelik* 'happy').

§ 56. The partitive plural can end in

-id (*-aid*, *-eid*, *-uid*, *-äid*, *-öid*): *aastaid* (*aasta* 'year'), *hooneid* (*hoone* 'building'), *numbreid* (*number* 'number, figure'), *puid* (*puu* 'tree, wood'), *päid* (*pää* or *pea* 'head'), *töid* (*töö* 'work, labour');

-sid: *koisid* (*koi* 'moth'), *jõgesid* (*jõgi* 'river'), *ärisid* (*äri* 'business'), *talusid* (*talu* 'farm'), *härrasid* (*härra* 'gentleman');

-i, *-e*, *-u*: *kohti* (*koht*, gsg *koha* 'place'), *lehti* (*leht*, gsg *lehe* 'leaf'), *pilte* (*pilt*, gsg *pildi* 'picture'), *õnnelikke* (*õnnelik*, gsg *-liku* 'happy'), *kalu* (*kala* 'fish'), *jalgu* (*jalg*, gsg *jala* 'foot').

§ 57. The illative singular can end in

a) *-sse* (added to the form of the genitive): *raamatusse* (*raamat* 'book'), *vagunisse* (*vagun* 'waggon, carriage'), *kirikusse* (*kirik* 'church');

b) *-a*, *-e*, *-i*, *-u* (the final vowel of the stem): *läksin metsa* 'I went into the forest', *valasin pange* 'I poured into the pail', *ta pani selle kaussi* 'he put it into the bowl', *kala läks võrku* 'the fish went into the net'. The illative of words like these is generally identical in form with the partitive singular, cf. *tunnen seda metsa* 'I know this forest', *pesen kaussi* 'I wash the bowl', *parandan võrku* 'I mend the net';

c) the final vowel of the stem with doubling of the preceding consonant (3rd degree): *ellu* (*elu* 'life'), *sülle* (*süli* 'lap'), *merre* (*meri* 'sea'), *majja* (*maja* 'farm').

d) *-de* (rare): *läände* 'westwards' (*lääs*, gsg *lääne* 'west'), *uude tuppa* 'into the new room' (*uus*, gsg *uue* 'new'), *meelde* (or *meele*; *meel* 'mind, sense');

e) *-he*, *-hu* (added to a few monosyllabic stems ending in a long vowel): *pähe* (*pää* or *pea* 'head'), *suhu* (*suu* 'mouth').

Instead of c) it is possible to apply a): *elusse*, *majasse*; but in the case of disyllabic words with *b*, *d*, *g* between two short vowels the illative singular generally has the form indicated under c): *tuppa* (*tuba* 'room'), *sõtta* (*sõda* 'war'), *jõkke* (*jõgi* 'river').

It is also possible to apply a) instead of b); when the illative is used in a concrete, spatial sense, the form without *-sse* is preferred, e.g. *läks metsa, ahju* 'went into the forest, crept into the oven', but in a figurative sense one mostly uses the illative in *-sse*, e.g. in connection with the verbs *uskuma* 'believe', *puutuma* 'concern': *mis metsasse puutub* 'as far as the forest is concerned, referring to the forest'. The illative of words signifying living beings almost invariably ends in *-sse*, e.g. *kuul tungis koerasse* 'the bullet penetrated into the dog'.

§ 58. The illative plural almost invariably ends in *-tesse* or *-desse*: *metsadesse, võrkudesse, tubadesse* 'into the forests, nets, rooms'.

§ 59. All the cases not mentioned above may be formed from the genitive—in the singular from the genitive singular and in the plural from the genitive plural—by adding the case endings indicated in the paradigm (§ 40).

SOUND ALTERNATIONS IN THE WORD STEM

Additional remarks on gradation

§ 60. In the Estonian language the distribution of open and closed syllables has been modified to such an extent that it is necessary to remember—as far as words with gradation are concerned—which inflectional forms have the strong grade and which the weak grade.

If the nominative singular has the strong grade, the genitive singular has the weak grade, and vice versa. The partitive singular and the genitive plural almost always have the same grade as the nominative singular, e.g. *lind* 'bird', psg *lindu*, gpl *lindude*, gsg *linnu*; *hammas* 'tooth', psg *hammast*, gpl *hammaste*, gsg *hamba*. The partitive plural and the illative singular without *-sse* always have the strong grade, e.g. ppl *lindusid* (or *linde*), *hambaid*, illsg *lehte* (*leht* 'leaf', gsg *lehe*).

§ 61. The illative singular in *-sse* and the nominative plural have the same grade as the genitive singular: illsg *linnusse, lehesse, hambasse*, npl *linnud, lehed, hambad*. The remaining singular cases have the same grade as the genitive singular, and the remaining

plural cases have the same grade as the genitive plural: *linnu—linnus, linnust, linnul*, etc.; *lindude—lindudes, lindudest, lindudel*; *hamba—hambas, hambast, hambal*, etc.; *hammaste—hammastes, hammastest, hammastel*, etc.

§ 62. When a single consonant between two short vowels disappears in the weak grade and consequently two vowels come to appear in immediate juxtaposition, the narrow vowels *i, u, ü*, are changed into the wider vowels *e, o, ö*, e.g. *siga* 'pig' ~ gsg *sea*; *tegu* 'deed' ~ *teo*; *süsi* (stem *süde-*) 'charcoal' ~ *söe*; *lugu* 'story' ~ *loo* (the weak forms pronounced monosyllabically, with diphthong or long vowel respectively).

Other consonant alternations

§ 63. In several words and groups of words, the nominative singular differs from the stem appearing in the other or most of the other cases in respect of the last consonant of the stem. The principal instances of such alternation are the following.

§ 64. Polysyllabic and most disyllabic words ending in *-ne* in the nominative singular have a stem ending in *-s(e)-* in the other cases, e.g. *vaene inimene* 'a poor man', gsg *vaese inimese*, psg *vaest inimest*, gpl *vaeste inimeste*. Some disyllabic words in *-ne* do not change the *n*, e.g. *eine* 'luncheon', *laine* 'wave', gsg *eine, laine*, psg *einet, lainet*.

§ 65. The *e*-stems which in the partitive singular end in *-tt* after a short vowel or in *-t* after a long vowel, have the nominative singular in *-s(i)* instead of *-t(i)*, and the partitive plural in *-si*: *käsi* 'hand', gsg *käe*, psg *kätt*, illsg *kätte*, gpl *käte*, ppl *käsi*; *vesi* 'water', gsg *vee*, psg *vett*, illsg *vette*; *kuus* 'six', gsg *kuue*, psg *kuut*; *uus* 'new', gsg *uue*, psg *uut*, gpl *uute*, ppl *uusi*; *viis* 'five', gsg *viie*, psg *viit*.

Note *üks* 'one', *kaks* 'two', gsg *ühe, kahe*, psg *üht(e), kaht(e)*.

§ 66. The *e*-stems which end in *-nt* in the partitive singular have *-s* in the nominative singular and *-si* in the partitive plural, e.g. *küüs* 'nail', gsg *küüne*, psg *küünt*, illsg *küünde*, gpl *küünte*, ppl *küüsi*.

§ 67. The ordinal numbers end in *-s* in the nominative singular, but in the other cases the stem ends in *-nda-*, e.g. *kolmas* 'third', *viies* 'fifth', gsg *kolmanda*, *viienda*, psg *kolmandat*, *viiendat*.

§ 68. Many words ending in *-s* in the nominative singular have a stem without *s* in the other cases, e.g. *hammas* 'tooth', gsg *hamba*, psg *hammast*, elsg *hambast*, npl *hambad*; *hernes* 'pea', gsg *herne*; *kaunis* 'beautiful', gsg *kauni*.

§ 69. Many trisyllabic stems in *-da-* (mostly adjectives) and *-me-* have lost their last syllable in the nominative singular, e.g. *hõbe* 'silver', *pime* 'blind, dark', *sile* 'smooth', gsg *hõbeda*, *pimeda*, *sileda*, psg *hõbedat*, *pimedat*, *siledat*; *habe* 'beard', gsg *habeme*, psg *habet*. Note: *võti* 'key', gsg *võtme*, psg *võtit*; *süda* 'heart', gsg *südame*, psg *südant*.

Note: *liige* 'limb', gsg *liikme*, psg *liiget*; *seitse* 'seven', gsg *seitsme*, psg *seitset*; *kümme* 'ten', gsg *kümne*, psg *kümmet*; *seeme* 'seed', gsg *seemne*, psg *seemet*.

§ 70. The alternation *s* ~ (between vowels) *h* is found in the word *mees* 'man, human male', gsg *mehe*, psg *meest*, gpl *meeste*, ppl *mehi*.

§ 71. Groups of three consonants in Estonian words occur only in certain combinations (e.g. *-ndl-*). Hence such an alternation as *ks* ~ *s* in *uks* 'door', gsg *ukse*, psg *ust*, gpl *uste*, ppl *uksi*.

Note: *juus* 'hair', gsg *juukse*, psg *juust*, npl *juuksed*, gpl *juuste*; *laps* 'child', gsg *lapse*, psg *last*, npl *lapsed*, gpl *laste*.

Vowel alternations

§ 72. In the nominative singular of disyllabic stems, the final vowel has generally disappeared after a long first syllable, e.g. *must* 'black', npl *mustad*; *põlv* 'knee', npl *põlved*; *märk* 'mark', npl *märgid*.

§ 73. Some words have *-i* in the nominative singular, whereas in the other cases the stem has *-ja-*, *-je-*, *-ju-*, e.g. *asi* 'thing', gsg *asja*, psg *asja*, gpl *asjade*, ppl *asju*; *kabi* 'hoof', gsg *kabja*, psg *kapja*, gpl *kapjade*, ppl *kapju*; *puri* 'sail', gsg *purje*; *ahi* 'oven', gsg *ahju*.

§ 74. Note words like these: *sõber* 'friend', gsg *sõbra*, psg *sõpra*,

gpl *sõprade*, ppl *sõpru*; *kindel* 'firm, sure', gsg *kindla*; *mantel* 'cloak', gsg *mantli*; *number* 'number, figure', gsg *numbri*; *tütar* 'daughter', gsg *tütre*, psg *tütart*; *armas* 'dear, lovely', gsg *armsa*.

§ 75. Disyllabic *e*-stems often end in *-i* in the nominative singular, e.g. *nimi* 'name', gsg, psg *nime*, inessive *nimes*, etc.; *suvi* 'summer', gsg *suve*; *meri* 'sea', gsg *mere*, psg *merd*; *veri* 'blood', gsg *vere*, psg *verd*; *lumi* 'snow', gsg *lume*, psg *lund*.

PLURALS WITH -i-

§ 76. In addition to the ordinary plural forms with the characteristic *-te-* or *-de-* (*raamatutes* 'in the books', *majades* 'in the houses'), there is also a plural with *-i-*: *raamatuis* 'in the books', *valgeis riideis* (= *valgetes riietes*) 'in white clothes', *lähemail päevil* (= *lähematel päevadel*) 'in the next few days', *küsimusis* (= *küsimustes*) 'in the questions'.

§ 77. In some words this *i* has become *e* or has been replaced by *u* (developed from the former diphthong *oi*), e.g. *jalus* (= *jalgades*) 'in the feet'.

§ 78. In words with consonant gradation the plural with *-i-* generally has the same grade as the corresponding singular case: *jalas—jalus* (cf. *jalgades*), *riides—riideis* (cf. *riietes*).

§ 79. The plural with *-i-* is found in certain idiomatic expressions, e.g. *käsist ja jalust seotud* 'bound hand and foot' (usually *kätest ja jalgadest*).

This ancient and obsolete *i*-plural has been revived in the modern literary language.

The comparison of the adjectives

§ 80. The comparative has the ending *-m* (gsg *-ma*), e.g. *suur* 'great, big', *suurem* 'greater, bigger', gsg *suurema*, psg *suuremat*; *ilus* 'beautiful', comp. *ilusam*; *rikas* 'rich', comp. *rikkam*; *vaene* 'poor', gsg *vaese*, comp. *vaesem*.

§ 81. Many comparatives have *e* instead of *a* in the second syllable of the stem: *tark* 'wise', gsg *targa*, comp. *targem*; *vana* 'old', comp. *vanem*.

§ 82. Irregular comparatives: *hea* 'good' ~ *parem* 'better'; *lühike* 'short' ~ *lühem* 'shorter'; *pisike* 'small, little' ~ *pisem* 'smaller'; *lähedane* 'near' ~ *lähem* 'nearer'.

§ 83. The superlative is formed by putting the word *kõige* 'of all' in front of the comparative: *kõige suurem* 'biggest (of all)', *k. rikkam* 'richest', *k. vaesem* 'poorest', *k. parem* 'best'.

§ 84. In the literary language, there has been introduced recently a special ending *-im* for the superlative: *suurim* 'biggest', *rikkaim* 'richest', *parim* 'best'.

§ 85. The English 'than' in a comparison is rendered by the elative case (*-st*) or by the word *kui*: *Isa on emast vanem* or *isa on vanem kui ema* 'Father is older than Mother'.

Pronouns

§ 86. Some pronouns have two forms: a longer one, which is used when the pronoun is stressed, and a shorter one, which is used when the pronoun is not stressed. These two forms are separated by a comma in the list given below. When two alternative forms are separated by the word 'or', there is no such difference of stress.

§ 87. *mina, ma* 'I', gen. *minu, mu*, part. *mind*, adess. *minul, mul*, all. *minule, mulle*; *sina, sa* 'you, thou', gen. *sinu, su*, part. *sind*, adess. *sinul, sul*, all. *sinule, sulle*; *tema, ta* 'he, she, it', gen. *tema, ta*, part. *teda*, adess. *temal, tal*.

meie, me 'we', gen. *meie*, part. *meid*, adess. *meil*, all. *meile*; *teie, te* 'you', gen. *teie*, part. *teid*, adess. *teil*, all. *teile*; *nemad, nad* (pronounced *naad*) 'they', gen. *nende*, part. *neid*, adess. *neil* or *nendel*, all. *neile* or *nendele*, abl. *neilt* or *nendelt*, cases 10–14 (see § 40) only *nendeni, -na, -ks, -ta, -ga*.

§ 88. *see* 'this, that, it', gen. *selle*, part. *seda*, iness. *selles* or *ses*, adess. *sellel* or *sel*, transl. *selleks* or *seks*; *need* 'these, those, they', in the other cases like *nemad* (§ 87).

§ 89. *kes* 'who' (relative and interrogative), gen. *kelle*, part. *keda*; *mis* 'which, what' (relative and interrogative), gen. *mille*, part. *mida*, adess. *millel* or *mil*; *mis* is sometimes used as object instead of *mida* and *mille*.

kumb 'which of two', gen. *kumma*, part. *kumba*.

§ 90. *keegi* 'somebody, someone', gen. *kellegi*, part. *kedagi*, all. *kellelegi*, abl. *kelleltki*; *miski* 'something', gen. *millegi*, part. *midagi*, all. *millelegi*; *mingi* 'some' (adjectival), gen. *mingi*, part. *mingit* (the object form).

ei keegi 'nobody, no one'; *ei miski* (generally in the partitive when subject or object:) *ei midagi* 'nothing'; *ei mingi* 'no' (adjectival).

ise '-self (I myself, you yourself, etc.)', gen. *iseenese* or *iseenda*, part. *iseennast*, all. *iseenesele* or *iseendale* (pronounced *ise-enese* etc.). In unstressed position the *ise-* of the inflected forms is omitted: gen. *enese* or *enda*, part. *ennast* (or *end*).

oma '(my, your, etc.) own' is usually uninflected when an attribute; it has case endings only when stressed or when no noun follows. It is used as a possessive reflexive pronoun, corresponding to the English *my*, *your*, etc.: *ma aitan oma sõpra* 'I help my friend', *sa aitad oma sõpra* 'you help your friend'.

üksteise or *teineteise* (gen.) 'each other', part. *üksteist* or *teineteist*, all. *üksteisele* or *teineteisele*.

mõlemad 'both', gen. *mõlemate* (pl) or *mõlema* (sg), part. *mõlemaid*, all. *mõlematele* or *mõlemale*.

kumbki 'both', gen. *kummagi*, part. *kumbagi*, all. *kummalegi*; *ei kumbki* 'neither'.

niisugune 'such', gen. *niisuguse*, part. *niisugust*; synonyms: *seesugune*, *säärane*, *selline*, *sellane*, gen. *-se*; *missugune* 'what (kind of)', *milline* 'what (kind of)'.

iga 'each, every' (adjectival), gen. *iga*, part. *iga* or *igat*, all. *igale*; *igaüks* 'every one' (substantival), gen. *igaühe*, part. *igaüht*, all. *igaühele*.

mitu 'several, many', gen. *mitme*, part. *mitut*, adess. *mitmel*, npl *mitmed*, gpl *mitmete*, ppl *mitmeid*; *mitu* also means 'how much' (= *kui mitu*).

kõik 'all', gsg *kõige*, psg *kõike*, npl *kõik*, gpl *kõikide* or *kõigi*, ppl *kõiki*.

NUMERALS

§ 91. Cardinal numbers

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	PARTITIVE
0	null	nulli	nulli
1	üks	ühe	üht(e)
2	kaks	kahe	kaht(e)
3	kolm	kolme	kolme
4	neli	nelja	nelja
5	viis	viie	viit
6	kuus	kuue	kuut
7	seitse	seitsme	seitset
8	kaheksa	kaheksa	kaheksat
9	üheksa	üheksa	üheksat
10	kümme	kümne	kümmet
11	üksteist(kümmend)	üheteistkümne	üht(e)teistkümmet
12	kaksteist(kümmend)	kaheteistkümne	kaht(e)teistkümmet
20	kakskümmend	kahekümne	kahtkümmet
21	kakskümmend üks		
30	kolmkümmend		
40	nelikümmend		
100	sada	saja	sada
101	sada üks		
200	kakssada	kahesaja	kaht(e)sada
1000	tuhat	tuhande	tuhat
2000	kaks tuhat		
1,000,000	miljon	miljoni	miljonit

§ 92. Ordinal numbers

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	PARTITIVE
1st	esimene	esimese	esimest
2nd	teine	teise	teist
3rd	kolmas	kolmanda	kolma(nda)t
4th	neljas	neljanda	nelja(nda)t
5th	viies	viienda	viie(nda)t
6th	kuues	kuuenda	kuuendat
7th	seitsmes	seitsmenda	seitsmendat
8th	kaheksas	kaheksanda	-ndat
9th	üheksas	üheksanda	-ndat
10th	kümnes	kümnenda	-ndat

11th	üheteistkümnes	üheteistkümnenda	-ndat
12th	kaheteistkümnes	-mnenda	-ndat
20th	kahekümnes	-mnenda	-ndat
21st	kahekümne esimene	k. esimese	k. esimest
30th	kolmekümnes	-mnenda	-ndat
40th	neljakümnes		
100th	sajas	sajanda	-ndat
101st	saja esimene	s. esimese	-st
200th	kahesajas	kahesajanda	-ndat
1000th	tuhandes	tuhandenda	-ndat
2000th	kahe tuhandes	kahe tuhandenda	-ndat
1,000.000th	miljones	miljonenda	-ndat

§ 93. In compound cardinals only the nominative, genitive, and partitive have the case endings in all elements; in the remaining cases only the last element of the compound has the case ending, the preceding elements being in the genitive, e.g. allative *kahesaja viiekümnele*. In compound ordinals only the last element has the ordinal form, the preceding elements being in the cardinal genitive form, e.g. *kahesaja viiekümnes*, genitive *kahesaja viiekümnenda*.

§ 94. The fractional number have the ending *-ndik*, which is added to the same stem as the genitive *-nda* of the ordinal number: 1/3 *kolmandik*, gen. *-ndiku*, 1/5 *viiendik*, 2/5 *kaks viiendikku*. Note: *pool* 'half', gen. *poole*, part. *poolt*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON DECLENSION: MODAL CASES

§ 95. Adverbs are formed from adjectives by means of the modal case, which has the ending *-sti* added to the genitive form of the adjective: *kiiresti* 'rapidly', *selgesti* 'clearly', *tugevasti* 'strongly' (from the adjectives *kiire*, *selge*, *tugev*). The stem is shortened in the adverb *hästi* 'well' (*hää*, *hea* 'good').

The ablative *-lt* is used in the same function, e.g. *õnnelikult* 'happily, fortunately' (*õnnelik* 'happy').

The comparative of such adverbs is formed by adding the ending *-ini* or *-alt* to the nominative form of the comparative of the adjective: *kiiremini* 'faster, more rapidly', *paremini* 'better, in a better way', *selgemini* 'more clearly', *õnnelikumalt* 'more happily'.

§ 96. The instructive (see Finnish Grammar § 63) occurs in a few

expressions, e.g. *palja jalu* 'barefooted', *palja päi* 'bareheaded'. In its shape it is identical with the plural base described in §§ 76–78 above.

In the modern literary language an attempt has been made to extend the use of this case, e.g. *ta avas kirja värisevi sõrmi* 'he opened the letter with trembling fingers'.

NOTE.—*Jala*, 'on foot' (*jalg* 'foot'), is genitive: cf. FG, § 169.

Conjugation

FINITE VERB FORMS

§ 97. After the negation *ei* 'not', the verb has no personal endings: *ma ei palu* 'I do not ask (for)', *sa ei palu* 'you do not ask', *ta ei palu* 'he does not ask', etc. In affirmative sentences, on the other hand, the person of the subject (1st, 2nd, or 3rd person)—generally also its number: singular or plural—is indicated by a personal ending, added to the stem of the verb or to a base—in the latter case the base is formed by addition of a character (derivative suffix) to the stem. The present tense of the indicative is formed by adding the personal endings to the verb stem, thus (stem *palu-*):

	Singular	*Plural*
1st person	ma palun 'I ask (for)'	me palume
2nd ,,	sa palud	te palute
3rd ,,	ta palub	nad paluvad

§ 98. The verb *olen* 'I am' (stem *ole-* ~ *ol-*) has one and the same form for the 3rd person singular and plural: *ta on* 'he, she, it is', *nad on* 'they are'.

§ 99. When the subject is not emphasized, the personal pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons can be omitted.

§ 100. The following groups of finitive verb forms are formed with the aid of special characters:

Simple tenses: present, preterite (imperfect).

Moods: conditional, narrative mood, imperative.

The passive.

Simple tenses

The present

§ 101. The present tense has no tense character. It is also used to indicate the future.

The simple preterite (imperfect)

§ 102. The preterite character is generally *-si-* (in the 3rd person singular *-s*).

	Singular	*Plural*
1st person	palusin	palusime
2nd ,,	palusid	palusite
3rd ,,	palus	palusid

For the the negative preterite, see § 116.

§ 103. Some verbs have the preterite character *i* (the 1st person singular of the present tense is given in brackets): *olin* 'I was' (*olen*), *tulin* 'I came' (*tulen*), *panin* 'I put' (*panen*), *pesin* 'I washed' (*pesen*), *nad surid* 'they died' (*suren*); *sain* 'I got' (*saan*), *jõin* 'I drank' (*joon*), *tõin* 'I brought' (*toon*), *lõin* 'I hit' (*löön*), *lõin* 'I created' (*loo-*), *sõin* 'I ate' (*söön*); *nägin* 'I saw' (*näen*), *tegin* 'I made, did' (*teen*).

Note: *pidasin* 'I held' ~ *pidin* 'I had to, was obliged to' (*pean* 'I hold; I must').

Moods

Indicative

§ 104. The indicative has no mood character; see the above paradigms.

Conditional

§ 105. The conditional mood, corresponding to the English imperfect subjunctive or expressions with the modal auxiliary verb forms *should* and *would*, is formed by adding the character *-ksi-* (*-ks* in the 3rd person singular) to the stem.

	Singular	*Plural*
1st person	paluksin 'I should ask'	paluksime
2nd ,,	paluksid 'you would ask'	paluksite
3rd ,,	paluks	paluksid

The negative form has the ending *-ks*: *ma* (*sa, ta, me, te, nad*) *ei paluks.*

The narrative mood

§ 106. The narrative mood indicates that the verb action is known by hearsay: 'it is said that'. The mood character is *-vat*, and no personal endings are used: *sa paluvat, ta paluvat* 'you are said to have asked', etc.

Imperative

§ 107. In the 2nd person the imperative expresses a command or an exhortation, in the 1st person an exhortation, and in the 3rd person a wish or a consent.

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
2nd p. sg	palu	ära palu
3rd ,, ,,	palugu	ärgu palugu
1st ,, pl.	palugem	ärgem palugem
2nd ,, ,,	paluge	ärge paluge
3rd ,, ,,	palugu	ärgu palugu

Instead of the 1st person plural of the imperative, colloquial usage generally has the corresponding present indicative form: *palume* 'let us ask', *oleme* 'let us be'. The negative form in this case is *ärme palume, ärme oleme.*

Instead of *-gem, -ge, -gu*, some verbs have *-kem, -ke, -ku*: *tõmmakem, tõmmake, tõmmaku* (*tõmban* 'I draw').

The passive

§ 108. The simple finite forms of the passive, which correspond to English expressions with an impersonal subject ('one asks' or 'it is asked') are impersonal and have no distinction between the various persons and numbers. The passive character is *-t(a)-* or *-d(a)-*, added to the weak grade of the verb stem (in verbs with gradation).

Indicative

	PRESENT	PRETERITE
Affirmative:	*palutakse* 'one asks'	*paluti* 'one asked'
	ollakse 'one is'	*oldi* 'one was'
Negative:	*ei paluta* 'one does not ask'	*ei palutud*
	ei olda 'one is not'	*ei oldud* (see § 117)

Conditional

palutaks 'one would ask', *oldaks* 'one would be, one were', *oleks palutud* 'one would have asked', *ei palutaks* 'one would not ask', *ei oleks palutud* 'one would not have asked'.

The narrative mood

palutavat, ei palutavat, olevat palutud, ei olevat palutud.

Imperative

palutagu 'may one ask', *ärgu palutagu* 'may one not ask'.

INFINITE VERB FORMS

Infinitive

§ 109. The infinitive—also called the *da*-infinitive or the 2nd infinitive—ends in *-a, -da,* or *-ta,* e.g. *olla* 'to be', *süüa* 'to eat', *paluda* 'to ask', *hakata* 'to begin'; *ma tahan, võin rääkida* 'I will, can speak', *ma katsun kirjutada* 'I will try to write', *et kirjutada* 'in order to write'.

The inessive of this infinitive, ending in *-es, -des,* or *-tes,* usually has temporal or modal function: *olles* '(while) being', *paludes* 'asking', *hakates* 'beginning', *tõmmates* '(by) drawing'.

Verb noun in *-ma*

§ 110. The verb noun in *-ma* has four cases: inessive, illative, elative, and abessive: *palumas, paluma, palumast, palumata.*

The use of the inessive, elative, and abessive appears from the following examples:

Nad on praegu teda palumas 'they are now asking him'; *ma tulin teda palumast* 'I came from him after asking him'; *ta läks ära ilma mult abi palumata* 'he went away without asking me for help'; *palumata külaline* 'an uninvited guest'.

§ 111. The illative—also called the *ma*-infinitive, or the 1st infinitive—is used in such expressions where the English infinitive has the same meaning as "in order to" + infinitive or where this

construction is used in English, and in general after verbs that express an intention or a tendency towards doing something, e.g. *pean* 'I must', *hakkan* 'I begin', *asun* 'I start, set about', *jään* 'I remain, go on, persist': *ta jookseb vaatama* 'he runs to see, to look', *ma pean rääkima* 'I must speak', *ta hakkab lukema* 'he begins to read', *nad kalduvad arvama* 'they are inclined to think, to mean'. With the verb *saan* 'I receive, get, become, shall, ought to', the *ma*-infinitive indicates the future: *ma saan teda alati paluma* 'I shall always ask him'.

§ 112. The *ma*-infinitive also has a passive form: *palutama* 'to be asked'.

§ 113. Note the different uses of the two infinitives in sentences such as the following: *mees tuleb katust parandama* 'the man comes to repair the roof', *see katus tuleb parandada* 'this roof must be repaired'; *ta jäi neid töid kontrollima* 'he remained to inspect these works', *need tööd jäävad veel kontrollida* 'these works still remain to be inspected'.

Participles

Active present participle

§ 114. Ending: *-v*, gsg *-va*, psg *-vat*: *paluv* 'asking'.

Passive present participle

§ 115. Ending: *-tav* or *-dav*, gsg *-tava*, *-dava*, psg *-tavat*, *-davat*: *palutav* 'being asked' or 'to be asked', *söödav* 'being eaten' or 'to be eaten'.

This participle may correspond to the English adjectives in *-ble*, e. g. *söödav* 'eatable', *nähtav* 'visible' (*näen* 'I see').

Active past participle

§ 116. Ending *-nud*: *palunud* 'having asked, who has asked', *olnud* 'having been, that has been', *surnud* 'having died, dead'.

Periphrastic forms of past time are formed by means of this participle and finite forms of the verb *ole-* 'be': *olen palunud* 'I have

asked' (perfect); *olin palunud* 'I had asked' (pluperfect); *oleksin palunud* 'I should have asked' (past conditional); *ta olevat palunud* 'he is said to have asked' (past narrative, may also be expressed by the participle alone: *ta palunud*).

The active negative forms af all past tenses are formed by the aid of this participle: *ma ei palunud* 'I did not ask' (negative imperfect); *ma ei ole palunud* 'I have not asked' (negative perfect); *ma ei olnud palunud* 'I had not asked' (negative pluperfect); *ma ei oleks palunud* 'I should not have asked' (negative past conditional); *ta ei olevat palunud* 'he is said not to have asked' (negative past narrative).

Passive past participle

§ 117. The passive past participle, which has the ending *-tud* or *-dud*, serves to form passive periphrastic forms of past time (affirmative and negative): *ei palutud* 'it was not asked, one did not ask' (imperfect); *on palutud* 'it has been asked', *ei ole palutud* 'it has not been asked' (perfect); *oli palutud* 'it had been asked', *ei olnud palutud* 'it had not been asked' (pluperfect); *oleks palutud* 'it would have been asked', *ei oleks palutud* 'it would not have been asked' (past conditional); *olevat palutud* 'it is said to have been asked', *ei olevat palutud* 'it is said not to have been asked (past narrative).

The passive past participle also serves to form a true passive (with personal subject) of past time: *ma olen palutud* 'I have been asked' (cf. *mind palutakse* 'I am asked, one asks me', *sind palutakse* 'you are asked').

GRADATION IN THE CONJUGATION

§ 118. Verbs with gradation are divided into two groups: a) with the 2nd infinitive in the strong grade and the present tense in the weak grade, e.g. *lugeda* 'to read', *loen* 'I read'; b) with the 2nd infinitive in the weak grade and the present tense in the strong grade, e.g. *tõmmata* 'to draw, to pull', *tõmban* 'I draw, I pull'. The distribution of the two grades appears from the following table:

	a	b
	WEAK DEGREE	STRONG DEGREE
Present	*loen* etc. (*ei loe*)	*tõmban* etc. (*ei tõmba*)
Conditional	*loeksin*	*tõmbaksin*
2sg imper.	*loe*	*tõmba*
	STRONG DEGREE	WEAK DEGREE
3sg, 123pl imper.	*lugegem, -ge, -gu*	*tõmmakem, -ke, -ku*
Infinitive	*lugeda*	*tõmmata*
Gerund	*lugedes*	*tõmmates*
Past ptc	*lugenud*	*tõmmanud*

STRONG DEGREE

Imperfect *lugesin* etc.; *tõmbasin* etc.
Verb noun *lugema*; *tõmbama*
Pres. ptc *lugev*, *tõmbav*

WEAK DEGREE

All passive forms, e. g. *loetakse*, *tõmmatakse*

IRREGULAR VERBS

Irregular consonant gradation

§ 119. In the verbs *jätan* 'I leave', *matan* 'I bury', *võtan* 'I take' (1st infinitive *jätma*, *matma*, *võtma*, 2nd infinitive *jätta*, *matta*, *võtta*), the *-t-* of the stem has disappeared in all passive forms, e.g. passive past participle *jäetud*, *maetud*, *võetud*.

Other consonant alternations in the stem

§ 120. The verbs *nägema* 'to see' and *tegema* 'to do, make' (stems: *näge-*, *tege-*) have the following conjugation: present *näen*, *teen*, imperfect *nägin*, *tegin*, 2pl imperative *nähke*, *tehke*, 2nd infinitive *näha*, *teha*, active past participle *näinud*, *teinud*, passive past participle *nähtud*, *tehtud*, present passive *nähakse*, *tehakse*, negative present passive *ei nähta*, *ei tehta*.

§ 121. The verb *lähen* 'I go'—which replaces the lacking forms of *mine-* 'to go', viz. the present, the imperfect, and the active past participle —has the imperfect *läksin*, *läksid*, *läks*, etc., and the past participle *läinud*.

Vowel alternations in monosyllabic verb stems

§ 122. The verbs *joon* 'I drink', *loon* 'I create', *poon* 'I hang', *toon* 'I bring', *lõõn* 'I strike', *sõõn* 'I eat', are in the infinitive respectively *juua*, *luua*, *puua*, *tuua*, *lüüa*, *süüa*, and similary in the affirmative forms of the present passive *juuakse*, *luuakse*, *lüüakse*, etc. (but in the negative forms *ei jooda*, *ei looda*, *ei lööda*, etc.). The imperfect is *jõin*, *lõin* (from both *loon* and *lõõn*), *sõin*, etc.

Vowel alternation and loss of vowel in the second syllable

§ 123. Many disyllabic stems ending in *e* have lost this *e* before most endings that constitute a syllable; before *-ma* the *e* is lost only after a long syllable. (Some of these verbs assimilate the consonant of the ending of the 2nd infinitive with the preceding consonant.) Thus, the verbs *kuulma* 'hear', *minema* 'go', *olema* 'be', *panema* 'put', *pesema* 'wash', *surema* 'die', *tulema* 'come' (stem *kuule-* etc.), have the 2nd infinitive *kuulda*, *minna*, *olla*, *panna*, *pesta*, *surra*, *tulla*, the active past participle *kuulnud*, *läinud*, *olnud*, *pannud*, *pesnud*, *surnud*, *tulnud*, and the passive past participle *kuuldud*, *mindud*, *oldud*, *pandud*, *pestud*, *surdud*, *tuldud*. The present passive is *kuuldakse*, *minnakse*, *ollakse*, *pannakse*, *pestakse*, *surrakse*, *tullakse*. The negative present passive: *ei kuulda*, *ei minda*, *ei olda*, *ei panda*, *ei surda*, *ei tulda*.

Note: *jooksma* 'run', present *jooksen*, 2nd infinitive *joosta*; *laskma* 'let (go), shoot, fire (a firearm)', present *lasen*, imperfect *lasksin* or *lasin*, 2pl imperative *laske*, 2nd infinitive *lasta*, passive past participle *lastud*.

§ 124. After a long syllable, an *a* of the second syllable is changed into *e* (in the passive) or disappears (in the strong-grade forms), e.g. *saatma* 'send', present *saadan*, imperfect *saatsin*, *saatsid*, *saatis*, 2pl imperative *saatke*, present passive *saadetakse*. imperfect passive *saadeti*, 2nd infinitive *saata*, active past participle *saatnud*, passive past participle *saadetud*; *andma* 'give', present *annan*, imperfect *andsin*, *andsid*, *andis*, 2pl imperative *andke*, present passive *antakse*, imperfect passive *anti*, 2nd infinitive *anda*, active past participle *an(d)nud*, passive past participle *antud*.

TEXT

Kevade tuli, 1343-nda aasta kevade. Jürikuu näitas, nagu kõik jürikuud, ka sel aastal oma sagedasti muutuvat nägu. Lõuna ajal paistis päike selgesti ja armsasti sinisest taevast maha, õhtul läks ta särades looja ja taeva äär ümberringi lõkendas veel kaua kuldsetes, punastes, kollastes ja sinakates värvides. Inimene rõõmustas ja tõotas homseks kena päeva.

Aga näe: vaevalt kadus viimne värv sügava sinise võlvi piirilt, seal värvis ta ennast teisel pool mustjashalliks, käre hommikutuul kihutas pilvesalgad üle kogu taeva, vihm, lumega segatud, kahises maha. Hommikul oli taevas hall, tuul külm, maa porine, sopase vee nired sirisesid heinamaalt mustjasse ojasse.

Ühel pimedal ööl — see oli jüripäeva öö — pidas üksik ratsanik oma hobuse ühel kõrgel künkal kinni, mis umbes poolteist penikoormat Tallinnast eemal seisis. Ratsanik oli ennast suure mantli sisse mähkinud ja kübara sügavale silmade peale tõmmanud.

Öö oli, nagu üteldud, pime. Taevas oli mustjashallitäpiline nagu mättane maa. Pilvetäppide vahel jooksid risti ja põiki heledamad jooned, mille läbi

Spring came, the spring of the year 1343. April showed, like all Aprils, in this year too its ever-changing face. At noon the sun shone down clear and lovely, from the blue sky; in the evening it set in splendour, and for a long time the sky-line all around remained ablaze with golden, red, yellow and bluish colours. People rejoiced and forecast a beautiful day for the morrow.

But look: scarcely had the last colour disappeared from one edge of the blue vault when on the other side it was tinged with a blackish grey, a rude morning wind drove clusters of clouds over the whole sky, the rain, mixed with snow, hissed down. In the morning the sky was grey, the wind cold, the earth dirty, rivulets of muddy water poured from the meadow into a blackish brook.

One dark night — it was the night of Saint George's Day — a solitary rider stopped his horse on a high hill about one and a half miles distant from Tallinn. The rider had wrapped himself in a great cloak and pulled his hat far down over his eyes.

The night was, as has been said, a dark one. The sky was daffled with blackish grey like a field covered with tussocks. In all direc-

kuu kiired vähe kuma üle magava maa valasid. Soe õhtutuul kohas tumedasti ümberkaudseis metsades ja vingus läbi üksiku männi okste, mille all ratsanik oli seisatanud.

tions between the patches of clouds ran luminous streaks, through which the rays of the moon were shedding some glimmers of light upon the sleeping earth. A warm night wind soughed mournfully in the surrounding woods and whined through the branches of the solitary pine beneath which the rider had stopped.

Poole tunni maa kaugusel tema seisupaigast särasid Loodijärve lossi valgustatud aknad nagu kassisilmad metsa mustavast põhjast välja.

Half an hour's walk from his position the lighted windows of the castle of Loodijärve shone like cat's eyes from the dark background of the forest.

'Seal on võõraid koos', ümises ratsanik lossi poole vaadates; 'nüüd oleks kerge terve pesa hävitada. Aga tehku talupojad, mida tahavad. Mina nende õnnetust ei püüa. Jumal nendega!'

'There are guests', muttered the rider, looking in the direction of the castle; 'now it would be easy to exterminate the whole nest. But let the peasants do what they wish. I do not seek their destruction (= the foreigners'). May God have mercy on them.'

Ehk küll kõrges seisukohas tuule käes sugugi palav ei olnud, võttis ratsanik siiski kübara peast ja pühkis käega paar korda üle otsaesise. Pilvetombud lagunesid ühes kohas natuke; segane, kaduv valgus langes mehe näo peale. See nägu oli veel noor, ja ehk küll kahvatu ning auku vajunud põskedega, siiski mehelikult ilus ja iseäralikult tõsine.

Although it was by no means hot in that high place and exposed to the wind, the rider nevertheless took his hat from his head and wiped his forehead with his hand two or three times. The patches of clouds broke up a little at one place; an indistinct, fleeting light fell upon the man's face. This face was still young, and, although pale and hollow-cheeked, of a manly beauty and a strange seriousness.

Ta pani kübara jälle pähe, võttis siis mantli alt tõrvalondi välja, lõi tuld, pistis londi põlema ja hoidis ta ülal. Leek lõkendas kõrgele tuule käes.

He put on his hat again, then took a torch from under his cloak, struck a light, kindled the torch and held it up. The flame blazed high in the wind.

Imelik oli, mis nüüd sündis. Ümberringi, nii kaugele kui silm ulatas,

Now something strange happened.[1] All around, as far as the

[1] Literally: 'What now happened, was strange.'

välkusid tuled üles, mis paar silmapilku põlesid ja jälle kustusid.

Noormees männi all ootas umbes veerandtunni. Selle aja sees paistsid ja kadusid üksikud tuled ühtepuhku edasi. Viimaks jäi kõik tükiks ajaks jälle pimedaks.

Aga nüüd tõusis ühes kohas uus tuli, mis enam ei kustunud, vaid iga silmapilguga kasvas, kuni leegid tornikõrguseni lendasid ja ööpimeduse ümberringi päevavalguseks muutsid. See ei olnud enam tuli, see oli tulekahju.

Üks väike mõis põles. Ei kestnud kaua, seal purskas teises kohas veripunane leek otsekui maa seest välja, kasvas kiiresti ja läks veel suuremaks kui esimene. Vaevalt oli see sündinud, kui kahes, kolmes, neljas kohas uued tulekahjud tekkisid.

Näis, nagu oleks Eestimaa pind lõhkenud ja nagu vuhiseks maakera põlev sisikond lugemata pragudest välja.

Lähedal ei olnud enam ööd, pimeduse mustjashallid viirud tulede vahel kadusid kordamööda täiesti, siis läksid kõikudes jälle laiemaks, nii nagu leegid kõrgemalt või madalamalt lõkendasid. Lõpmatus kauguses, kus silm tuleleeki enam ei näinud, liikus verekarva puna taeva veerel.

See ei olnud enam kogemata õnnetus, see oli mässamise märk! Ei olnud enam kahtlust, et kõik lahtised

eye could reach, fires flared up which burned for a couple of moments and then went out again.

The young man beneath the pine waited about a quarter of an hour. During this time the single fires were continually shining and disappearing. At last all remained dark for a long time.

But now at one spot a new fire arose which went out no more, but grew with every moment, until the flames surged up to the height of a tower, and transformed the darkness of the night which reigned all around to broad day-light. That was no mere fire, it was a conflagration.

A small manor was burning. Nor was it long before a blood-red flame burst out at another place as if from beneath the earth; it grew rapidly and became bigger than the first. No sooner had this happened than new fires broke out at two, three, four places.

It seemed as if the surface of Estonia has burst open and the burning entrails of the globe were pouring out from innumerable crevices.

In that area there was night no more, the patches of murky darkness between the fires disappeared completely one after another, then they grew and wavered again, as the flames blazed higher or lower. At a great distance, where the eye could no more make out the flame of fires, a blood-red glow was moving on the sky-line.

This was no accidental disaster; it was the signal to rebellion. There was no doubt that all vulnerable

mõisad ümberringi põlesid, ja mitte ainult mõisad, vaid iga hoone, mille katuse all taanlane või sakslane oli elanud.

Talupoeg, viimse veretilgani välja kurnatud, võttis viimse jõu kokku ja müristas ärganud vabadusehimu hirmsasti isandate kõrvu. Nende põlevate majade tuli pani taeva punetama, varsti värvis nende veri ka maa punaseks. Nüüd said isandad hirmuga aru, kui kardetav on inimest lojuseks alandada.

Ratsanik oli käed rinna peale pannud ja vaatas mõtles kaugusesse. Ta silmad läikisid, kahvatule palgele tõusis kerge puna ja huuled liikusid iseenesega rääkides.

'Algus on tehtud — hirmus, verine algus. Taevas punetab mässamise leegist. Vabaduse koit tõuseb veripunaselt. Aita, halastaja vaim, et see niisama ruttu jälle looja ei läheks! Mu isaisa soov on täide läinud. Mida poeg ei teinud, seda teeb nüüd pojapoeg. Ähvardav ulumine kõlab üle kogu maa, ja mina olen selle ärataja, selle õhutaja!

Oh lootus, sa oled magus! Kui hea meelega ma oleksin need väetimad päästnud, kes täna öösel süüta surma langevad, aga ma ei või, ei tohi. Raudne sundus nõuab võõraste viimset veretilka, kuni nende varjugi enam meie maal ei ole. Siis alles tuleb vabadus tagasi, rahu hakkab kosutama kurnatud rahvast, hirm kaob vaigistatud südameist ja sina, juma-

manors all around were burning, and not only manors, but every house under the roof of which a Dane or a German had lived.

The peasant, exploited to the last drop of his blood, gathered his last strength and thundered terribly in the ears of his masters his awakening longing for freedom. The fire of their burning houses made the sky glow red; soon their blood would redden the earth also. Now the masters realized with horror how dangerous it is to degrade man to (the level of) a brute.

The rider had crossed his hands upon his breast and was looking meditatively into the distance. His eyes shone, his face was suffused with a faint flush, and his lips moved as if he were speaking to himself.

'The beginning has been achieved —an awful, bloody beginning. The sky is red with the flame of the rebellion. The dawn of liberty rises blood-red. Help, merciful Spirit, that it may not set as rapidly as it rose! The wish of my grandfather is fulfilled. What the son did not do, the grandson is doing now. A menacing howl is ringing all over the country, and I am its arouser, its instigator!

O hope, thou art sweet! How willingly would I have saved those feeble ones who innocently suffer death tonight, but I cannot, I dare not. An iron necessity demands the last drop of the blood of the foreigners until not even their shadow remains in our country. Only then will liberty return, peace begin to comfort the exhausted people; fear

lik haridus, laotad oma valgust rõõmurikaste paikade üle. . .'

Kõneleja vaikis. Ta silmad hiilgasid elavamalt, rind kerkis, hele lõke valgustas silmapilguks ta vaimustatud nägu. Ta vaade sattus sinna kohta, kus Loodijärve loss tule paistel metsade pimedusest välja kumas. Seal oli kõik veel vait.

Häälte ja hobusekapjade kõmin kostis alt, mis ikka lähemale tuli. Salk ratsamehi tuli mäe jalal nähtavale ja jäme hääl hüüdis üles: 'Kas oled veel üleval, Tasuja?' 'Olen küll. Tulge üles!' vastas noormees, keda Tasujaks oli kutsutud.

Lühikese aja sees jõudis suur salk üles ja pidas üksildase ratsaniku ees kinni. Need olid enamasti Loodijärve talupojad. Neil olid kirved, vikatid, nuiad, mõned vanad roostetunud mõõgad, mis veel esivanemate sõdu olid näinud, sõjariistadeks, ja kõikide nägudelt oli selgesti lugeda himu neid mitmesuguseid sõjariistu nii pea kui võimalik tarvitada.

will disappear from the appeased hearts, and thou, divine culture, wilt spread thy light over joyful places . . .'

The speaker was silent. His eyes gleamed more intensely, his breast heaved, for a moment a bright flame lit up his animated face. His glance happened to halt at the spot where the castle of Loodijärve loomed in the brightness of the fire against the dark background of the woods. There all was still silent.

The sound of voices and of horse's hooves became audible from below and came nearer and nearer. A group of riders became visible at the foot of the hill, and a coarse voice shouted upwards: 'Are you still up there, Avenger?' 'I am indeed. Come up!' answered the young man who had been addressed as Avenger.

In a short time a large group of riders ascended and stopped in front of the solitary rider. They were mostly peasants from Loodijärve.

As arms they carried axes, scythes, clubs and some old, rusty swords which had also seen service in the wars of previous generations, and in the faces of all these men one could clearly read the desire to use these various arms as soon as possible.

kevad(*e*) spring-(time); fi *kevät*. || *tuli*, 3sg prt of *tule-* come; = fi. || 1343-nda: *tuhande kolmesaja neljakümne kolmanda. tuhande*, gen. of *tuhat* thousand, = fi. *kolme*, gen. of *kolm* three, = fi. *kolme*; *saja*, gen. of *sada* hundred, = fi *sata*. *nelja*, gen. of *neli* four, = fi *neljä*. *kümne*, gen. of *kümme*, = fi *kymmen-*, *kymmenen*. *kolmanda*, gen. of *kolmas* third, = fi. || *jürikuu* April; *Jüri* George; *kuu* moon, month,

= fi. || *näitas*, 3sg prt of *näita-* show, = fi *näyttä-*. || *nagu* (just) as (modal); *na* = *nõnda* so, in that way; see U fi *nämä*; *-gu* = *kui* as, how, when, = fi *kuin*. || *kõik* all, = fi *kaikki*. || *-d*, npl. || *ka* also, too, even, = fi *kanssa* with, (dial.) too. || *sel*, adess. of *see* this, = fi *se* this, || that. *aastal*, adess. of *aasta* year, = fi (archaic) *ajastaika*. || *oma* his, her (uninflected when unstressed), = fi *oma* own. || *sagedasti* often, frequently: modal case of *sage* many (a), several, = fi *sakea* thick, dense. || *muutuvat*, part. of ptc prs act. of *muutu-* change (intr.), = fi *muuttu-*. || *nägu*, part. of *nägu*, gen. *näo* face, = fi *näkö* (eye-)sight, appearance, looks. || *lõuna*, gsg of *lõuna* noon; south; (early) dinner; fi *lounas* southwest; lunch. || *ajal*, adess. of *aeg* time, = fi *aika*. || *paistis*, 3sg prt of *paista-* shine, = fi. || *päike* sun: dim. of *päev* day, = fi *päivä*. || *selgesti*, modal case of *selge* clear, = fi *selkeä*. || *ja* and, = fi. || *armsasti*, modal case of *armas*, gsg *armsa* lovely, dear = fi. || *sinisest*, elat. of *sinine* blue, = fi *sininen*; *sina* blue colour; fi *sini*. || *taevast*, elat. of *taevas* sky, heaven, = fi *taivas*. || *maha* down: ill. of *maa* earth, = fi. || *õhtul*, adess. of *õhtu* evening; fi *ehtoo*. || *läks*, 3sg prt of the defective verb *lähte-*, go, = fi. || *ta* he, she, it. || *särades*, iness. of inf. of *sära-* radiate. || *looja* down (speaking of sunset; we shall comment upon this word later). || *taeva*, gsg of *taevas*. || *äär* edge, border, = fi *ääri*. || *ümberringi* all around. *ümber* around, = fi *ympäri*; *ringi*, ill. or part. of *ring* circumference (G). || *lõkendas*, 3sg prt of *lõkenda-* blaze; *lõke* flame, blaze; fi *liekki*. || *kaua* (for a) long (time), = fi *kauan*. || *kuldsetes*, iness. pl. of *kuldne* golden, = fi *kultainen*; *kuld* gold, = fi *kulta*. || *punastes*, iness. pl. of *punane* red, = fi *punainen*; *puna* red (colour), = fi. || *kollastes*, iness. pl. of *kollane* yellow, = fi *keltainen*; *kold* yellow (colour), = fi *kelta*. || *sinakates*, iness. pl. of *sinakas* bluish. || *värvides*, iness. pl. of *värv* colour (G). || *inimene* man, human being, fi *ihminen* id., *inhimillinen* human. || *rõõmustas*, 3sg prt of *rõõmusta-* rejoice; *rõõm* joy, delight, = fi *riemu*. || *tõotas*, 3sg prt of *tõota-* promise, fi *toivotta-* wish, promise. || *homseks* for tomorrow: transl. of *homne* tomorrow's, of tomorrow, fi *huominen*. || *kena*, nom., gen. and (here) part., beautiful, nice. || *päeva*, part. of *päev* day. || *aga* but. || *näe*, 2sg imper. of *näge-* see, (imper. also:) look, fi *näke-*. || *vaevalt* scarcely: abl. of *vaev* trouble, pains, = fi *vaiva*. || *kadus*, 3sg prt of *kadu-* disappear,

fi *katoa-*. || *viimne* the last, fi *viimeinen*. || *sügava*, gsg of *sügav* deep; fi *syvä*. || *sinise*, gsg of *sinine*. || *võlvi*, gsg of *võlv* vault (G). || *piirilt*, abl. of *piir* border, frontier; fi *piiri* circle. || *seal* there; (here:) when (conj.); fi *siellä* there. || *värvis*, 3sg prt of *värvi-* tinge, colour (see *värv*). || *ennast*, functions as suppletive partitive of *ise*, myself, yourself, himself etc. (fi *itse*); it has probably come about by adding the partitive ending *-t* to a form ending in *-s* (= fi *-nsä*, Px3sg), corresponding to fi *häntänsä* (part. of *hän*, he, + Px3sg); est *end*, *enda*, S *hendä* is synonym to *ennast*. In this context, *ennast* is used as total object. || *teisel*, adess. of *teine* other, second: cf. fi *toinen*. || *pool* at the side, in the direction . . ., = *poolel*, adess. of *pool* side, half, = fi *puoli*. || *mustjashall* blackish grey; *mustjas* blackish; *must* black, = fi *musta*; *hall* grey; fi *halli* greyish animal. *-ks*, translative ending. || *käre*, gsg *käreda* violent; fi *käreä* gruff, cross. || *hommiku*, gsg of *hommik* morning. || *tuul* wind, = fi *tuuli*. || *kihuta-* drive, chase; fi *kiiho(i)tta-* excite, stir up, incite, agitate. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *pilve*, gsg of *pilv* cloud, = fi *pilvi*. || *salgad*, npl of *salk* group. || *üle* (with a precedent or following genitive) over; fi *yli*. || *kogu* heap; collection; size; (as undeclined qualifier:) whole, entire, = fi *koko*. || *taeva*, gsg of *taevas*. || *vihm* rain; fi *vihma* drizzle. || *lumega*, com. of *lumi* snow = fi. || *segatud*, ptc prt pass. of *sega-* mix; *sega*(-) mixed, = fi *seka*(-). || *kahise-* rustle, = fi. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *hommikul*, adess. of *hommik*. || *oli*, 3sg prt of *ole-* be, = fi. || *külm* cold, = fi *kylmä*. || *maa* earth, = fi. || *porine* dirty; *pori* mud, dirt; cf. fi *poro* sediment, grounds, lees, dregs, ashes. || *sopase*, gsg of *sopane* muddy; *sopp* mud. || *vee*, gsg of *vesi* water, = fi. || *nire* rivulet, brooklet; fi *nira*. || *sirise-* pour, = fi. *-sid*, 3pl prt. || *heinamaa* meadow; *hein* hay, = fi *heinä*; *maa* land. *-lt*, ablative. || *mustjasse*, ill. of *mustjas*. || *ojasse*, ill. of *oja* brook(let), = fi. || *ühel*, adess. of *üks* one, a, = fi *yksi*. || *pimedal*, adess. of *pime* dark; blind, = fi *pimeä*. || *ööl*, adess. of *öö* night, = fi *yö*. || *see* that, this. || *jüripäeva*, gsg of *jüripäev* Saint George's day (April 23). || *pida-* hold, stop, = fi *pitä-* keep. *-s*, 3sg prt. (*pidi* means 'had to'). || *üksik* single, solitary (see *üks*). || *ratsanik* rider; *ratsa* on horseback, = fi *ratsain*. || *oma* his. || *hobuse*, gsg of *hobune* horse, = fi *hevonen*. || *kõrgel*, adess. of *kõrge* high, = fi *korkea*. || *künkal*, adess. of *küngas* hill. || *kinni* fast (= not loose), = fi *kiinni*; *pidas*

kinni stopped. || *mis*, gen. *mille* what, which; fi *mikä*. || *umbes* nearly, about. || *poolteist* one and a half; *pool* half; *teist*, part. of *teine*. || *penikoormat*, part. of *penikoorem* (Swedish) mile = 10 km.; *peni* dog; *koorem* burden; car-load; fi dial. *peninkuorma* = *penikulma*, *peninkulma* (*peninkuulema*, *-kuuluma*). || *Tallinnast*, elat. of *Tallinn*, the capital of Estonia (etymologically: 'the Danish castle'). || *eemal* farther away; far, at a distance, = fi *edemmällä*, adess. of *edempi*, comp. of *esi*(-) pre-. || *seisis*, 3sg prt of *seisa-* ~ *seis-* stand; be situated, = fi *seiso-* ~ *seis-*. || *mähkinud*, ptc prt act. of *mähki-* wrap. Prt of *ole-*, be, + ptc prt forms a periphrastic pluperfect. || *ennast* himself. || *suure*, gsg of *suur* big, great, = fi *suuri*. || *mantli*, gsg of *mantel* cloak, mantle, = fi *mantteli*. || *sisse* into, in: ill. of *sise*(-) interior, fi *sisä*(-). || *sügavale*, allative of *sügav*: (here) deep, deeply. || *silmade*, gpl of *silm* eye, = fi *silmä*. || *peale* (down etc.) upon, onto: all. of *pea* head, = fi *pää*. || *tõmmanud*, ptc prt act. of *tõmba-* pull, = fi *tempaa-*.

üteldud, ptc prt pass. of *ütle-* say, dial. *jütle-*, = fi *juttele-* talk, chat; *jutt* talk, tale, story, = fi *juttu* story, tale, anecdote, case, lawsuit, affair. || *mustjashallitäpiline* with speckles of blackish grey; *täpiline* speckled; *täpp* speck; fi *täppä* spot, dot. || *mättane* covered with tussocks; *mätas* tussock, = fi *mätäs*. || *pilve-*, gsg of *pilv*. *täppide*, gpl of *täpp*. || *vahel* between: adess. of *vahe* (intervening) space, distance; difference, fi *vaihe* intervening space or time, phase, stage, vicissitude. || *jooksid*, 3pl prt of *jookse-* run, = fi *juokse-*. || *risti ja põiki* in all directions. *risti* crosswise: ill. of *rist* cross, = fi *risti*. *põiki* across, = fi *poikki*. Cf. German *kreuz und quer*, *in die Kreuz und Quer*. || *heledamad*, npl of the comp. of *hele* bright, luminous, clear, = fi *heleä*. || *jooned*, npl of *joon* line, stripe, = fi *juoni* streak, vein (in minerals), intrigue, plot. || *mille*, gsg, gpl of *mis* what, which. || *läbi* (combined with a preceding gen.) through, = fi *läpi* id., *läpi* ~ *läpe-* hole. || *kuu*, gsg. || *kiired*, npl of *kiir* beam, ray. || *vähe* little, a little; fi *vähä*, *vähän*. || *kuma*, nsg, gsg and (here) part., glimmer. || *magava*, gsg of ptc prs act. of *maga-* sleep, = fi *makaa-* lie, sleep. || *vala-* pour, = fi. *-sid*, 3pl prt. || *soe*, gsg *sooja* warm; fi *suoja* mild (of weather), thaw, shelter, room, refuge, protection. || *koha-* rush, = fi *kohaa-*. || *tumedasti*, modal case of *tume* dark,

gloomy; cf. fi *tumma* dark. || *ümberkaudseis*, iness. pl. of *ümberkaudne* surrounding; *kaudne* indirect; *kaudu* through, by, via; past (by); fi *-kausi* phase, period; (part.) *kautta* through, by, via. || *metsades*, iness. pl. of *mets* forest, wood, = fi *metsä*. || *vingu-* whine, = fi *vinku-*. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *üksiku*, gsg of *üksik*. || *männi*, gsg of *mänd* pine, fir, = fi *mänty*. || *okste*, gpl of *oks* branch, = fi *oksa*. || *all* under, beneath, = fi *alla* (essive of *ala* area). || *seisatanud*, ptc prt act. of *seisata-* stop (intr.), halt, come to a stop, = fi *seisahta-* (derived from *seisa-*, fi *seiso-*).

poole, gsg of *pool* half. || *tunni*, gsg of *tund* hour, = fi *tunti*. || *maa*, nsg and (here:) gsg, earth, country; (here:) space, distance. || *kaugusel*, adess. of *kaugus* remoteness, distance; *kauge* distant; long; *kaugel* (adess.) (being) far away; fi *kauko-* distant, *kaukana* (ess.) (being) far away. || *tema*, nsg and (here:) gsg, he, she; cf. fi *tämä* this. || *seisu-*, gen. of *seis* stand; *paigast*, elat. of *paik* place, spot, = fi *paikka*; *seisupaik* position. || *särasid*, 3pl prt of *sära-*. || *Loodijärve*, a fictive place-name. *-järve*, gsg of *järv* lake, = fi *järvi*. In Estonian place-names, the genitive is used instead of the nominative; there are exceptions, though, e.g. *Tallinn* (this name contains the word *linn*, town, and a syntagm of the type 'the city of Rome' would in this case have been pleonastic, so there was no starting-point for an ellipsis). || *lossi*, gsg of *loss* castle (G). || *valgustatud*, ptc prt pass. of *valgusta-* light, illuminate; *valgus* light (lumen); *valge* white; light (lumen), = fi *valkea* white; fire. || *aknad*, npl of *aken* window, = fi *akkuna*, *ikkuna*. || *kassi*, gsg of *kass* cat. *silmad*, npl of *silm*. || *mustavast*, elat. of ptc prs act. of *musta-* = *mustenda-* look dark, look black; *must* black. || *põhjast*, elat. of *põhi* bottom; (here:) background; = fi *pohja*. || *välja* (going) out: ill. of *väli* field; fi *väljä* wide, spacious; open field.

on, 3sg prs of *ole-* be (fi *on*). || *võõraid*, part. pl. of *võõras* strange, unfamiliar; belonging to another than the person in question; (= *külaline*, derived from *küla* village, = fi *kylä*) guest. || *ümise-* mutter, murmur, = fi *hymise-* mumble, hum. || *poole* towards: ill. of *pool*. || *vaadates*, iness. of inf. of *vaata-* look. || *nüüd* now, = fi *nyt*, dial. *nyyttä*, loc. of *nyky(-)* the present time. || *oleks*, 3sg cond. of *ole-*. || *kerge* easy, fi *kerkeä* unravelled (not entangled), light, mellow (of soil),

quick, prompt, ready. || *terve* healthy; (here:) whole, = fi *terve* healthy, sound, safe and sound. || *pesa* nest, = fi *pesä*. || *hävitada*, inf. of *hävita-* destroy, exterminate; *hävine-* disappear, be lost, etc.; fi *hävittä-* and *häviä-* respectively. || *tehku*, 3pl imper. of *tege-* do, make, = fi *teke-*. || *talupojad*, npl of *talupoeg* farmer, peasant, = fi *talonpoika*; *talu* farm, = fi *talo*; *poeg* son, = fi *poika*. || *mis*, nom., gen. and (here) part., what. || *tahavad*, 3pl prs of *tahta-* will, wish; fi *tahto-*. || *mina* I, = fi *minä*. || *nende*, gen. of *nad* (long *a*!) they. || *õnnetus* misfortune, disaster; *õnnetu* unhappy, = fi *onneton*; *õnn* fortune, happiness, = fi *onni*. || *ei* not, = fi. || *püüa*, neg. base of *püüda-* strive after, catch, fi *pyytä-* hunt, fish, (try and) catch, ask, request. || *jumal* god, = fi *jumala*. || *nendega*, com. of *nad*. || *ehk* perhaps; although; or; fi *ehkä* perhaps. *küll* enough, fi *kyllä* certainly, indeed, yes. *ehk küll* although. || *seisukohas*, iness. *seisukoht* position; *koht* place; region; spot; fi *kohta* place, point. || *käes* in, at, exposed to: iness. of *käsi* hand, = fi. || *sugugi* (with a negation:) not at all, by no means; *sugu*, nom. and (here) part., kind, sex, = fi *suku* family. *-ki* too, also; (in neg. clauses:) even; fi *-ki(n)* and *-kaan*, *-kään* respectively. || *palav* hot, = fi *palava*; cf. *põle-* burn (intr.), = fi *pala-*. || *olnud*, ptc prt act. of *ole-*. *ei olnud* was not. || *võttis*, 3sg prt of *võtta-* take, = fi *otta-*. || *siiski* however, nevertheless; *siis* then, after that; also: consequently, thus, = fi *siis* thus: transl. (historically) of *see*, fi *se*. || *kübara*, gsg of *kübar* hat, = fi *kypärä* helmet. || *peast*, elat. of *pea* head. || *ja* and, = fi. || *pühki-* wipe, = fi *pyyhki-*. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *käega*, com. of *käsi*. || *paar* couple (G). || *korda*, part. of *kord* time, occasion, = fi *kerta*. || *otsaesise*, gsg of *otsaesine* forehead. *otsa*, gsg of *ots* end; (dial.) forehead; fi *otsa* forehead. *esine* place in front (of . . .); entrance-hall; *esi-* pre-. || *tombud*, npl of *tomp* block, mass. || *lagune-* burst (asunder), crumple. *-sid*, 3pl prt. || *ühes*, iness. of *üks*. || *kohas*, iness. of *koht*. || *natuke* a little. || *segane* disorderly, indistinct, = fi *sekainen*. || *kaduv*, ptc prs act. of *kadu-* disappear, vanish. || *lange-* fall, = fi *lankea-*. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *mehe*, gsg of *mees* man, human male, = fi *mies*. || *näo*, gsg of *nägu* face. || *veel* still, yet, = fi *vielä*. || *noor* young, = fi *nuori*. || *kahvatu* pale. || *ning* and; *nii* so, = fi *niin*; *-gi*, *-ki*, see above. || *auku*, ill. of *auk* hole, = fi *aukko*. || *vajunud*, ptc prt act. of *vaju-* sink (intr.), = fi *vajoa-*. *auku vajunud*: sunk(en)

into hole(s), i.e., (face) with hollow cheeks. || *põskedega*, com. pl. of *põsk* cheek, = fi *poski*. || *mehelikult* in a manly way: abl. of *mehelik* manly, virile (*mees*). || *ilus* beautiful, handsome; *ilu* beauty, fi *ilo* joy, delight. || *iseäralik*, abl. (in modal function) *-likult* strange. *ise* myself etc. *ära* away; loose; *era* particular, separate; fi *erä* detached part, etc. || *tõsine* earnest, serious; real; *tõsi* true, real; serious, = fi *tosi*.

ta he. || *pani*, 3sg prt of *pane-* put, = fi. || *jälle* again, = fi *jälleen*. || *pähe* upon the head: ill. of *pea*. || *alt* from under, = fi *alta*. || *tõrvalondi*, gsg of *tõrvalont* torch. *tõrva*, gsg of *tõrv* tar, = fi *terva*. *lont* a long lump (G). || *lõi*, 3sg prt of *löö-* strike, = fi *lyö-*. || *tuld*, part. of *tuli* fire, = fi. || *pistis*, 3sg prt of *pista-* stick (trans.), put, = fi *pistä-*. || *põlema*, inf. (ill. of verb noun in *-ma*) of *põle-* burn (intr.). || *hoidis*, 3sg prt of *hoida-* preserve, (here:) hold; fi *hoita-* take care of, look after, tend. || *ta* it. || *üleval* (being high) up, aloft (adessive). || *leek* flame, = fi *liekki*. || *kõrgele* (going) high up: all. of *kõrge*. || *imelik* strange: *ime* wonder, = fi *ihme*. || *sündi-* be born; (here:) happen; fi *synty-* be born, come into existence, arise. *-s*, 3sg prt.

nii so, = fi *niin*. || *kaugele* all. of *kauge* remote. || *kui* as. || *ulata-* reach (intr.); cf. fi *ulottu-* id., *ulko-* external.

-s, 3sg prt. || *välku-* flash, gleam, = fi *välkky-*. || *tuled*, npl of *tuli*. || *üles* (go) up, = fi *ylös*, *yles*. || *silmapilk*, part. *-u* moment; *pilk* glance; fi *pilkku* dot, *pilkka* blaze (on a tree), bull's eye. || *-sid*, 3sg prt. || *kustu-* go out, be extinguished (U).

noormees young man. || *oota-* wait, = fi *odotta-*. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *veerandtund* quarter of an hour; *veerand* quarter (G). || *selle*, gen. of *see*. || *aja*, gsg of *aeg*. || *sees* (being) in. || *paistsid*, 3pl prt of *paista-*. || *üksikud*, npl of *üksik* single. || *ühtepukku* continually, unceasingly. *ühte*, ill. of *üks*. *puhku*, ill. of *puhk* blow(ing); occasion, time; *puhku-*, *puhu-* blow; fi *puhu-* speak; (E) blow. || *edasi* further. || *viimaks* at last, = fi *viimeksi*: transl. av (fi) *viime* last. || *jäi*, 3sg prt of *jää-* (= fi) remain; become. || *tükiks*, transl. of *tükk* piece, bit (G). || *ajaks*, transl. of *aeg*. *tükiks ajaks* for a considerable time. || *pimedaks*, transl. of *pime* dark, = fi *jää-* is combined with the translative.

tõusis, 3sg prt of *tõuse-* rise. || *ühes*, iness. of *üks*. || *kohas*, iness. of *koht* spot. || *uus*, gsg *uue* new, = fi *uusi*. || *enam* more, = fi *enempi*. || *kustunud*, ptc prt act. of *kustu-*. || *vaid* but. || *iga* every; cf. fi *joka*.

|| *-pilguga*, com. of *-pilk*. || *kasva-* grow, = fi. *-s* 3sg prt. || *kuni* until. || *leegid*, npl of *leek*. || *torni*, gsg of *torn* tower, = fi *torni*. *kõrguseni*, terminative of *kõrgus* height, fi *korkeus*. || *lenda-* fly, = fi *lentä-*. *-sid*, 3pl prt. || *öö*, gsg. *pimeduse*, gen. of *pimedus* darkness, = fi *pimeys*. || *päeva*, gsg of *päev*. *valguseks*, transl. of *valgus*. || *muutsid*, 3pl prt of *muuta-* change (trans.), = fi *muutta-*. || *tulekahju* a great fire, conflagration. *kahju* accident; fi *kaiho* longing, yearning, grief, worry. || *mõis* manor, = fi *moisio*. || *põles*, 3sg prt of *põle-*. || *kestnud*, ptc prt act. of *kesta-* to last, = fi *kestä-*. || *kaua* (for a) long (time). || *seal* (here:) when. || *purska-* burst out; fi *purskaa-*, *pursku-* spurt out, gush out. || *teises*, iness. of *teine*. || *veri* blood, = fi. || *seest* from (the interior). || *kiiresti*, modal case of *kiire* rapid; fi *kiire* hurry, haste. || *läks* (here:) became. || *veel* still (more). || *suuremaks*, transl. of comp. of *suur*. || *kui* (after a comparative:) than. || *esimene* the first, = fi *ensimmäinen*. || *vaevalt . . . kui* no sooner . . . than. || *sündinud*, ptc prt act. of *sündi-*. || *kahes*, *kolmes*, *neljas*, iness. of *kaks* two, *kolm* three, *neli* four. || *uued*, npl of *uus*. || *tekki-* arise, originate, = fi *tekeyty-* (derived from *teke-* do). *-sid*, 3pl prt. || *näi-* seem, fi *näky-* be seen, be visible. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *Eestimaa*, nom. and (here:) gen., Estonia; *Eesti* id., *eesti* Estonian. || *pind* surface, = fi *pinta*. || *lõhkenud*, ptc prt act. of *lõhke-* burst; *lõhk* split, crack, fissure; detached piece, fi *lohko* detached piece. || *vuhiseks*, 3sg cond. of *vuhise* wheeze. || *maakera* globe. *kera* clue, ball, = fi *kerä*. || *põlev*, ptc prs act. of *põle-*. || *sisikond*, *sisekond* entrails. *sisi-*, *sise-* interior. *kond* usually denotes a group (esp. an organized group of human beings); fi *-kunta*. || *lugemata*, abessive of verb noun in *-ma* of *luge-* read, count, = fi *luke-*; *lugemata* (here) = *lugematu* innumerable. || *pragudest*, elat. pl. of *pragu* fissure, crevice, = fi *rako*. || *lähedal*, adess. of *lähe* near; *lähi(-)*, *lähe(-)* near, = fi *lähi(-)*. || *ööd*, part. of *öö*. In combination with a neg. form of *ole-*, the subject is put in the partitive. || *pimeduse*, gen. of *pimedus* darkness. || *viirud*, npl of *viir* stripe, streak, = fi *viiru*. || *tulede*, gpl of *tuli*. || *kordamööda* one after the other. *korda*, part. of *kord* order, turn. *mööda* along, according to, = fi *myötä*. || *täiesti*, modal case of *täis* full, complete, = fi *täysi*. || *siis* then. || *läksid*, 3pl prt. || *laiemaks*, transl. of comp. of *lai* broad, = fi *laaja* wide, large. || *kõikudes*, iness. of inf. of *kõiku-* totter, wawer,

= fi *keikku-* swing, rock. || *nii nagu* so as. || *kõrgemalt*, abl. of comp. of *kõrge*. || *või* or, = fi *vai*. || *madalamalt*, abl. of comp. of *madal* low, = fi *matala*. || *-sid*, 3pl prt. || *lõpmatus*, iness. of *lõpmatu* endless, infinite, fi *loppumaton*; *lõppe-* end; cf. fi *loppu-*. || *kaugus* distance (*kauge*). || *tule*, gsg of *tuli*. *leeki*, part. of *leek*. || *enam ei* no more. || *näinud*, ptc prt act. of *näge-* see, = fi *näke-*. || *liiku-* move (intr.), = fi *liikku-*. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *vere*, gsg of *veri*. *karva*, part. of *karv* hair; (here:) colour (partitivus qualitatis: of a blood-red colour); fi *karva*. || *puna* redness. || *taeva*, gsg of *taevas*. || *veerel*, adess. of *veer* border, edge, = fi *vieri*. *taeva veer* sky-line. || *kogemata* accidental; cf. fi *koke-* to experience. || *mässamise*, gen. of *mässamine* insurrection, rebellion; *mässa-* revolt, rebel, be in rebellion; fi *mässää-* live fast, carouse, riot || *märk* sign, signal (G).

kahtlust, part. of *kahtlus* doubt; *kahtle-* ~ *kaheld-* to doubt; *kaks*, gsg *kahe* two, = fi *kaksi*. || *et* that (conj.), = fi *että*. || *lahtised*, npl of *lahtine* open. || *mõisad*, npl of *mõis*. || *-sid*, 3pl prt. || *mitte* not; S *mit* how, as; cf. *mis*, fi *mikä* ~ *mi-*. || *ainult* only: abl. of *ainu*(-) sole, only, = fi *ainoa*. || *hoone* building, = fi *huone* house, room. || *mille*, gen. of *mis*. || *katuse*, gsg of *katus* roof; *katta-* to cover, lay (the table) (< **kant-ta-*); *kaas*, gsg *kaane* cover, lid, = fi *kansi* ~ *kante-*. || *taanlane*, gsg *-lase* Dane. || *sakslane*, gsg *-lase* German (subst.), = fi *saksalainen*. || *elanud*, ptc prt act. of *ela-* live, = fi *elä-*. || *viimse*, gsg of *viimne* last, = fi *viimeinen*; cf. *viimaks*. || *vere*, gsg of *veri*. *tilgani*, terminative of *tilk* drop, = fi *tilkka*. || *kurnatud*, ptc prt pass. of *kurna-* strain, filter, exhaust, (here:) exploit; *kurn* filter; fi *kuurna*, *kurna* groove; a kind of filter, flute-shaped appliance used in brewing. *välja kurnatud* thoroughly exploited. || *võttis*, 3sg prt of *võtta-*. || *jõu*, gen. of *jõud* power; *jõuda-* be able; arrive; have the time (to do something), fi *jouta-* have time, find time. || *kokku* (come) together: ill. of *kogu*. *võttis kokku* gathered up. || *mürista-* to thunder, fi *myrise-*, growl, roar. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *ärganud*, ptc prt act. of *ärka-* to awake; *ärgas* alert, vigilant; *erk*, gsg *ergu* brisk, alert. || *vabaduse*, gen. of *vabadus* freedom, liberty; *vaba* free, = fi *vapaa*. || *himu* desire, eagerness, = fi *himo*. || *hirmsasti*, modal case of *hirmus* frightful, terrible; *hirm* fright, fear, = fi *hirmu* terror, horror. || *isandate*, gpl of *isand* master; *isa* father, = fi *isä*. || *kõrvu*, ill. pl. of *kõrv* ear, = fi *korva*.

he regular ill. pl. is *kõrvadesse.* || *nende,* gen. of *need* these, those ɔl. of *see*). *nende* is also gen. of *nad* they (pl. of *ta, tema*). || *põlevate,* pl of ptc prs act. of *põle-.* || *majade,* gpl of *maja* house, = fi *maja* ɔttage, cabin, hut. || *tule,* gsg of *tuli.* || *pani,* 3sg prt of *pane-* (here:) ıake (somebody do something). || *taeva,* gsg of *taevas.* || *punetama,* l. of verb noun in *-ma* of *puneta-* shine red (*puna*). || *varsti* soon. || *unaseks,* transl. of *punane.* || *said,* 3pl prt of *saa-* be able; get, ɛceive, = fi *saa-* get, receive, etc. || *isandad,* npl of *isand.* || *hirmuga,* ɔm. of *hirm.* || *aru,* nom., (here:) gen., part., reason, understanding; *rv* number; = fi *arvo* value. *said aru* they understood. || *kui* (here:) ow. || *kardetav* dangerous: ptc prs pass. of *karta-* fear, be afraid, = fi *kartta-* avoid, shun, beware of. || *inimest,* part. of *inimene.* || *ɔjuseks,* transl. of *lojus* animal, brute; cf. *loo-* create, = fi *luo-.* || *landada,* inf. of *alanda-* humiliate, degrade; *ala*(-) sub-.

käed, npl of *käsi.* || *rinna,* gsg of *rind* breast, = fi *rinta.* || *pan-ud,* ptc prt act. of *pane-.* || *vaatas,* 3sg prs of *vaata-.* || *mõttes,* iness. f *mõte* thought, (here:) meditation; fi *miete.* || *kaugusesse,* ill. of *:augus.* || *ta,* nom. (here:) gen. (: his). || *silmad,* npl of *silm.* || *läiki-*leam, = fi *läikky-* splash; move (intr.) to and fro in waves; vary of colours), shimmer, gleam. || *kahvatule,* all. of *kahvatu* pale. || *näole,* ll. of *nägu* face. || *tõusis,* 3sg prt of *tõuse-.* || *kerge* light. || *huuled,* ıpl of *huul* lip, = fi *huuli.* || *liiku-* move (intr.), = fi *liikku-.* *-sid,* ɔpl prt. || *ise-enesega,* com. of *ise,* gen. (*ise-*)*enese* (him)self; fi *itse,* ;en. (dial.) *hänensä* his (: gen. of *hän,* he, + Px3). || *rääkides,* iness. ɔf inf. of *rääki-* speak, fi *rääkky-* caw, yell, croak.

algus beginning; *alga-* begin, = fi *alka-.* || *tehtud,* ptc prt pass. of *ege-.* || *verine* bloody (*veri*). || *punetab,* 3sg prs of *puneta-.* || *leegist,* ɛlat. of *leek.* || *koit* dawn; *koita-* to dawn, = fi *koitta-*; fi *koi* dawn. | *-punaselt,* abl. of *punane* (in modal function). || *aita,* 2sg imper. of *ıita-* help; *abi* help, fi *apu.* || *halastaja* pitiful; a pitiful person; *halasta-* pity, have mercy (on). || *vaim* spirit; fi *vaimo* wife. || *et* so that. || *niisama* likewise, in the same degree or quantity. *nii* so; *sama* same, = fi; *niisama . . . kui* as . . . as. || *ruttu* rapidly: ill. of *rutt* hurry, hast; fi *rutto* hasty, hurried, sudden; ill. *ruttoon* rapidly. || *looja,* ill. of *loe* northwest, = fi *luode* low tide, ebb (this meaning has come about by a misunderstanding: the genuine meaning is 'high tide'),

northwest. || *läheks*, 3sg cond. of *mine-* (se above under *läks*). *looja ei läheks* may not set, go down (subject: the sun). || *mu*, gen. of *mina*, *ma* I. || *isa-isa* paternal grandfather (the first member is gsg of *isa* father). || *soov* desire; *soovi-* wish, desire; fi *suo-* grant, wish (that something should happen), (ungrudgingly) wish (somebody something). || *täide*, ill. of *täis*. || *läinud*, ptc prt act. (= fi *lähtenyt*) of *mine-*. *on täide läinud* is fulfilled. || *mida*, part. of *mis*. || *teinud*, ptc prt act. of *tege-*. || *seda*, part. of *see*. || *teeb*, 3sg prs of *tege-*. || *pojapoeg* grandson ('son's son'). || *ähvardav*, prt prs act. of *ähvarda-* menace. || *ulumine*, verb noun of *ulu-* howl, fi *ulvo-*. || *olen*, 1sg prs of *ole-*. || *selle*, gen. of *see*. || *ärataja* arouser; *ärata-* awake (trans.), arouse: causative of *ärka-* awake (intr.), wake up. || *õhutaja* instigator; *õhuta-* instigate, exhort; *õhku-* glow, = fi *hehku-*. || *oh*, exclamation, o (oh)! || *lootus* hope; *loota-* hope, = fi *luotta-* trust. || *sa* = *sina* thou, = fi *sinä*. || *oled*, 2sg prs of *ole-*. || *magus* sweet; cf. *magu* taste, = fi *maku*. || *kui* how. || *hea* good; cf. fi *hyvä*. || *meelega*, com. of *meel* mind, = fi *mieli*. || *oleksin*, 1sg cond. of *ole-*. || *need*, npl of *see*. || *väetimad* (= *väetid*), (archaic) npl of *väeti* vigourless, feeble; *vägi* power, vigour, = fi *väki* people, men, (armed) forces, etc. *-ti* = *-tu*; according to Aavik, *-ti* < *-*tü* < *-*tön*—we have then here a trace of the old vowel harmony. || *päästnud*, ptc prt act. of *päästa-* save; *pääse-* be saved, = fi. || *kes*, nsg and (here:) npl, interrogative and (here:) relative pronoun. || *täna* today, = fi *tänään*. || *öösel* in the night, at night (adess.); *öö* night. || *süüta*, abess. of *süü* guilt, = fi *syy*. || *surma*, part., and (here:) illative of *surm* death; *sure-* die; fi *surma* death, *sure-* grieve, mourn. || *langevad*, 3pl prt of *lange-* fall, = *lankea-*. || *või-* be able, = fi *voi-*. || *tohi-*, neg. base of *tohti-* dare, = fi. || *raudne* of iron, iron-like; *raud* iron, = fi *rauta*. || *sundus* constraint; *sundi-* compell, constrain; *sund*, gsg *sunni* compulsion, constraint; cf. fi *suunti-* take the bearings; strive (to go in a certain direction), *suunta* direction. || *nõuab*, 3sg prs of *nõuda-* demand, require, = fi *nouta-* fetch, overtake, follow (a track). || *võõraste*, gpl of *võõras* stranger. || *viimset*, part. of *viimne* last. || *varju*, part. of *vari* shadow, = fi *varjo*. *-gi* = *-ki* even. || *meie*, gen. of *me* we, = fi. || *maal*, adess. of *maa*. || *alles* at last; only; yet, still; left. || *tuleb*, 3sg prs of *tule-* come, = fi. || *tagasi* back (expressing return to original place), = fi

takaisin. || *rahu* peace, = fi *rauha*. || *hakkab*, 3sg prs of *hakka-* begin. || *kosutama*, ill. of verb noun in *-ma* of *kosuta-* comfort, invigorate. || *rahvast*, part. of *rahvas* people, nation, = fi *rahvas* common people, country-people, peasantry. || *kaob*, 3sg prt of *kadu-* disappear, = fi *katoa-*. || *vaigistatud*, ptc prt pass. of *vaigista-* assuage, quiet, calm, = fi *vaikista-* silence, assuage; est *vaik* silent (cf. *vait* id., = fi *vaiti*). || *südameist*, elat. pl. of *süda* heart, = fi *sydän*. || *jumalik* divine (*jumal*). || *haridus* culture, education; *hari-* cultivate; cf. fi *harjaa-* brush, clean (est *hari*, fi *harja* brush). || *laotad*, 2sg prs of *laota-* expand, spread (trans.) (cf. *lai*). || *valgust*, part. of *valgus*. || *rõõmu*, gsg of *rõõm*; *rikas* rich, = fi: *rõõmurikas* joyful. || *paikade*, gpl of *paik*. || *üle* over.

kõneleja speaker; *kõnele-* speak; *kõne* speech; fi *koneile-* make pranks, manœuvre, quibble, talk ambiguously; *kone* trick, artifice, shuffle, tool, machine. || *vaiki-* become silent, be silent (see *vaik*, under *vaigistatud*). || *ta* his. || *hiilga-* gleam; *hiile*, gsg *hiilge* brilliancy, splendour; beacon for fishermen; fi *hiili* coal. || *kerki-* rise. || *lõke* little flame. || *valgusta-* to light up, illuminate. || *vaimustatud*, ptc prt pass. of *vaimusta-* fill with enthusiasm (*vaim*). || *vaade* glance (*vaata-*). || *sattu-* happen, chance (to arrive, e.g.). || *sinna* thither; fi *sinne*; cf. est *see*, fi *se*. || *kohta*, ill. of *koht*. || *kus* where, = fi. dial. *kussa*. || *paistel*, adess. of *paiste* shine, brightness (*paista-*). || *metsade*, gpl of *mets*. || *pimedusest*, elat. of *pimedus*. || *kuma-* loom. || *veel* still, = fi *vielä*. || *vait* silent (see above, under *vaigistatud*).

häälte, gpl of *hääl* voice; cf. fi *hääli* bustle, noise. || *hobuse*, gsg of *hobune*. In compounds, gsg often denotes plural. || *kapjade*, gpl of *kabi*, = fi *kavio* hoof. || *kõmin* dull sound, = fi *komina*. || *kostis*, 3sg prt of *kosta-* answer, = fi *kosta-* requite, avenge. || *ikka* always, continually: ill. of *iga* age, life-time, = fi *ikä*. || *lähemale* (coming) nearer: all. of the comp. *lähem*, = fi *lähempi*. || *tuli*, 3sg prt of *tule-*. || *salk* group. || *ratsamehi*, part. pl. of *ratsamees* horseman, rider. *ratsa*, see above. || *mäe*, gsg of *mägi* mountain, hill, = fi *mäki* hill. || *jalal*, adess. of *jalg* foot, = fi *jalka*. || *nähtavale*, all. of ptc prs pass. of *näge-*. *tuli nähtavale* became visible, appeared, came forward. || *jäme* thick; rough, coarse; = fi *jämeä* thick, stout, etc. || *hüüdis*, 3sg prt of *hüüda-* shout, call. || *üles* upwards.

kas, interrogative: *kas oled* art thou? || *üleval*, *ülal* (adess.) (being high) up. *Tasuja* (here as proper name) avenger; *tasu-* reward, recompense; avenge, revenge—in the latter meaning usually with the additional word *kätte* (ill. of *käsi*): *kätte tasu-*; *tasa* (gsg) on the level of; even, equal; fi *tasalla* (adess.) on a level with, *tasa(-)* equal. *küll* indeed. || *tulge*, 2pl imper. of *tule-*. || *lühikese*, gsg of *lühikene* short; *lühi*, gsg *lühida* id., fi *lyhyt*. || *aja*, gsg of *aeg*. || *jõudis*, 3sg prt of *jõuda-*. || *üksildase*, gsg of *üksildane* lonely, solitary. || *ees* before, in front of, = fi *edessä*. || *enamasti* mostly; see *enam*. || *talupojad*, npl of *talupoeg*. || *neil*, adess. of *nad*. *neil olid* they had; cf. Finnish Grammar, § 182. || *kirved*, npl of *kirves* axe, = fi. || *vikatid*, npl of *vikat* scythe, = fi *viikate*. || *nuiad*, npl *nui* club, = fi *nuija*. || *mõned*, npl of *mõni* some, = fi *moni* many (a). || *roostetunud*, ptc prt act. of *roostetu-* rust, become rusty; *rooste* rost, = fi *ruoste*. || *vanad*, npl of *vana* old, = fi *vanha*. || *mõõgad*, npl of *mõõk* sword, = fi *miekka*. || *esivanemate*, gpl of *esivanem* ancestor; *esi-* fore, = fi; *vanem* parent: comp. of *vana*. || *sõdu*, part. pl. of *sõda* war, = fi *sota*. || *olid*, 3pl prt of *ole-*. || *sõjariistadeks*, transl. pl. of *-riist*. *sõja*, gsg of *sõda*. *riist* tool, instrument, fi *riista* provisions, goods, quarry. *sõjariist*, weapon, has been superseded by *relv*, created by Aavik. || *kõikide*, gpl of *kõik* all. || *nägudelt*, abl. pl. of *nägu* face. || *selgesti*, modal case of *selge* clear. || *lugeda*, inf. of *luge-*. || *himu*, (here:) partitive. || *neid*, part. of *need*. || *mitmesuguseid*, part. pl. of *-sugune* various, manifold. *mitme*, gsg of *mitu* many; how many; fi earlier *mittoman* (cf. fi *mikä* ~ *mi-*, est *mis*). *sugu* kind, sort. || *-riistu*, part. pl. of *-riist*. || *pea* soon, = fi *pian* (: gen. of *pika-* quick, fast). *nii pea kui* as soon as. || *võimalik* possible; *võim* strength, power, = fi *voima*; est *või-* be able, = fi *voi-*. || *tarvitada*, inf. of *tarvita-* use, employ; *tarvis* of need, necessary, = fi.

NOTE.—According to the computations of Mr. Aavik, three fourths (or a trifle less) of the basic word-stems that occur in this text would be understood by Finnish readers. Of the rest, one half would be misleading, and the other half (about $^1/_8$ of the whole stock) would be unintelligible.

Etymological list of fi words cited in the commentary

B = Baltic. G = Germanic. R = Russian. IE, U, and UA refer to FUV; after unmarked words, FU should be supplied.

ainoa G
akkuna R
ala U
alka-
alta: see *ala* U
armas G
arvo IE
aukko: see *avaa-*
ei: see *e-* U
enempi: see *enä-* U
esi-
että: see *e-* U
halli B
harja B
hän
heinä B
hyvä
ikä
ikkuna R
isä U
itse U
ja G
jalka
juokse-
kaikki B
kansi UA, No. 71
kanssa G
kasva-
katoa-: see *kato* U
kauan: see *kauka-*
kaukana: see *kauka-*
kauko-: see *kauka-*
käsi
kelta B
kerta B?
kirves B
koi
koke- U
kolme
kuin: see *kuka* U
kulta G
kussa: see *kuka* U
kuu U
kuurna
kypärä B
lähte-
liikku- U
luke- IE
luo-
luode G
maa U
mätäs U
me U
miekka G
mies
miete G?
mikä U
minä U
moni IE
muutta-: see *muu*
muuttu-: see *muu*
myötä
näkö: see *näke-*
näky: see *näke-*
näyttä-: see *näke-*
neljä
niin: see *nämä* U
nouta- U
odotta- U
ole-
otta-
pala-
pane- U
pää U
päästä-: see *pääse-*
pesä U
piiri U
pilvi U
pimeä U
pitä-
poika
poro U
poski U
puhu- U
puna: see hu *fan*
puoli: see *pieli* U
pyytä- U
rikas G
risti R
ruoste G
saa- U
saksalainen G
sama G
sata IE
se U
seiso-
silmä U
suoja
suunta: see *suu* U
suuri U
sydän U
syy U
taivas B
takaisin: see *taka-* U
tarvis G
tasa- U
täysi
teke-

terva B
torni G
tuhat B
tule- U
tuli U
tunti G
uusi
vai: see *vaati-*
vaimo: see lp *vuoi^{l}gŋâ* U
vajoa-
vapaa R
varjo G
väki
veri
viimeinen: see *viime*
yksi
yli: see *ylä-* U
yö

LAPPISH

GRAMMAR OF FINNMARK LAPPISH

PHONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

The normalized orthography

Letters: *a*, *â*, *b*, *c*, *č*, *ʒ*, *ǯ*, *d*, *đ*, *e*, *f*, *g*, (*g̱*), *h*, *i*, *í*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *o*, *ó*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *ŧ* (*þ*), *u*, *ú*, *v*, *w*, *æ*.

One must distinguish between 'etymologically short' vowels (*â*, *i*; *o* in the 1st syllable; *u*), which can always be pronounced short (or half-short) in lpN, and 'etym. long' vowels (*a*, *æ*, *e*, *í*; *o* in the 2nd syllable; *ó*, *ú*), which vary from the half-short (= a little longer than the short) and the over-long quantity, depending (in inverse ratio) on the quantity of the subsequent consonant (or consonant cluster) and the quantity of the vowel of the following syllable.

a: etym. long, open *a*, approximately like Italian *a*.

â: etym. short, comparatively high, slightly labialized.

b-, *-b-*: voiceless (or half-voiced) stop; *-b* = [*hp*]. *bb*: voiceless geminate. *b*ˈ*b*: voiced (more or less). *bm* = [*pm*]. *b*ˈ*m* = [*bm*].

c = [*ts*]. *cc* = [*hts*]. *c*ˈ*c* = [*htts*].

č = [*t'ś*]. *čč* = [*ht'ś*]. *č*ˈ*č* = [*ht't'ś*].

ʒ = [*ts*] (approximately). *ʒʒ* = [*tts*] (appr.). *ʒ*ˈ*ʒ* = [*dds*] (appr.).

ǯ = [*t'ś*] (appr.). *ǯǯ* = [*t't'ś*] (appr.). *ǯ*ˈ*ǯ* = [*d'd'ś*] (appr.).

(-)d-: between the vocalic sounds of the 2nd and the 3rd syllable = *đ*; in other positions, voiceless (or half-voiced) stop; *-d* = [*ht*]. *dd*: voiceless geminate. *d*ˈ*d*: voiced (more or less). *dnj* = [*t'ń*]. *d*ˈ*nj* = [*d'ń*].

đ: fricative *d* [*ð*].

e: in the 1st and the 3rd syllable, a low (open) *e*; else, a high [*e*], or [*i*].

g-, *-g-*: voiceless (or half-voiced) stop; *-g* = [*hk*]. *gg*: voiceless gemi-

nate. *g'g*: voiced (more or less). *ggj* = [*t't'*] (appr.). *g'gj* = [*d'd'*]. *gŋ* = [*kŋ*]. *g'ŋ* = [*gŋ*].

g: fricative *g* [*γ*]. This sound occurs only in intervocalic position, and in the southern dialects it does not occur at all. We shall therefore write *g* instead of *g*.

h, before a consonant means that the first half of the consonant (*j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*) is unvoiced.

ii = [*i*] + non-syllabic (high) [*i*].

j = non-syllabic *i* (appr.).

k-: aspirate; -*k*(-) after a vowel (glides included, as in *l'k*, *r'k*) or a diphthong = [*hk*], except in the position before a voiceless consonant; after a consonant = non-aspirate [*k*]; a voiced consonant (as in *lk*, *ŋk*, *ŋ'k*) before *k* becomes partly unvoiced. -*k*- before a voiceless consonant (as in *k't*) is aspirate.

In intervocalic position after the vowel of the 2nd (or the 4th) syllable, *k* is in most of the dialects pronounced either as [*h*] or as (non-aspirate) [*k*].

Initial *k*, *p*, *t* occur in recent loan-words and in a few genuine words. In the southern dialects they do not occur at all in this position.

lj = [*l'j*]. *l'j* = [*l*] + glide + *j*. *llj* = [*l'j*]. *l'llj* = [*l'l'j*]. (*j* in this connexion means non-syllabic *i*.)

nj = palatalized *n*.

ŋ = English *ng* in *sing*.

o, in the 1st syllable = [*o*] (etym. short); in the 2nd syllable = [*u*] (etym. long). *ó* = [*o*] (etym. long).

p-: aspirate; -*p*(-) after a vowel or a diphthong = [*hp*], after a consonant: non-aspirate [*p*]; a voiced consonant before *p* becomes partly unvoiced. *pp* = [*hp*]; *p'p* = [*hpp*].

In some of the dialects, -*p* after a vowel is pronounced [*ht*] or [*hk*].

r is usually a strongly trilled tongue-tip tremulant.

š: like English *sh* in *she*.

t-: aspirate; -*t* = [*ht*]; -*t*- after a glide vowel (as in *r't*) = [*ht*], before a consonant (only in the southern dialects): aspirate, in other positions: non-aspirate.

In intervocalic position after the vowel of the 2nd (or the 4th) syllable, *t* is pronounced *h* in most of the dialects.

tt = [*ht*]; *tˈt* = [*htt*].

In some dialects, *-t* is pronounced [*hk*].

ŧ (in this book, *þ* is used instead): like English *th* in *think*.

v, before a voiceless consonant (as in *vt*): [*w*] (or non-syllabic *u*) + voiceless *w*; in other positions: [*v*].

æ can always be pronounced as an intermediary between *a* in *man* and *e* in *men*.

The system of speech sounds

VOWELS

In the second syllable there are three etymologically short vowels: *â*, *u*, *i*, and three etym. long vowels: *a*, *ú*, *í*. The etym. long vowels are normally half-short, half-long or long (depending on the prosody of the preceding sounds); the etym. short vowels are short or half-short in those dialects that have a conservative pattern of quantity. There is no *qualitative* difference between *i* and *í*; but the quality depends on the actual quantity of the vowel: the shorter, the lower (more open). (But *ii* is pronounced *i* + a narrow non-syllabic *i*, or *j*.)

NOTE.—In Nielsen's orthography, *í* is written *e* (*ĕ*, *ë*); thus, for instance, *i* in *gumˈpi*, 'wolf', is pronounced *e*, whereas *e* in *males*, 'chief meal', is pronounced *i*.

ú (written: *o*) is an intermediary between [*u*] and a closed [*o*]; but when it is pronounced short, it has the quality [*u*].

a and *â* are different in quality: see above.

In the first syllable, there are four etymologically short vowels, namely, *â*, *u*, *o*, *i*, and five etym. long units, namely, *a*, *uo* ~ *ú*, *oa* ~ *ó*, *æ* ~ *e*, and *ie* ~ *í*. The variants *ú*, *ó*, *e*, *í* occur (in genuine Lappish words) when the second syllable has *u* or *i*. There are paradigmatic alternations in the first syllable, caused by vowel mutation (umlaut), e.g. *boahtíht* 'to come' (Nielsen *boattet*, Lule *boahtet*) ~ *bóhtim* 'I came' (Nielsen *bǭttim*, Lule *bóhtiv*).

NOTE.—*æ* is to some extent pronounced as a diphthong [*eä*].

Diphthongs ending in non-syllabic *i* or *u* are frequent in Lappish. (Non-syllabic *u* occurs only in the first syllable.) The diphthongs with rising sonority, *uo*, *oa* and *ie*, form triphthongs together with non-syllabic *i* and *u*.

CONSONANTS

The consonants of lpN may be accounted for in the following way:

	Bilabiales		Labiodentales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales		Glottales	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Explosivae . . .	*b*	*p*			*d*	*t*							*g*	*k*		
Fric. blaesiformes		(*W*)	*v*	*f*	*đ*	*þ*					*j*	(*J*)	[*γ*]			*h*
Fric. sibilantes. .						*s*		*š*								
Affricatae					*ʒ*	*c*	[*ǯ*]	[*č*]	*ǯ*	*ć*						
Tremulantes. . .							*r*	(*R*)								
Cryptofricativae .					*l*	(*L*)										
Nasales	*m*	(*M*)			*n*	(*N*)			*ń*	(*Ń*)			*ŋ*	(*Ŋ*)		

Insofar as the stops (explosivae) and the affricates are concerned, 1 means 'lenis (media)', and 2 means 'fortis (tenuis)'; otherwise, 1 means 'voiced' and 2 means 'unvoiced'. The *fortes* are always unvoiced; the *lenes* may be voiced, half-voiced or unvoiced. The *lenes* are never preceded by *h* (unvoiced vowel); the *fortes* are preceded by *h* when they are long, and in most dialects they never occur between voiced vowels.

We have put in brackets such consonants as may be regarded as phonetic variants (allophones). *W* is = unvoiced non-syllabic *u*, *J* is = unvoiced non-syllabic *i*.

In square brackets we have put regional variants. *ǯ* and *č* are variants of *ʒ* and *ć* respectively, *γ* is a variant of short *g* in intervocalic position.

The glottal fricative *h* seems to occur only before vowels; but the so-called voiceless vowel in the position before a tenuis may be regarded as the same speech unit as *h* (compare, though, what has been said above of *W* and *J*).

GRADATION

Gradation (see Finnish Grammar, § 5) occurs in all the Lappish dialects except in the southernmost, spoken to the South of the Ume river. It is chiefly quantitative, and it comprises almost all the consonants and consonant clusters (total number: about 150, belonging to about fifty classes of gradation). For the details, see the author's 'The Lappish Dialect of Jukkasjärvi'. Here, we restrict ourselves to citing a few examples: *dille* 'condition' ~ genitive singular *dile*, *varre* 'mountain' ~ gsg *vare*, *njunne* 'nose' ~ gsg *njune*, *sivvâ* 'reason, cause' ~ gsg *sivâ*; *sabme* 'Lapp' ~ gsg *same*; *lad'de* 'non-Lapp' ~ gsg *ladde* (*d'd* is pronounced *dd*, whereas *dd* is pronounced *tt*); *loppe* 'permission' ~ gsg *lobe* (*pp* = *hp*, *b* = *p*); *lâs'tâ* (with long *s*) 'leaf' ~ gsg *lâstâ* (with short *s*); *sæi'dne* (with long non-syllabic *i*) 'wall' ~ gsg *sæine*; *fier'bme* (*r* + glide vowel + *b*) '(fishing-)net' ~ gsg *fierbme* (*b* = *p*); *il'bme* (glide) 'air' ~ gsg *ilme*; *ok'tâ* (aspirate *k*) 'one' ~ gsg *ovtâ* (*v* = *w* + voiceless *w*).

An *extra-strong* grade occurs in words in which vowel contraction has taken place, e.g. *lok'ke* 1) 'reader', 2) 'reading, legens' (= fi *lukija* 'reader'; see § 110), *súk'kis*, attributive form (see §§ 27, 30) of *suokkâd* 'thick'.

STRESS

The main stress of a non-compound word is on the first syllable.

In tetrasyllabic words, there is usually a secondary stress on the third syllable; words of more than four syllables may have more than one secondary stress.

There is a rhythmical tendency to stress a syllable of odd number more strongly than a syllable of even number.

There is a tendency to stress a long (closed) syllable more strongly than a short (open) one.

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

THE NORMAL ENDINGS OF CASE AND NUMBER

§ 1. The ordinary cases are: nominative, genitive, accusative, inessive-elative, illative, comitative, essive and abessive.

The essive has no plural form.

The abessive is not much used.

§ 2. The nominative has no case ending, except in the demonstrative pronouns, which have the ending *-t*.

If the word stem is disyllabic, the nominative is identical (or almost identical) with the stem (in the strong grade), e.g. *nâmmâ* 'name'. Yet, a few *e*-stems have a short vowel (*-ĕ*) in the nominative singular, e.g. *guokˈtĕ* 'two'.

The nominative singular of trisyllabic stems is disyllabic, e.g. *bænâ* (gen. *bædnâgâ*) 'dog'.

The nominative singular of tetrasyllabic stems in *-â* is trisyllabic, e.g. *gonâgâs* (gen. *gonâgâsâ*) 'king'.

§ 3. The cardinal numbers for 7, 8, 9, 10 have no nominative singular (except in compounds), but the genitive-accusative is used instead.

§ 4. The genitive and accusative singular have the ending *-n* in the relative and interrogative pronouns *gi* 'who' (gen.-acc. *gæn*) and *mi* 'which, what' (gen.-acc. *mân*), and the ending *-m* in the demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *dât* 'that' (gen.-acc. *dâm*). Nouns assume no ending; the genitive-accusative singular of trisyllabic stems is identical with the word stem, e.g. *bædnâgâ* (nom. *bænâ*) 'dog', whereas the gen.-acc. of disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems is = the weak grade of the word stem, e.g. *nâmâ* (nom. *nâmmâ*) 'name', *gonâgâsâ* (nom. *gonâgâs*).

For the genitive of verb stems, see § 104.

§ 5. The genitive can be distinguished as a case of its own in so far as the cardinal numbers for 2–6 have a genitive, but no accusative singular, the nominative being used instead. Cf. § 26.

§ 6. In the English expression *two tents*, *tents* is regarded as

principal word and *two* as attribute (qualifier), but in the expression *a gross of collars* the numeral functions as principal word. In Lappish, the equivalent of the English principal word is put in the genitive singular after the cardinal number, e.g. *mi ferˈtip dâkkât guokˈtĕ goađe* 'we must pitch two tents': see § 26.

§ 7. The inessive-elative has originated by confusion of two cases. In the singular, the original elative is used, with the ending *-s(t)*, and the original inessive is used in the plural, with the ending *-n*.

§ 8. In the illative singular, monosyllabic stems assume the ending *-sâ*. The stem vowel remains unaltered. The singular personal pronouns have the ending *-dnji* (first person *-nnji*).

Disyllabic and polysyllabic stems assume the ending *-sâ-* ~ *-si-* ~ *-sæ-* if a possessive suffix is added; otherwise *-i*. Before both endings, *a* appears instead of *e*, and *u* instead of *o*; before *i*, *i* appears instead of *â*.

§ 9. The comitative has the ending *-inâ* after monosyllabic stems, *-in* after other stems. Before a possessive suffix, the ending is *-inâ-* ~ *-ini-* ~ *-inæ-* after disyllabic stems, and *-ina-* ~ *-ine-* after trisyllabic stems.

Before the ending, *i* appears instead of *e*, e.g. *gódiin* (nsg *goatte* 'tent'). Trisyllabic stems have *i* before the ending, e.g. *gabmâsiin* (nsg *gamâs* 'skin on or off one of the legs of an animal, especially a reindeer').

§ 10. The essive ending is *-n* after disyllabic stems, with the same grade as in the nominative singular, i.e., as a rule, the strong grade. Disyllabic stems with vowel alternation in the second syllable have the same vowel in the essive as in the nominative singular, e.g. *suolo*, gsg *súlˈlu*, ess. *suolon*, 'island'.

Trisyllabic stems have *i* before the ending, and the same grade as in the nominative singular, e.g. *gamâsin* (see under Comitative). As a rule the essive is = the nominative singular + *-in*. But if the nsg of a trisyllabic stem (is disyllabic and) ends in a vowel, then the essive is = nsg + *-n*; e.g. *bænâ*, gsg *bædnâgâ*, ess. *bænân*, 'dog', and *vuone*, gsg *vuodnamâ*, ess. *vuonen*, 'mother-in-law'.

Monosyllabic stems have the ending *-nen*, e.g. *dat*, gsg *dam*, ess. *danen*, 'this'.

Before a possessive suffix, the essive ending assumes the same vowels as the comitative ending.

§ 11. The abessive has after disyllabic (and tetrasyllabic) stems the ending *-tâgâ*, with the same grade as in the genitive, e.g. *dolâtâgâ* 'without fire'. Disyllabic stems with vowel alternation in the second syllable have the same vowel as in the genitive.

Trisyllabic stems as a rule have the same ending, but added to a disyllabic stem form without the final vowel, e.g. *gabmâstâgâ* (nsg *gamâs*, gsg *gabmâsâ*) 'without a leg-skin'. Trisyllabic stems may however also form the abessive singular with the ending *-tʲta*, added to a stem of the same form as the genitive singular, e.g. *gabmâsâtʲta*.

For the abessive of verb stems, see § 105.

§ 12. Like Finnish, Lappish has no plural ending common to all cases. It has one ending of complex function, denoting nominative plural, and a plural character common to all other plural cases.

§ 13. The nominative plural has the ending *-k*.

§ 14. The oblique plural characteristic is *i* (non-syllabic). Trisyllabic stems have *i* before the plural characteristic.

§ 15. The genitive plural has no case ending, but consists simply of the stem with the plural characteristic. Before possessive suffixes, both npl and gpl coincide with the acc. pl. Cf. the Paradigms.

§ 16. The case ending of the accusative plural is *-d*.

§ 17. The case ending of the inessive-elative plural is *-n*, after monosyllabic stems also *-nâ*.

§ 18. The case ending of the illative plural is *-di* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, and *-dâ* after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems. Before possessive suffixes, it has the form *-dâs-* + vowel.

§ 19. The case ending of the comitative plural is *-guim*. Historically, *-guim* is a postposition (cf. *guoiʲbme* 'fellow'), added to the gpl. In the southern dialects of lpN, *-guim* is often omitted.

REMARKS ON THE USE OF NUMBER AND CASE

§ 20. The personal and possessive pronouns have three numbers; singular, plural, and dual—these numbers being expressed rather by different stems than by different endings, e.g. *mon* 'I', *mí* 'we', *moai* 'we (two)'.

NOTE.—The plural (dual) form of the possessive pronoun indicates that there are several (two) owners, whereas the plurality of objects possessed is expressed by the plural ending added to the noun stem; for instance, *oabˈbasâm* 'to my sister (sorori meae)', *oabˈbasæměk* 'to our sister', *oabbaidâsâm* 'to my sisters (sororibus meis)', *oabbaidâsâmek* 'to our sisters'.

§ 21. The possessive pronouns do not distinguish case.

§ 22. In other non-verbs than the personal and possessive pronouns, there is no trace of the dual.

§ 23. Some nouns (*pluralia tantum*) have no case distinctions in the singular, and the plural forms stand indifferently for one or more objects. These nouns have only one singular form, namely the nominative, and this form appears only as the first member of compound words; for instance, *hæjâk* 'wedding' (Finnish *häät*), *hæggjâ-vækkâ* 'the wedding-party' (Finnish *hääväki*).

§ 24. The cardinal numbers have no plural forms, except when they denote an indefinite number of tens or of multiples of ten, and when they determine a plurale tantum, for instance *guovtek hæjâk* 'two weddings'.

§ 25. There is not complete agreement of number and case between an attribute and its noun. Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, cardinal numbers, the adjective *buorre* 'good', and—when used together with *buorre—bâha* 'bad', show incomplete agreement (gsg instead of ill., in.-el. sing.). All other attributes invariably appear in the nominative singular.

§ 26. Cardinal numbers function as attributes only when the syntax requires another case than nominative or accusative, for instance *golmâin bardniin* 'with three sons (or boys)'. When the syntax requires the nominative or accusative, the word *âkˈtâ*, *okˈtâ*, 'one', is the only cardinal number to be used attributively, for instance *âkˈtâ manna* 'one child', accusative *ovtâ mana*. Of the other non-compound cardinals *čiežâ* 7, *gavce* 8, *ovce* 9, *loge* 10, and *čuođe* 100 appear in the accusative form instead of the nominative, while in *guokˈtě* 2, *golˈbmâ* 3, *njælˈljě* 4, *vitˈtâ* 5, *gutˈtâ* 6 the nominative form is substituted for the accusative. (Note: *âkˈtâ čuotte*, acc. *ovtâ čuođe*, 'one hundred'.)

When the syntax requires the nominative or the accusative, the word that stands for the things counted is put in the genitive singular after the cardinal number (denoting more than one); for instance: *jâ dâk biggjik njæl'ljě, vit'tâ ol'bmu ælo miel'dě luk'sâ* 'and they send four or five men with the herd southward'.

This paragraph does not apply to combinations of a cardinal number and a plurale tantum: see § 24.

ADJECTIVES

Predicative and attributive forms

§ 27. Most of the disyllabic adjective stems and many of the trisyllabic have a special *attributive* form, used when the adjective functions as attribute. The form which is used when the adjective functions as complement of the predicate verb, is called the *predicative* form.

If the pred. form ends in a vowel (in nsg), the attr. form has, as a rule, an additional *-s*, e.g. *dât læ haw'ske* 'that is nice, amusing' ~ *hawskes olmai* 'a nice fellow'.

§ 28. Present participles (see § 110) have no deviating attr. form, except when they denote a propensity: *juk'ke olmai* 'a drinking man' (*jukkâ-* 'to drink'), but *juk'kes olmai* 'a drunkard'.

§ 29. A few frequently used adjectives that end in *-âs* (in the nsg of the pred. form), drop the *-s* in the attr. form; e.g. *lieggâs* 'warm', attr. *lieg'gâ*; *čielgâs* 'clear', attr. *čiel'gâ*.

§ 30. Most adjectives in *-âd* have an attr. form in *-is* (with the extra-strong degree), e.g. *suokkâd* 'thick', attr. *súk'kis*.

NOTE.—*âllâg* 'high', attr. *âllâ*.

Comparison

§ 31. The comparative has the ending *-b* ~ *-bu-* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, and *-b* (or *-b'bo*) ~ *-b'bo-* ~ *-bbo-* after trisyllabic (and pentasyllabic) stems. Before *-bu-*, the stem appears in the weak grade. E.g. *nuorâb* 'younger' (*nuorrâ* 'young'), *vuorrâseb, vuorrâsæb'bo* 'older' (*vuorâs* 'old').

NOTE.—In Lappish all geminates have been shortened after the vowel of the second (and the fourth) syllable.

§ 32. The superlative has the ending *-mus* ~ *-mussâ-* ~ *-musâ-* (after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems) or *-mos* ~ *-bmusâ-*. Before *-mus*, the stem appears in the weak grade. E.g. *nuorâmus* 'youngest', *vuorrâsæmos* 'oldest', npl *vuorrâsebmusâk*.

§ 33. There are two groups of comparatives and superlatives to which there is no adequate counterpart in the positive grade. In the first group, the positive is a case form of a defective stem with a local function (or a stem that appears in the nominative only as the first part of compounds), e.g. *dabbemus* 'nearest (to this place'; *dabbĕ* 'here, in this place'). In the second group, the comparative means 'nearer to', or 'more rich in' that which is indicated by the basic noun, e.g. *sæineb* 'nearer to the wall' (*sæi'dne*), *vaiveb* 'more toilsome' (*vai'ive* 'toil').

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

§ 34. The so-called possessive suffixes are enclitic possessive pronouns. There are nine of them, namely, three (first, second, and third person) for each number. These enclitic pronouns are uninflected, whereas the substantives to which they are added are inflected in number and case. (The abessive does not assume possessive suffixes.)

§ 35. The possessive suffixes are the following:

1 pers. sing. *-m*.

2 pers. sing. *-d*.

3 pers. sing. *-s*.

1 pers. dual *-me* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic forms, *-mĕ* after trisyllabic forms.

2 pers. dual *-de* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic forms, *-dĕ* after trisyllabic forms.

3 pers. dual *-skâ* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic forms, *-ska* or *-skă* after trisyllabic forms.

1 pers. plur. *-mek* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic forms, *-mĕk* after trisyllabic forms.

2 pers. plur. *-dek* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic forms, *-ddĕk* after trisyllabic forms.

3 pers. plur. *-sek* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic forms, *-sĕk* after trisyllabic forms.

NOTE.—Historically, *-me*, *-de*, *-skâ* (which have lost a final **-n*) are ndu of *-m*, *-d*, *-s*, just as *-mek*, *-dek*, *-sek*, are npl.

§ 36. The possessive suffix does not involve the weak grade, although it makes the second syllable closed; for instance, *oabˈbam*, 'my sister', *oabˈbad*, 'your (thy) sister (soror tua)'.

§ 37. Before the possessive suffixes of the 1 and 2 persons, *e*-stems have the vowel *a* and *o*-stems the vowel *u*, e.g. *barˈdnam* 'my son', *barˈdnad* 'thy son', but *barˈdnes* 'his son'.

§ 38. Some cases have retained a fuller form before the possessive suffixes, which has already been alluded to.

§ 39. The comitative plural consists of the genitive plural with addition of the comitative ending *-guim*, e.g. *oabbaidâmguim* 'with my sisters'.

§ 40. Nominatives assume possessive suffixes only if they designate a near relation (father, mother, brother, sister, and the like) or are used as vocatives, for instance *bædnâgâm* '(ho,) my dog!' Otherwise the possessive suffixes are reflexive possessive pronouns, and if the possessor is another person than the subject of the sentence, the English possessive pronoun should be rendered in Lappish by the genitive of the personal pronoun.

PARADIGMS

Substantives and dem. pronouns

Nom.	*oabˈba* 'sister'	*sabme*	*muorrâ* 'tree'
Gen.-acc.	*oabba*	*same*	*muorâ*
In.-el.	*oabbas(t)*	*sames(t)*	*muorâs(t)*
Ill.	*oabˈbai*	*sabmai*	*múrrii*
Com.	*oabbain*	*samiin*	*muorâin*
Ess.	*oabˈban*	*sabmen*	*muorrân*
Nom.	*oabbak*	*samek*	*muorâk*
Gen.	*oabbai*	*samii*	*muorâi*

Acc.	*oabbaid*	*samiid*	*muorâid*
In.-el.	*oabbain*	*samiin*	*muorâin*
Ill.	*oabbaidi*	*samiidi*	*muorâidi*
Com.	*oabbaiguim*	*samiiguim*	*muorâiguim*

Nom.	*bâr|go* 'work'	*sabmĕlâš*	*mui|tâlæg|gje* 'teller'
Gen.-acc.	*bârgo*	*sabmĕlâžžâ*	*mui|tâlæg|gje*
In.-el.	*bârgos(t)*	*sabmĕlâžžâs(t)*	*mui|tâlæg|gjes(t)*
Ill.	*bâr|gui*	*sabmĕlâž|žii*	*mui|tâlæg|gjai*
Com.	*bârgoin*	*sabmĕlâžžâin*	*mui|tâleg|gjiin*
Ess.	*bâr|gon*	*sabmĕlâž|žân*	*mui|tâlæg|gjen*

Nom.	*bârgok*	*sabmĕlâžžâk*	*mui|tâlæg|gjek*
Gen.	*bârgoi*	*sabmĕlâžžâi*	*mui|tâleg|gjii*
Acc.	*bârgoid*	*sabmĕlâžžâid*	*mui|tâleg|gjiid*
In.-el.	*bârgoin*	*sabmĕlâžžâin*	*mui|tâleg|gjiin*
Ill.	*bârgoidi*	*sabmĕlâžžâidi*	*mui|tâleg|gjiidi*
Com.	*bârgoiguim*	*sabmĕlâžžâiguim*	*mui|tâleg|gjiiguim*

Nom.	*gammer* 'small room'	*jurdâ* 'thought'	*dât* 'that'
Gen.-acc.	*gammer(â)*	*jur|dâg(â)*	*dâm*
In.-el.	*gammeris(t)*	*jur|dâgis(t)*	*dâs(t)*
Ill.	*gammerii*	*jur|dâgii*	*dâsâ*
Com.	*gammeriin*	*jur|dâgiin*	*dâinâ*
Ess.	*gammerin*	*jur|dâgin*	*dânen*

Nom.	*gammerâk*	*jur|dâgâk*	*dâk*
Gen.	*gammerii*	*jur|dâgii*	*dâi*
Acc.	*gammeriid*	*jur|dâgiid*	*dâid*
In.-el.	*gammeriin*	*jur|dâgiin*	*dâinâ*
Ill.	*gammeriidâ*	*jur|dâgiidâ*	*dâidâ*
Com.	*gammeriiguim*	*jur|dâgiiguim*	*dâi-guim*

Personal pronouns

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
Nom.	*son* 'he, she'	*soai*	*sí*
Gen.-acc.	*sú*	*sud|nu*	*sín*
In.-el.	*súst(t)*	*sud|nus(t)*	*sís(t)*
Ill.	*sudnji*	*sud|nuidi*	*siggjiidi*
Com.	*suinâ*	*sud|nuin*	*sín-guim*
Ess.	*súnen*		

Px

One owner

One possession

Nom.	*barˈdnam*	*barˈdnad*	*barˈdnes*
Gen.-acc.	*barˈdnam*	*bardnad*	*bardnes*
In.-el.	*bardnestâm*	*bardnestâd*	*bardnestis*
Ill.	*barˈdnasâm*	*barˈdnasâd*	*barˈdnasis*
Com.	*bardniinâm*	*bardniinâd*	*bardniinis*

More than one possession

Nom., Gen.-acc.	*bardniidâm*	*bardniidâd*	*bardniidis*
In.-el.	*bardniinâm*	*bardniinâd*	*bardniinis*
Ill.	*bardniidâsâm*	*bardniidâsâd*	*bardniidâsâs*
Com.	*bardniidâm-guim*	*bardniidâdguim*	*bardniidisguim*

Two owners

One possession

Nom.	*barˈdname*	*barˈdnade*	*barˈdneskâ*
Gen.-acc.	*barˈdname*	*bardnade*	*bardneskâ*
In.-el.	*bardnestæmĕ*	*bardnestæddĕ*	*bardnestæska*
Ill.	*barˈdnasæmĕ*	*barˈdnasæddĕ*	*barˈdnasæska*
Com.	*bardniinæmĕ*	*bardniinæddĕ*	*bardniinæska*

More than one possession

Nom., Gen.-acc.	*bardniidæmĕ*	*bardniidæddĕ*	*bardniidæska*
In.-el.	*bardniinæmĕ*	*bardniinæddĕ*	*bardniinæska*
Ill.	*bardniidâsâme*	*bardniidâsâde*	*bardniidâsâskâ*
Com.	*bardniidæměguim*	*bardniidæddĕguim*	*bardniidæskaguim*

More than two owners

One possession

Nom.	*barˈdnamek*	*barˈdnadek*	*barˈdnesek*
Gen.-acc.	*barˈdnamek*	*bardnadek*	*bardnesek*
In.-el.	*bardnestæměk*	*bardnestæddĕk*	*bardnestæsĕk*
Ill.	*barˈdnasæměk*	*barˈdnasæddĕk*	*barˈdnasæsĕk*
Com.	*bardniinæměk*	*bardniinæddĕk*	*bardniinæsĕk*

More than one possession

Nom., Gen.-acc.	*bardniidæměk*	*bardniidædděk*	*bardniidæsěk*
In.-el.	*bardniinæměk*	*bardniinædděk*	*bardniinæsěk*
Ill.	*bardniidâsâmek*	*bardniidâsâdek*	*bardniidâsâsek*
Com.	*bardniidæměkguim*	*bardniidædděkguim*	*bardniidæsěkguim*

Reflexive pronouns

Singular

Nom.	*mon jieš*	*don jieš*	*son jieš*
Gen.-acc.	*jieččâm*	*jiežâd*	*jiežâs*
In.-el.	*âldam*	*âldad*	*âldes*
Ill.	*âlcisâm*	*âlcisâd*	*âlcisis*
Com.	*jiežâinâm*	*jiežâinâd*	*jiežâinis*
Ess.	*jieččânâm*	*jieččânâd*	*jieččânis*

Dual

Nom.	*moai jiežâ*	*doai jiežâ*	*soai jiežâ*
Gen.-acc.	*jieččâme*	*jiežâde*	*jiežâskâ*
In.-el.	*âldame*	*âldade*	*âldeskâ*
Ill.	*âlcisæmě*	*âlcisæddě*	*âlcisæska*
Com.	*jiežâinæmě*	*jiežâinæddě*	*jiežâinæska*
Ess.	*jieččânæmě*	*jieččânæddě*	*jieččânæska*

Plural

Nom.	*mí jiežâ*	*dí jiežâ*	*sí jiežâ*
Gen.-acc.	*jieččâmek*	*jiežâdek*	*jiežâsek*
In.-el.	*âldamek*	*âldadek*	*âldesek*
Ill.	*âlcisæměk*	*âlcisædděk*	*âlcisæsěk*
Com.	*jiežâinæměk*	*jiežâinædděk*	*jiežâinæsěk*
Ess.	*jieččânæměk*	*jieččânædděk*	*jieččânæsěk*

Conjugation

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

§ 41. The stem of a verb may be defined as the (sound or) sound-sequence that precedes the personal ending *-p* of the 1pl prs indicative; e.g. *lokkâ-* 'read', *boatte-* 'come', *goarro-* 'sew'; *bâl'la-*

'get frightened', *lig'gi-* 'heat' (trans.), *dul'ku-* 'interpret'; *malestæ-* 'cook' (trans.); *læ-* 'be', *æ-* '(do) not'.

§ 42. The verbs in *a*, *i*, *u* are *verba contracta*: they have a trisyllabic stem variant in certain forms; e.g. 3pl prt *bâl'lajeggji*, *lig'gijeggji*, *dul'kujeggji* (cf. *malesteggji*, of the trisyllabic stem *malestæ-*).

§ 43. Before the endings of 1,2 sg prs ind., stems in *e* have *a*, and trisyllabic stems (not including the *contracta*) have *â*.

§ 44. Before the suffix of the past participle, *e*-stems have *a*, *o*- stems have *u*, and trisyllabic stems have *â*; e.g. *boattam*, *górrum*, *malestâm* (cf. § 108).

§ 45. Before the characteristic of the potential mood, *e*-stems have *i*, and *o*- stems have *u*.

§ 46. Before the characteristic of the conditional mood, *e*-stems have *a*, *o*-stems have *u*, and trisyllabic stems and *læ-* have *i*.

§ 47. The potential bases of disyllabic stems (including the *contracta*) function like trisyllabic verb stems as far as the vowel before the personal ending is concerned. The potential bases of trisyllabic stems function like (tetrasyllabic) *â*-stems, but the 3sg can be trisyllabic; e.g. 3sg *logâžâ* or *logâš*, *malestæž'ža* or *malestæš*.

§ 48. The conditional bases of disyllabic stems function like trisyllabic verb stems. The conditional bases of trisyllabic stems function like *e*-stems; the cond. base of *læ-* has *u* or *i*. E.g. 3sg *logâčii*, *malestivčii*; *livčui* or *livčii*.

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristics of tense, moods, voices, aspects, and modes of action

Tense

§ 49. There are two simple (non-periphrastic) tenses, namely present and (imperfect) preterite.

The functions of these two tenses are broadly speaking those indicated by their names; but the present tense usually denotes the

future, if the verb is thought of as leading to a termination or a result.

§ 50. The present tense has no characteristic of its own. In other words, there is no special present base, but the personal endings are added directly to the verb stem.

§ 51. The preterite tense (imperfect) has in all forms except the first and second persons singular and the third person plural a non-syllabic *i* as its characteristic. Before this characteristic, trisyllabic stems have the vowel *i* in the third person singular, but *e* or *æ* in the other persons.

§ 52. The third person singular of the preterite tense has no personal ending, e.g. *logâi* '(he) read'.

§ 53. Apart from the *o*-stems, the first and second persons singular and the third person plural have a syllabic *i* as preterite characteristic. Before this characteristic, *â* and *e* have disappeared; after *a*, *i* and *u* there appears a *j* before the preterite characteristic, and instead of the stem *læ-*, 'to be', we have *leggj-*.

The *o*-stems have no preterite characteristic in these forms, except that *u* appears instead of *o*.

§ 54. The third person plural of the preterite tense has no personal ending, e.g. *lokki* 'they did read'.

§ 55. The above mentioned preterite characteristic of the first and second persons singular and the third person plural always implies the strong grade, e.g. *bóttim* 'I came', *górrum* 'I sewed'.

Moods

§ 56. There are four moods: indicative, potential, conditional, and imperative.

INDICATIVE

§ 57. The indicative mood has no mood characteristic; as we have seen, the personal endings are added to the verb stem (in the present tense) or to the preterite base (in the preterite tense).

POTENTIAL

§ 58. The potential mood, which expresses that what is said in the sentence is only supposed or likely to be true, not stated as

a fact, has the characteristic -ǯ- after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, -ǯˈǯ- ~ -ǯǯ- after trisyllabic stems and the monosyllabic stem *læ-* 'to be'.

CONDITIONAL

§ 59. The conditional or hypothetic mood, which occurs in subordinate clauses as well as in head clauses, has the characteristic *-š-* (or *-l-*) after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, *-vč-* after trisyllabic stems and the monosyllabic stem *læ-* 'to be'. This mood characteristic is followed by the characteristic of the preterite tense, described above. The verb *læ-* has the conditional base *livču-* or *livči-*.

IMPERATIVE

§ 60. The imperative mood has no mood characteristic common to all the persons and numbers, and the various forms are accounted for under the head of personal endings. But the following distinctive features may be pointed out:

The second person singular has no ending at all. It is nothing more than the weak grade of the verb stem, e.g. *logâ* 'read!' (stem: *lokkâ-*). Trisyllabic stems have lost their final vowel, e.g. *čuoǯǯât* (infinitive *čuoǯǯâtit* 'rise, get up').

The vowel *u* is common to the third person singular, plural and dual and the first person singular and plural. As to their function, these forms are rather hortative or concessive than strictly imperative. Examples: *lokkup* 'let us read, legamus', *bóttus* '(he) shall come, (utinam) veniat', *muiˈtâlekkuskâ* 'they (two) shall tell', *ligˈgijekkup* 'let us warm (it) up' (cf. § 98).

Voices

§ 61. Like Vogul and Ostyak, Lappish has a fully developed passive, that can be combined in all the finite forms with an agent. The imperative, though, occurs only in the third person.

In lpN, the passive has the characteristic *uvvu* (after trisyllabic stems, with loss of the final vowel of the stem) or *juvvu* (after all the other transitive stems). Before *juvvu*, all the stems have *u* (with loss of the final vowel of the stem), except the stems in *a* and *i*. E.g., 3sg prs *lokˈkujuvvu* (*lokkâ-* 'read'), *čalˈlujuvvu* (*čalle-*

'write'), *gór'rujuvvu* (*goarro-* 'sew'), *sâhajuvvu* (*sâha-* 'saw'), *lig'gijuvvu* (*lig'gi-* 'warm up' [trans.]), *dul'kujuvvu* (*dul'ku-* 'interpret'); *malestuvvu* (*malestæ-* 'cook').

NOTE.—As will appear from the examples, disyllabic stems have the extra-strong grade before this suffix (*h* is not subject to gradation).

§ 62. The agent is put in the elative, e.g. *miesse bor'rujuvvui gumpist* 'the reindeer fawn was devoured (eaten) by the wolf (the wolves)'.

§ 63. Disyllabic stems can have *u* (with loss of the final vowel of the stem; conjugated exactly like *dul'ku-*) instead of *juvvu*, e.g. 3sg prs *lok'ku*; and even the other verbs can have a shorter form of the participle, e.g. *dul'kujum* = *dul'kujuvvum*, *malestum* = *malestuvvum*.

§ 64. Some derivatives in *-u-* have a *medio-passive* function: 'undergo (on one's own initiative, or else without any agent being actually implied) the change, or be the object, or be such as to be the object, of the activity indicated by the corresponding transitive verb'; e.g. *čóg'gu-* 'collect, assemble, meet (intr.); unite (of rivers); be formed by the joining of several small rivers or streams (of a river)' (*čoag'ge-* 'collect, gather' [trans.]); *gaw'dnu-* 'be found; be able to be found; exist' (*gaw'dnâ-* 'find'); *mai'stu-* 'taste' (intr.; with the designation of the taste or the thing it tastes like in the essive; *mai'ste-* 'taste' [trans.]); *ded'du-* 'have a nightmare' (*dæd'de-* 'press'); *dóg'gju-* 'get broken, break (intr.); go through, sink into, get stuck in ice etc.' (*doaggje-* 'break, crack' [trans.]); *vút'tu-* 'be able to be tracked (having left tracks)' (*vuot'te-* 'find tracks of, trace').

§ 65. Some verbs in *-u-* are derived from intransitive verbs. Such verbs may imply that the happening indicated by the basic verb is injurious or harmful, or that the subject of the clause experiences to his own detriment that something else undergoes the change indicated by the basic verb; e.g., *čâlmek sud'duji* '(somebody) was attacked by snow-blindness' (*sud'dâ-* 'melt' [intr.]); *cók'ku-* 'get left high and dry (or get aground) through the water receding' (*coakko-* 'fall [of the level of the water], get shallower').

§ 66. The suffix *-tâllâ-* (not combined with trisyllabic stems, *a*-stems or *u*-stems) forms passive verbs with the semantic nuance 'come in for' (the action of the basic verb); e.g. *jovsâtâllâ-* 'be overtaken, get caught' (*jok'sâ-* 'overtake'); *govsatâllâ-* 'get no or less or too little food because somebody else eats too much' (*gok'se-* 'eat so much that somebody else [the object] gets too little or nothing'). The agent is put in the illative, e.g. *borâtâlâi bædnâgii* 'he was bitten by a dog'.

NOTE.—The suffixes *-u-* and *-tâllâ-* may be combined, e.g. *bót'tu-tâllâ-* (Lule *bót'tu-*) 'be surprised by someone coming, be caught red-handed, be in the (unfortunate) position that one's stolen goods are found' (*boatte-* 'come').

§ 67. The suffix *-s-* (with *a* or *u* instead of *e*, and *u* or *â* instead of *o*, before the suffix) forms verbs denoting that the subject undergoes the change or assumes the state indicated by the basic verb; e.g. *arrusæ-* 'tarry, get delayed' (*arre-* 'obstruct, hinder, detain'); *dæd'dasæ-* 'sink, when under a press' (*dæd'de-* 'press'); *râttâsæ-* 'come undone at the seam; come unstitched' (of a seam; *râttâ-* 'unpick' [a seam or a garment]).

§ 68. *-d-*, added to disyllabic stems (with *a* instead of *â* and *e* before the suffix) forms a few *reflexive-medial* verbs; e.g. *luoi'tadæ-* 'descend, glide down (intentionally); go down (of the sun)' (*luoi'te-* 'let go, let loose, etc.'); *luod'dodæ-* 'rend, split' (intr.; *luod'do-* 'split' [trans.]).

Cf. below, under Mode of action.

Aspect

§ 69. Verbs in *-a-* (derived from verbs in *-e-* or *-â-*) and *-u-* (derived from verbs in *-o-*) denote the transition into the state expressed by the basic verb; e.g. *gul'la-* 'begin to hear; get to hear (something)' (*gullâ-* 'hear'); *bâl'la-* 'become afraid, get frightened' (*bâllâ-* 'be afraid'); *vuog'gja-* 'start driving, drive off' (*vuoggje-* 'drive' [intr.]). These verbs are momentaneous and we call them *ingressive*.

§ 70. The ending *-goatte-* (added to disyllabic and tetrasyllabic

stems), *-šgoatte-* (added to trisyllabic stems) forms *inchoative* verbs, e.g. *ârˈvegoatta* 'it begins to rain' (*ârˈve* 'rain').

NOTE.—The inchoatives can also mean 'be about to', e.g. *jabmegoatte-* 'be nearly dying, be getting near death'. The suffix *-goatte-* can also be added to ingressive verb stems, e.g. *vuogˈgjagoatte-* 'be about to drive off'.

To the aspects, see also below.

Modes of action

§ 71. Some verbs in *-i-* imply that the action is individual and limited to one occurrence, taking place once or being directed upon one object, whereas the corresponding *o*-verbs present the action as repeated or complex; e.g. *njuiˈki-* 'jump (once), make a jump' ~ *njuiˈko-* 'jump (make several jumps)'; *súpˈpi-* 'throw the lasso once' ~ *suopˈpo-* 'throw the lasso (repeatedly)'.

§ 72. The suffix *-d-* (added to the strong grade of the stem) forms *singular-momentaneous* verbs; e.g. *čolˈgâdæ-* 'spit once' (*čolˈgâ-* 'spit'); *norˈdâdæ-* 'give a knock, give a push' (*norˈdâ-* 'knock, push').

§ 73. The suffix *-st-* forms *diminutive-momentaneous* verbs; e.g. *njamâstæ-* 'sweep or brush a little or suddenly; take with one other people's reindeer that are mixed with one's own' (*njammâ-* 'sweep, brush; drive the reindeer cautiously together into a dense throng'); *riestestæ-* 'tear, pull (once)' (*riesˈte-* 'tear, pull [repeatedly], draw something with a big effort').

§ 74. The suffix *-l-* forms a few *diminutive-subitive* verbs; e.g. *mânnâlæ-* 'walk a little, go for a short time, make a short visit' (*mânnâ-* 'go, make a visit'). Cf. § 82.

§ 75. The suffix *-et-*, added to disyllabic (non-contract) stems (with loss of the final vowel of the basic stem), forms *ingressive-momentaneous* verbs; e.g. *bawketæ-* 'bang suddenly, bang once, crack' ~ *bawˈkâlæ-* 'bang, crack (repeatedly)'; *goiketæ-* 'dry (intr., a little, or fast)' (*goiˈkâ-* 'dry' [intr.]); *nokketæ-* 'fall asleep suddenly; fall asleep for a while' (*nokˈkâ-* 'sleep; fall asleep; go to bed').

§ 76. *-d-*, added to disyllabic verb stems in the weak grade, with *â* instead of *e*, and *u* instead of *o*, in the second syllable,

forms verbs of diverse functions. It may be said that most of these derivatives, in contrast to the basic verb, stress the activity itself, putting its fulfilment and object in the background. They usually do not denote a single, circumscribed action, performed by one acting party on a distinct external object. (The basic verb may or may not do this.) The transitive *divudæ-*, when used of one subject, means 'mend from time to time' or 'be occupied in mending'; the complete repair of an object must be expressed by the basic verb *divvo-*. Whilst *vuotˈto-*, 'rock, shake' (trans.), implies a variable or periodic, but not necessarily interrupted movement, *vúttudæ-* is used in an iterative sense. *čuogˈgo-* implies two or more acts of pricking or prodding, whether performed by one subject or more than one; *čúgˈgi-* implies one act of pricking, whereas *čúggudæ-* seems to have an explicitly iterative function. *čuoiˈgâ-* means 'go on skis', *čuoigâdæ-* means 'go a little way on skis, cover a short distance on skis'.

§ 77. Some of these derivatives are used *de conatu*, e.g. *govčâdæ-* 'try to conceal' (*gokˈčâ-* 'cover, conceal').

§ 78. As to the absence of an explicit external object, we may distinguish between three functions: the *intransitive* (no explicit object), the *reflexive* (object identical with the subject), and the *reciprocal*.

§ 79. The intransitive function seems to be of rare occurrence. E.g. *borâdæ-* 'have a meal (once or more than once)' (*borrâ-* 'eat [something, somebody]; bite').

§ 80. The reflexive function is rather frequent; e.g. *nuolâdæ-* 'undress (oneself), take off one's clothes' (*nuollâ-* 'take off [a garment]; divest, strip' [trans.]); *bâsâdæ-* 'wash oneself, wash one's hands and face' (*bâssâ-* 'wash' [something or somebody]).

§ 81. Reciprocal derivatives are formed from intransitive verbs as well as from transitive; e.g. Tornio *humâdæ-* 'converse, discuss' (*hubmâ-* 'talk'); *gawnâdæ-* 'meet' (= 'meet or be seeing one another') (*gawˈdnâ-* 'find').

§ 82. *-l-*, added to disyllabic and tetrasyllabic verb stems in the strong grade (with *â* before the suffix), forms iterative, plurative (indicating two or more simultaneous actions of the same

kind), conative, reflexive, and reciprocal verbs; the derivative may also be the intransitive counterpart of the transitive (causative) basic verb. E.g. *oaiˈdnâlæ-* 'meet, see each other' (*oaiˈdne-* 'see'); *boattâlæ-* 'be coming (when one has promised to come, but is somewhat unlikely to keep one's promise)' (*boatte-* 'come'); *doaggjâlæ-* 'break (trans., in several pieces, or several objects)' (*doaggje-* 'break' [trans.]); *bivâstuttâlæ-* 'perspire' (*bivâstutˈte-* 'make sweaty').

Personal endings

§ 83. Only one personal ending is used without implication of tense or mood, namely, the ending of the first person singular: *-m*. The rest, save one, may be characterized as present endings (the endings of the present indicative and the potential and the ending of the first person plural of the imperative, which is identical with the ending of the first person plural of the present indicative), preterite endings (including the personal endings of the conditional mood), or imperative endings (excluding the ending of the first person plural of the imperative). The only exception is the ending *-k* of the second person singular present and preterite of all moods save the imperative.

Present endings

§ 84. The third person singular and plural (present) indicative of the negative verb (stem: *i-* ~ *æ-*) are *ii* and *æi* respectively. The third person singular present indicative of trisyllabic verbs has no personal ending, and the final vowel of the stem often disappears, e.g. *muiˈtâl(â)* 'tells'.

The third person singular present of *læ-*, 'to be', is identical with the verb stem.

The third person singular indicative of disyllabic and tetrasyllabic verbs ends in a vowel; but this vowel cannot reasonably be regarded as a suffix in the strict sense of this word; we will call it a termination, taking into account that it has eclipsed the final vowel of the stem. In the following table, 'Stem vowel' means the vowel preceding the infinitive ending (and the ending of the first person

plural present indicative), and 'Termination' means the vowel that takes the place of the stem vowel in the third person singular present indicative.

Stem vowel	â	e	o	a	i	u
Termination	a	a	o	a	i	u

In the following examples, we give the stem in brackets: *lokka* (*lokkâ-* 'read'), *boatta* (*boatte-* 'come'), *goarro* (*goarro-* 'sew'), *čokˈka* (*čokˈka-* 'sit'), *ligˈgi* (*ligˈgi-* 'warm'), *dulˈku* (*dulˈku-* 'interpret').

§ 85. The first person plural of the present indicative, and the first person plural of the imperative of stems in *â*, *e*, *o*, have the personal ending *-p*. Before this ending, disyllabic stems appear in the strong grade, although the second syllable is closed.

Before the personal-ending, the imperative has the vowel *u*, whereas the indicative has the same vowel as the infinitive, except in trisyllabic verbs, which have the vowel *æ*. In the following examples the imperative forms are given in brackets: *lokkâp* (*lokkup*), *boattep* (*bóttup*), *goarrop* (*górrup*), *malestæp* 'we cook' (*malestekkup*), *ligˈgip* (*ligˈgijekkup*), *dulˈkup* (*dulˈkujekkup*).

§ 86. The personal ending of the second person plural of the present indicative is *-bettit* after disyllabic stems, and *-ppit* after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems. Before this ending, the final vowel of the trisyllabic stems is *e*. Examples: *lokkâbettit*, *boattebettit*, *goarrobettit*; *leppit*, *eppit*, *malesteppit*.

§ 87. The personal ending of the third person plural of the present indicative is *-k*, except the negative verb (stem: *æ-*), which has the ending *i*. Before the personal ending *-k*, the *o*-stems have *u* instead of *o*; the contracted verbs have *-ji-*, and all other stems, save *læ-*, 'to be', have *i* instead of the final vowel of the stem. Examples: *lokkik*, *bóttik*, *górruk*, *malestik*, *ligˈgijik*, *dulˈkujik*; *læk*.

NOTE.—Historically, the ending *-k* is identical with the ending of the npl of nouns (see § 13).

§ 88. The personal ending of the first person dual of the present tense has mainly two forms: *-i* and *-dˈni*. The shorter form is added to disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems (with loss of the final vowel of the stem before the ending), the longer form is added to

the stem of the verb 'to be', to (the longer form of) contracted stems and to trisyllabic stems (as well as to the potential base of disyllabic and tetrasyllabic verbs). Before the longer ending, trisyllabic stems have *e* instead of the final vowel of the stem. (Disyllabic) *o*-stems have *u* instead of *o*, and no other ending. The negative verb has the ending *-m*. Examples: *lokki, górru, líg'gijed'ni, malested'ni, led'ni, æm.*

§ 89. The second person dual has the ending *-bæt'te* after disyllabic stems and *-p'pe* (preceding vowel: *æ*) after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems; for instance, *lokkâbæt'te, boattebæt'te, líg'gibæt'te; læp'pe, æp'pe, malestæp'pe.*

§ 90. The third person dual has the ending *-bâ* after disyllabic stems and *-ba* (*-bă*) after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems; for instance, *mânnâbâ olgus* 'they (two) will go out', *boattebâ, líg'gibâ, læba, æba, malestæba.*

Preterite endings

§ 91. The third person singular of the preterite tense has no personal ending. Contracted stems appear in their shorter form. Examples: *logâi, bóđii, goaroi, læi, malestii, čok'kai, líg'gii, dul'kui.*

§ 92. The first person dual has the ending *-me* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, *-mĕ* after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems.

§ 93. The first person plural has the ending *-mek* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, *-měk* after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems.

§ 94. The second person dual has the ending *-de* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, *-dĕ* after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems.

§ 95. The second person plural has the ending *-dek* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, *-děk* after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems.

Examples: *logâime, logâimek, logâide, logâidek, malesteimĕ, malesteiměk, malesteidĕ, malesteiděk; leimĕ, leiměk, leidĕ, leiděk.*

§ 96. The third person dual has the ending *-gâ* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, and *-ga* (*-gă*) after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems; for instance, *logâigâ, bóđiigâ, goaroigâ, líg'giigâ; leiga, malesteigă.*

As has already been pointed out, the third person plural of the preterite tense has no personal ending.

NOTE.—The endings mentioned in §§ 92–95 are historically identical with the corresponding Px (see § 35).

Imperative endings

§ 97. As pointed out above, the second person singular of the imperative, being merely the weak grade of the verb stem, has no personal ending. Often it is even shorter than the weak grade of the stem, the final vowel of the stem being shortened. Trisyllabic stems have lost their final vowel. Examples: *boađe* or *boađě* 'come', *âlě* 'do not', *males(t)* 'cook!'

§ 98. The first and third persons singular, the third person dual, and the first and third persons plural have the hortative or optative characteristic, *-u-* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, *-kku-*, preceded by *e* instead of the final vowel of the stem, after monosyllabic and trisyllabic stems. Contracted stems take the longer form of this characteristic, added to the longer form of the stem. The first person plural has the ending *-p* in common with the first person plural of the present indicative. The first person singular has the personal ending *-m*, which appears in all moods and tenses, and the third person singular has the personal ending *-s*; both these endings imply the strong grade of disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems. The third person dual has the personal ending *-skâ*, and the third person plural *-sek*. Examples of the third person singular and plural: *lokkus*, plural *lokkusek*, *bóttus*, plural *bóttusek*, *górrus*, plural *górrusek*, *âllus*, plural *âllusek* 'do not', *malestekkus*, plural *malestekkusek*, *dulˈkujekkus*, plural *dulˈkujekkusek*.

§ 99. The personal ending of the second person plural is *-t* after disyllabic and tetrasyllabic stems, and *-kkit* after the verb 'to be' and trisyllabic stems (including the longer shape of contracted stems). Before the personal ending, disyllabic *o*-stems have *u*, other disyllabic stems *i*, instead of the final vowel of the stem; trisyllabic stems and (the longer shape of) contracted stems have *e* in the third syllable. Disyllabic stems appear in the strong grade, although

the second syllable is closed. Examples: *lokkit, bóttit, górrut, lekkit* 'be', *âllit* 'do not', *malestekkit, dulˈkujekkit.*

§ 100. The first person dual has the personal ending *-o* (with the extra-strong grade) after disyllabic stems (with loss of the final vowel of the stem), and *-dˈno* (preceded by *æ* instead of the final vowel of the stem) after the verb 'to be', trisyllabic stems and (the longer shape of) contracted stems. Examples: *lokˈko, boatˈto, goarˈro, âlˈlo*; *lædˈno* or *lækˈko, malestædˈno, dulˈkujædˈno.*

§ 101. The second person dual of *o*-stems is identical with the first person dual; the second person dual of all the other disyllabic stems has the ending *-e* (with the extra-strong grade), with loss of the final vowel of the stem; after trisyllabic stems and (the longer shape of) contracted stems the ending is *-kˈke* (preceded by the vowel *æ*). Examples: *lokˈke, boatˈte, goarˈro, lækˈke, âlˈle*; *malestækˈke, ligˈgijækˈke.*

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

§ 102. The so-called infinite verb forms are either detached cases of deverbative nouns, psychologically more or less isolated from the paradigms to which they historically belong, or defective deverbative nouns, occurring only in one case or in a few cases.

§ 103. The verb stem can assume case endings in Lappish. Some verbs (denoting a movement) have a genitive, and the abessive of the verb stem is a common phenomenon.

§ 104. The genitive of the verb stem is a modal genitive; for instance, *bóđii čuoigâ* '(he) came skiing'; *bijâi viegâ* '(he) started running' ('set' running).

§ 105. The abessive of the verb stem is used after verbs signifying 'be', 'remain', and the like; for instance, *gulâkætˈta* 'without reading', *boađekætˈta* 'without coming', *malestkætˈta* 'without cooking'.

§ 106. A form identical with the 2sg imperative is used after the indicative of the negative auxiliary verb to form a periphrastic indicative, and after the 1st and 2nd persons imperative of the neg. auxiliary. An inflexible potential form is used after the negative auxiliary verb, e.g. *ii bóđiš* '(he) is not likely to come', and an inflexible conditional form is used after the negative auxiliary verb

in hypothetic clauses, e.g. *ii boađaši* '(he) would not come'. A form in *-u* is used after the third person singular, dual and plural imperative of the negative verb, e.g. *âllus lokku* '(he) shall not read', *âllus malestekku* 'he shall not cook'.

§ 107. A case (inessive?) of the *nomen actionis* in *-m* ~ *-bme* is used together with finite forms of the verb *læ-*, 'to be', to express an action that is going on; for instance, *læ lokkâmin* '(he) is reading'. This form has been called 'second gerund' (*gerundium II*); here it will be called conjunct gerund (*gerundium conjunctum*).

§ 108. A nominative singular in *-m* functions as preterite participle. Whilst the *-m* of the *nomen actionis* corresponds to fi *-ma* ~ *-mä* (see Finnish Grammar, § 151), the *-m* of the ptc prt would correspond to fi **-mi*. This explains why the ptc prt of *e*-stems has *a*, and the ptc prt of *-o*-stems has *u*, whereas the nomen actionis has *e* and *o* respectively; e.g. ptc *ællam* of *ælle-* 'live' ~ *ællem* 'life'; ptc prt *orrum* of *orro-* 'be still, not move; be' (supplies the defective *læ-*) ~ conjunct gerund *orromin*. Together with finite forms of the verb *læ-*, 'to be', the ptc prt forms periphrastic perfect, pluperfect and preterite conditional tenses, e.g. *læ goi'kâm* '(it) has dried'.

§ 109. A single case (inessive plural?) of a *nomen actionis* formed with the same suffix as *râgâd*, 'rut' (*râkkâ-* 'to rut') and the like, is used as the equivalent of a temporal subordinate clause, e.g. *logâdeddiin* 'while (he is, was) reading'. This form is here called absolute gerund (*gerundium absolutum*).

§ 110. The *nomina actoris* in *-e*, *-o*, *-g'gje* function as present participles (of all verbs except the verb *læ-* and the negative verb), e.g. *lok'ke*, *boat'te*, *goar'ro*.

§ 111. The *supine* is used to emphasize an intention or a purpose, for instance *logâžit* 'in order to read'.

The supine of the negative auxiliary is *âmâ-*. It has always a Px (see the Paradigm), and it is combined with the infinitive of the principal verb; e.g. *âmâmek vâjaldut'tet* 'lest we forget'.

§ 112. The infinitive (which roughly corresponds to the English infinitive) is historically the lative case of a deverbative noun, e.g. *lokkât*.

Paradigms

NON-PERIPHRASTIC FORMS

Disyllabic stems

Active

PRESENT INDICATIVE

s	1	*logâm*	*boađam*	*goarom*
	2	*logâk*	*boađak*	*goarok*
	3	*lokka*	*boatta*	*goarro*
d	1	*lokki*	*bótti*	*górru*
	2	*lokkâbæt'te*	*boattebæt'te*	*goarrobæt'te*
	3	*lokkâbâ*	*boattebâ*	*goarrobâ*
p	1	*lokkâp*	*boattep*	*goarrob*
	2	*lokkâbettit*	*boattebettit*	*goarrobettit*
	3	*lokkik*	*bóttik*	*górruk*

PRETERITE INDICATIVE

s	1	*lokkim*	*bóttim*	*górrum*
	2	*lokkik*	*bóttik*	*górruk*
	3	*logâi*	*bóđii*	*goaroi*
d	1	*logâime*	*bóđiime*	*goaroime*
	2	*logâide*	*bóđiide*	*goaroide*
	3	*logâigâ*	*bóđiigâ*	*goaroigâ*
p	1	*logâimek*	*bóđiimek*	*goaroimek*
	2	*logâidek*	*bóđiidek*	*goaroidek*
	3	*lokki*	*bótti*	*górru*

POTENTIAL

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*logâžâm*[1]	*logâžed'ni*	*logâžæb*
2	*logâžâk*	*logâžæp'pe*	*logâžeppit*
3	*logâžâ, logâš*	*logâžæba*	*logâžik*

CONDITIONAL

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*logâšim*[2], *logâlim*	*logâšeimě, -leimě*	*logâšeiměk, -leiměk*
2	*logâšik, logâlik*	*logâšeidě, -leidě*	*logâšeiděk, -leiděk*
3	*logâšii, logâlii*	*logâšeiga, -leiga*	*logâšeggji, -leggji*

[1] *bódižâm* etc., *góružâm* etc.

[2] *boađašim* etc., *górušim* etc.

Imperative

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*lokkum*	*lokˈko*	*lokkup*
2	*logâ*[1]	*lokˈke*[2]	*lokkit*[3]
3	*lokkus*	*lokkuskâ*	*lokkusek*

Trisyllabic stems, contracta, verbum substantivum

Active

Present indicative

s	1	*malestâm* 'I cook'	*ligˈgim*	*læm*
	2	*malestâk*	*ligˈgik*	*læk*
	3	*malest(â)*	*ligˈgi*	*læ*
d	1	*malestedˈni* -	*ligˈgɨjedˈni*	*ledˈni*
	2	*malestæpˈpe*	*ligˈgibætˈte*	*læpˈpe*
	3	*malestæba*	*ligˈgibâ*	*læba*
p	1	*malestæp*	*ligˈgip*	*læp*
	2	*malesteppit*	*ligˈgibettit*	*leppit*
	3	*malestik*	*ligˈgijik*	*læk*

Preterite indicative

s	1	*malestim*	*ligˈgijim*	*leggjim*
	2	*malestik*	*ligˈgijik*	*leggjik*
	3	*malestii*	*ligˈgii*	*læi*
d	1	*malesteimĕ*	*ligˈgiime*	*leimĕ*
	2	*malesteidĕ*	*ligˈgiide*	*leidĕ*
	3	*malesteiga*	*ligˈgiigâ*	*leiga, læiga*
p	1	*malesteiměk*	*ligˈgiimek*	*leiměk*
	2	*malesteiděk*	*ligˈgiidek*	*leiděk*
	3	*malesteggji*	*ligˈgijeggji*	*leggji*

Verbum substantivum

Potential

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*læʒˈʒâm*	*leʒˈʒi*	*læʒˈʒâp*
2	*læʒˈʒâk*	*læʒˈʒâbætˈte*	*læʒˈʒâbettit*
3	*læʒˈʒa, læš*	*læʒˈʒâbâ*	*leʒˈʒik*

[1] *boađĕ, goarŏ* [2] *goarˈro* [3] *górrut*

CONDITIONAL

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*livčim, livčum*	*livčiime, -uime*	*livčiimek, -uimek*
2	*livčik, -uk*	*livčiide, -uide*	*livčiidek, -uidek*
3	*livčii, -ui*	*livčiigâ, -uigâ*	*livči, -u*

IMPERATIVE

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*lekkum*	*læd'no, læk'ko*	*lekkup*
2	*læge*	*læk'ke*	*lekkit*
3	*lekkus*	*lekkuskâ*	*lekkusek*

Negative base 1) combined with prs ind. of the neg. verb: *læk*, 2) with imperative, 1st and 2nd pers.: *lægĕ*, 3) with imper., 3rd pers.: *lekku*.

Infinitive: *læt, lækket*. Ptc prt: *læm*; *læmâš*.

Conjunct gerund *læmĕ(n)*. Nomen actionis, in.-el.: *læmest*.

The negative auxiliary

PRESENT INDICATIVE

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*im*	*æm*	*æp*
2	*ik*	*æp'pe*	*eppit*
3	*ii*	*æba*	*æi*

IMPERATIVE

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*âllum*	*âl'lo*	*âllup*
2	*âlĕ*	*âl'le*	*âllit*
3	*âllus*	*âlluskâ*	*âllusek*

SUPINE

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*âmâm*	*âmâme*	*âmâmek*
2	*âmâd*	*âmâde*	*âmâdek*
3	*âmâs*	*âmâskâ*	*âmâsek*

PERIPHRASTIC FORMS

Non-progressive aspect

Affirmative

PERFECT INDICATIVE

læ górrum had sewed — (*læ*) *læmâš* has been

PLUPERFECT INDICATIVE

læi górrum had sewed — *læi læmâš* had been

PERFECT POTENTIAL

læš górrum has sewed, I think — *læš læmâš* has been, I think

PERFECT CONDITIONAL

livčii (*livčui*) *górrum* would have sewed, I wish he had sewed — *livčıi* (*livčui*) *læmâš* would have been

PERFECTUM CONDITIONALE IRREALE

læi goarrot would have sewed

Negative

PRESENT INDICATIVE

ii goarŏ does not sew — *ii læk* is not

PRETERITE (IMPERFECT) INDICATIVE

ii górrum did not sew — *ii læm* was not

PERFECT INDICATIVE

ii górrum has not sewed — *ii læk læmâš* has not been

PLUPERFECT INDICATIVE

ii læm górrum had not sewed — *ii læm læmâš* had not been

PRESENT POTENTIAL

ii góruš does not sew, I think — *ii læš* is not, I think

Perfect potential

ii læš górrum has not sewed, I think — *ii læš læmâš* has not been, I think

Present conditional

ii góruši, ii góruli would — *ii livči, ii livču* would not be

Perfect conditional

ii livči (*-u*) *górrum* would not have sewed — *ii livči* (*-u*) *læmâš* would not have been

Present imperative

s	1	*âllum goărŏ*	*âllum malest*	*âllum lægĕ*
	2	*âlĕ goarŏ*	*âlĕ malest*	*âlĕ lægĕ*
	3	*âllus górru*	*âllus malestekku*	*âllus lekku*
d	1	*âlˈlo goarŏ*	*âlˈlo malest*	*âlˈlo lægĕ*
	2	*âlˈle goarŏ*	*âlˈle malest*	*âlˈle lægĕ*
	3	*âlluskâ górru*	*âlluskâ malestekku*	*âlluska lekku*
p	1	*âllup goarŏ*	*âllup malest*	*âllup lægĕ*
	2	*âllit goarŏ*	*âllit malest*	*âllit lægĕ*
	3	*âllusek górru*	*âllusek malestekku*	*âllusek lekku*

Perfect imperative

lekkus górrum let her have sewed, I don't mind

Progressive (actual-cursive) aspect

læ goarromin (*goarrome*) is sewing, *læi g.* was s., (*læ*) *læmâš g.* has been s., *læš g.* is s., I think, *ii lægĕ g.* is not s.; etc.

FINNMARK-LAPPISH TEXT

Preface to *J. Thuri's Muittalus samid birra* [Discourse on the Lapps]

Mon læm ok'tâ sabmělâš gutti læm bâr'gâm visut samii bârgoid, jâ mon dowdâm visut samii dile.

Jâ mon læm ibmerdâm, âttě Ruoƥâ hal'litus haliidâ mín vækkětit nú olo go sat'ta, muttu si æi oaǯǯŏ riek'tâ čiel'gâsâ jur govt dât læ mín ællem jâ dille, dâinâ-go sabmělâš ii sattě jur jus'tě čil'git nú go dât læ.

Jâ dâsâ læ dat sivvâ: go sabmělâš boatta moskos-gammerii, de son ii ibmerd balljŏ mâi'dege, go ii bieg'gâ bæsâ bossot njune vuos'ta. Sú jur'dâgâk æi golgâ, go læk sæinek jâ moskos oaive nâl'dě. Jâ ii læk-ge buorre sudnji orrot súk'kis vúwdii sis'tě, go læ lieg'gâ il'bme; muttu go sabmělâš læ âllâ varii nâl'dě, de súst læ obâ čielgâs jier'bme; jâ jos dobbě livčui čoaggam-bai'ke soaměs âllâ vare nâl'dě, de væjalii sabmělâš čil'git obâ búrist sú jieǯâs asijiid.

Mon læm jurdâšâm, âttě dât livčui buorěmus, jos livčui dâggar gir'je mâsâ læ visut čal'lujuvvum bâjas samii ællem jâ dille, vai ii darbâš jærrât: 'govt læ samii dille', jâ vai æi bæsâ bodnjât nubbe laggjii dâggarâk gudik haliidik samii nâlâ gielestit jâ bodnjât visut bærě samiid sivâlâǯ'ǯân, go læk riidok dalulâǯǯâi jâ samii gâskâst Norgâst jâ Ruoƥâst.

I am a Lapp; I have done all the jobs which Lapps do, and I know their life intimately.

And I realize that the Swedish government wishes to help us as much as they can; but they do not quite understand our conditions of life, because a Lapp cannot explain these clearly.

And the reason for this is as follows: that when a Lapp enters a closed room, when the wind is not blowing in his face, he is incapable of understanding anything. With walls around him and a roof above, his brain stops moving, and his intellect is not at its best in a thick forest in warm weather; but when he is in the high mountains, then his thoughts are quite clearcut; and if a meeting were held on a mountain-peak, he could quite adequately explain his own affairs.

So I thought it would be best if I wrote a book giving an accurate description of the Lapps' way of life and thoughts, so that no one should have to ask: 'How do the Lapps live?'; and so that it should be impossible even for those who wished to, to calumniate the Lapps and twist facts so as to make the Lapps and them alone guilty whenever

quarrels break out between peasants and Lapps in Norway and Sweden.

Jâ dâsâ fer'ti čallet visut dappatusâid jâ čil'gitusâid, vai boađalii čielgâs, nú âttě ibmerdik juokkě olmuš. Jâ læ dât nubbiidi samiidinâi haw'ske gullât samii dile birrâ.

And in this book I shall describe all the events and give their explanations, so that they become clear, so that they can understand them, everybody. And it will be amusing for the other Lapps too, to hear about the Lappish way of life.

mon I; see U fi *minä*. || *læ-* to be; see U fi *lie-*. *-m*, 1sg. || *ok'tâ* one; fi *yhte-* (FU?). || *sabmělâš, sabme* Lapp. || *gutti* who, cf. fi *kuka* (U). || *bâr'gâ-* to work; fi *pyrki-* strive. *-m*, ptc prt. *bâr'go* (the) work. || *visut* accurately, exactly, entirely, altogether (< fi *visusti*; *-t* is a modal ending, and so is fi *-sti*). || *samii*, gpl of *sabme*. || *-id*, apl. || *jâ* and (perhaps = fi *ja*, < Scand.?, cf. Gothic *jah*). || *dow'dâ-* know, fi *tunte-* (U). || *dile*, asg of *dille*, state, condition, fate, occasion, opportunity (fi *tila*, < Germanic, cf. German *Ziel*, goal, target, ONorse *-tili* end). || *ibmerdæ-* understand (< fi *ymmärtä-*). || *âttě* that (conjunction); fi *että*. || *Ruopâ*, gen. of *Ruoppâ* Sweden (fi *Ruotsi*, from OSwedish **Rōps-*, Modern Swedish *Roslagen*, the Swedish districts that are next to southwestern Finland). || *hal'litus* government (< fi, ultimately of Scand. provenience). || *haliidæ-* to wish; *hallo* desire (< fi). || *mín*, gen.-acc. of *mí* we; see U fi *me*. || *vækkětæ-* help, assist; *væk'ke* help, assistance. *-t*, infinitive. || *nú, nuvt* so, like that (modal case of an U demonstrative pronoun, see U fi *nämä*). || *olo* much, many (U?). || *go* when, as, because, if (a case form of an U interrogative pronoun, see U fi *kuka*). || *sat'ta*, 3sg prs of *sat'te-* be able, bring somewhere (< fi *saatta-*). || *muttu* but (< fi *mutta*). || *sí* they: see FU fi *hän*. || *æi*, 3pl of the negative auxiliary *æ- ~ i-*; see U fi *e-*. || *oaž'žo-* get; see sub FU fi *osa*. || *riek'tâ* right(ly), quite; *rievtes* the right, proper (< PScand. **rehtaz*). || *čielgâs*, attr. *čiel'gâ* clear (cf. fi *selkeä*). || *jur* just (fi *juuri*). || *govt* how (modal of the interrogative *go-*). || *dât*, nsg of *dâ-* that, this. || *ællem* life; *ælle-* live; see U fi *elä-*. || *dâinâ*, com. of *dâ-*. || *ii*, 3sg of *i- ~ æ-*. || *jus'ti* just (< Scand.). || *čil'gi-* make clear, explain (*čielgâs*). || *dâsâ*, ill. of

dâ-. || *dat*, nsg of *da-* this; see U fi *tämä*. || *sivvâ* reason, cause (< fi *syy*). || *boatte-* come, become. || *moskos* closed in, shut in, state; *mosˈke* place which is impassable (where one must turn back). || *gammer* small room (< Scand.). || *de* then (unemphatic); cf. *die* there, *diet* ~ *die-* that (with 'thou'-deixis). || *balljŏ* (with negation), much, at all (< fi *paljo*[*n*] much [U]). || *mâiˈdege*, acc. (plur.) of *mikke*, *mikkege* anything at all (on *mi* and *-ge* see below). || *biegˈgâ* wind. || *bæsâ-*, neg. form of *bæssâ-* manage to (< fi *pääse-*?). || *bosso-* to blow; see U fi *puhu-*. || *njune*, gasg of *njunne* nose; fi *nenä*. || *vuosˈta* against; fi *vastaan*. || *sú*, gen. of *son* he, she (remoulded on the analogy of *mon* I, and *don* thou; etymologically identical with *-s*, the possessive suffix of the third person sing., fi *-sa* ~ *-sä*; FU fi *hän*). || *jurˈdâgâ-*, nsg *jurdâ* thought (derived from a verb stem *jurˈde-*, think; cf. fi *juurta-*, strike root). || *golˈgâ-* run, wander about; fi *kulke-* (U). || *-k*, npl (< **-t* = fi *-t*). || *læk*, 3pl of *læ-* (*-k* is identical with the ending of the npl). || *sæiˈdne* wall (< fi *seinä*, < Balt., cf. Lituanian *siena*). || *oaiˈve* head; see U fi *oiva*. || *nâlˈdĕ*, *âlˈdĕ* upon, over, of, from (*n-* is historically the genitive ending of the preceding word), fi *yltä*, (from) above, off, partitive of *yle-* = lp *âllâ*, high; see U fi *ylä-*. || *-ge* (after the negative auxiliary), and; cf. fi *-ki*, *-kin* also | km *-gə*). || *buorre* good; fi *par-* in *paraikaa* just now (*aika* time), *paras* best (derivative), *parempi* better | md *paro* good | ch *purõ* | vty, zr *bur*. || *sudnji*, ill. (dative) of *son*. || *orro-* dwell, be; cf. fi *viru-* lie outstretched, lounge. || *súkˈkis*, predicative *suokkâd*, thick, dense (fi *sakea*). || *vuowˈde* forest; see FU hu *vad*. || *sisˈtĕ* inside, in, within, out of, from (the inside), in.-el. of *si-*, cf. *sisˈke*, Lule lp *sisˈŋe-*, the inside of something, fi *sisä-*. || *liegˈgâ*, predicative form *lieggâs* warm. || *ilˈbme* air, weather (< fi *ilma*). || *âllâ*, pred. *âllâg* high; see *nâlˈdĕ*. || *varre* mountain; see FU fi *vaara*. || *súst*, in.-el. of *son*. || *obâ*, *obbâ* (unstressed), *obbâs*, attr. *obˈbâ* without opening, unopened; quite overcast, cloudy; whole, entire, untouched; the whole (of), all, rather, pretty, very; *obˈbân* (essive) whole, entire, untouched; Torne *obbâs* deep snow which makes it difficult or impossible to walk; fi *umpi-* closed etc.: *umpilampi* small lake without outflow; *ummessa silmin* with one's eyes shut; *tie on ummessa* the road is blocked (by snow); *umpinainen* closed, covered. (A problematic counterpart in sk.) || *čielgâs* is the

predicative form: 'his wits are rather bright'. || *jos* if (fi *jos*). || *dobbĕ* there (gen. of a comparative of the pronoun *dó-*, that, yonder?). || *livčui*, 3sg cond. of *læ-*. || *čoaggam*, *čoaggalmâs* meeting; *čoagˈge-* collect, pick. || *baiˈke* place (< fi *paikka*). || *soames* some, some . . . or other (< PScand. **somaz*?). || *væjalii*, 3sg cond. of *væggje-* be able. || *búrist* well (an obscure case form of *buorre*). || *jiežâs*, gsg of *jieš* myself, yourself etc. (see U fi *itse*), + the possessive suff. of 3sg: his own. || *asijâ-*, nsg *asii* affair, cause (< fi *asia*). || *jurdâšæ-* think; see *jurdâ*. || *-mus*, superlative. || *dâggar* such (derived from *dâ-*). || *girˈje* book (< fi *kirja*). || *mâsâ*, ill. of *mi* ~ *mâ-* what, which; see U fi *mikä*. || *čalˈlujuvˈvu-*, passive derivative of *čalle-* write. || *bâjas* up (translative of *bâggje-* upper). || *vai* in order that, that. || *darbâš*, neg. base of *darbâšæ-* need, require (= fi *tarvitse-*, < Scand.). || *jærrâ-* ask, inquire. || *govt* how (modal case of the interrogative *go-*). || *bodnjâ-* turn, twist; see FU fi *puna* kink. || *nubbe*, gasg of *nubˈbe* second, other, one (of two); Ume *mubbe*; 'comparative' of a lost correspondent of fi *muu* other (FU). A pronoun as qualifier is put in the genitive if the principal noun is in the illative. || *laggjii*, ill. of a defective noun: 'manner, way' (< fi *laji*, sort, < Scand. *slag*). || *guđik*, npl of *gutti*. || *nâlâ*, *âlâ* on, on to, upon ('lative' of *âlle-* or *âllâ*, see *nâlˈdĕ*). || *gielestâ-* lie, tell a lie (*gieles*, [a] lie, lying, untruthful; < fi: *kielas* talkative, prating, gossipy, *kielasta-* to gossip, tattle, calumniate, *kielastaja* tattler, liar). || *bærĕ* only (< Scand.). || *sivâlâžˈžâ-*, nsg *-lâš* guilty (fi *syyllinen*; see *sivvâ*). *-n*, essive. || *riiˈdo* quarrel, conflict (cf. fi *riita*, < Scand., ONorse *stríð*). || *dalulâžˈžâ-*, nsg *-lâš* farmer (fi *talollinen*; lp *dallo* farm, < fi *talo*). || *gâskâst*, in.-el. of *gâsˈkâ* interval, distance; fi *keski-* middle. || *Norˈgâ* Norway (Norw. *Norge*). || *ferˈti-* have to, be bound to (< PScand. **werþ(a)-*: ONorse *verða*). || *dappatus* event (*dappatuvvâ-*, happen, < fi *tapahtu-*). || *čilˈgitus* explanation (*čilˈgi-*). || *boađalii*, 3sg cond. of *boatte-*. || *juokkĕ* every (fi *joka*). || *olmuš* man, human being; kr *ilminen*. || *-idi*, ill. pl. || *-nâi* also, too. || *hawˈske* nice, pleasant (fi *hauska*). || *gullâ-* hear; see FU fi *kuule-*. || *birrâ* round, all round, round about, around, about, concerning; see U fi *piiri*.

SOUTHERN LAPPISH TEXT (HÄRJEDALEN)

mânnĕ gâm sar'nih âk'tĕm hæn'-dĕlsĕm. mú guek'tĕ joon dâh wel'geh gaam-suoi'nem čuoppih; dille gis hoâggwih âi. dille gis oâdih âk'tĕnĕ buwĕšĕn.

dille nubbe viel'lĕ goâtan wazzii dullĕm biejih, ih nubbe baža hoâggwih.

duttĕ dĕ goâtšin maat duol'dĕtĕ, kaf'fim duol'dĕtĕ ih viel'lĕm wær'da. mæn ii dittĕ goâtan dâl'wh dân ekkedn.

dittĕ wær'da, dullĕm boâl'da dúne jijjĕm, mæn ii dittĕ dâl'wh.

arĕdn tiilĕgĕ wazza gâgga uččĕdiit. dille gaw'na čonnĕšĕn, oâjja čažen šišne. dille truwa, læga bâ'naněmĕ, dille træge lantsĕ ih lappa dâssĕ ih wæl'ga malmaksĕ, gâlga sar'nih. sú oâbbah lijjĕn prænnakišne.

dille laddedĕ sar'najĕ, sú viel'lĕ bâ'naněmĕ. bid'diĕ laddedĕ gis viekketiit dâbbĕdĕ frak'tadiit. iižĕ wæl'ga prænnakasĕ, dæide samedĕ ih sú oâbbĕdĕ sór'nuw.

dille lu'yĕn ih gâgges hem'tih. ladde hiergenĕ doârĕdĕ ih malmaksĕ šlæpadiit. dille âk'tĕ ruwgĕjĕ viekkĕtĕ ih war'jah šiggih ih dâh oâbbah ih dâh sameh wei'nemine.

dille gaměk šigge, dille gaměk duowĕs malen. dille un'dĕrt, gum'te dâh gaměk malen.

I shall tell you a story. My two uncles went out to cut shoe-grass; they also wanted to fish, and they intended to sleep in a hut.

Now one of the brothers went home to make a fire, while the other stayed to fish.

The former cooks food at home, makes coffee and waits for his brother; but the latter does not come home this evening.

He waits, keeps the fire burning the whole night, but still his brother does not come.

Early next morning he goes to look for him; and then he finds him in the lake, with his head in the water. He thinks therefore that he must have drowned, and so he pulls him ashore and leaves him there and goes to Malmagen to report. (His sisters were at Malmagsliden.)

First he tells the farmers that his brother is drowned, and asks them to help him carry him away from the lake. He himself goes to Malmagsliden and reports to the Lapps and his sisters.

Then they go to fetch him, a farmer following with a horse to drag him to Malmagen; and one of the farmers' wives helps to pull off his clothes, with the sisters and the Lapps looking on.

She pulls off his shoes; and the shoes are full of blood: and they wonder why the shoes are bloody.

dille ortĕm šiggijin, ih dittĕ âi malen. dille ǯikkijin wei'nih at læves sköttĕmĕ ih seddĕmĕ dân čonnĕsĕ. dille duuns gaik un'dĕrdæves, gie dâm kârrĕm sköttĕmĕ.

Then they pulled off his shirt, and this too was bloody. Then they discovered that someone had shot him and thrown him into the lake, and they all wondered who had shot him.

dille dunne ǯjælnæsĕšĕn dok'tĕr, mâm hem'tijin. ǯænĕ stærah âi dâl'weh ih šiitijin wei'nih. dille dok'tĕr undĕrsök ih ǯætta, læves sköttĕmĕ, ih kúlĕ middi bišše-beär'gam ǯâttĕmĕ.

Now there happened to be a doctor in Fjällnäs, whom they called for: and many tourists came too wanting to see. The doctor examined him, and said that he had been shot, and that the bullet had hit him in the middle of his heart.

mânnĕ I; see U fi *minä*. || *gâm* = *gâl'gĕm*, 1sg prs of (inf.) *gâl'gih* = lpN *gâl'gâ-* shall; must; ought; see FU hu *kĕll-* || *sar'nih*, inf., tell; lpN *sar'dnot*; see U fi *saarna*. || *âk'tĕm* acc. of *âk'tĕ* one; lpN *ok'tâ*, *âk'tâ*; see FU fi *yksi*. || *hæn'delsĕm*, asg, event (Swed. *händelse*). || *mú*, gen. of *mânnĕ*. || *guek'tĕ* two; see U fi *kaksi*. || *joon*, npl (lpN *ed'nuk*) maternal uncle. || *dâh*, npl of *dittĕ* (lpN *dât*) that, he, she. || *wel'geh*, 3pl prs of (inf.) *wel'gih* (lpN *vuol'get*) go, start; see FU fi *valkama*. || *gaam-*, composition form of *gamĕgwĕ* (lpN *gamâ*) shoe, brogue. || *suoi'ne* hay, grass, sedge (fi *heinä* hay < Baltic **šajna*; Lituanian *šiena-*). *-m*, asg. || *čuoppih*, inf., cut; lpN *čuop'pât*. || *dille* and then, then, and (lpN *dâl'lĕ*?). || *gis* = *gâl'ges*, 3pl prs, shall, will. || *hoåggwih* angle (lpN *oag'got*); see IE fi *onki*. || *âi* also. || *oådih*, inf., sleep; lpN *oađđet*; see FU hu *alv-*. || *âk'tĕnĕ*, essive; in combination with a substantive in the inessive, the cardinal number is put in the essive. || *buwĕšĕn*, iness. of *buwĕ* hut (< Scand.). || *nubbe* second, other; one (in relation to another). || *viel'lĕ* brother; lpN *viel'ljâ*; fi *veli* ~ *velje-*. || *goåtan*, illative of *goåte* tent, hut; lpN *goatte*; see IE fi *kota*. || *waǯǯii*, 3sg prt of *waǯǯih* go, walk. || *dullĕm*, asg of *dullĕ* fire; lpN *dollâ*; see U fi *tuli*. || *biejih*, inf., put, arrange; lpN *biggjât*. || *ih*, *jih* and (lpN *jâ* and); cf. fi *ja* (< Scand.?, or lat. of the pronominal stem *i-*, *ji-* in the relative pronoun *jihtĕ* 'which, that'?). || *baǯa*, 3sg prs of (Jämtland) *baǯih* = (Härjedalen) *bazih* remain, stay; lpN *baccet*. || *duttĕ* that, yonder, that one, she, he. || *dĕ* now, on the other hand. || *goåtšin*, iness. of *goåte*. || *maat* food

(recent Scand. loan-word). || *duol'dětě*, 3sg prs of *duol'dětiit*, cook (trans.); *duol'dih* to boil, cook (intr.; lpN *duol'dât*). || *kaf'fim*, asg, coffee. || *viel'lěm*, asg. || *wær'da*, 3sg prs of (inf.) *werdih*, wait; lpN *vuor'det* (< Scand.). || *mæn* but (< Scand.). || *ii*, 3sg prs of the negative auxiliary verb; see U fi *e-*. || *dâl'wh*, neg. base, of *dâl'wu-*, come.

dân, gsg of *dittě*. || *ekkedn*, gsg of *ekkědě* evening; lpN *ækked*. || *boâl'da*, 3sg prs, inf. *boâl'dih* burn (trans.); lpN *boal'de-*; cf. fi *poltta-* | md *pulta-*; lp *buolle-* burn (intr.); see FU fi *pala-*. || *dúně* all, the whole; lpN *diw'dnâ* quite, fully, wholly; all (< fi *tyynni*, terminative [see Estonian, Grammar] of *tyvi*, butt, base, lower end [FU]). || *arědn*, gsg of *arědě* morning = lpN *arrâd* early, at an early hour, *arrâ* (attributive adjective) early (< Scand.: ONorse *ár* early, at an early hour; the *-d* of *arrâd* probably comes from *mâŋŋed*, late, at a late time, which is a partitive [separative] of *mâŋŋě-*, back, rear, see FU fi *myötä*). || *tiilěgě* early, at an early hour (< Scand.: Norw. *tidlig*, *tilege*). || *gâgga*, 3sg prs of (inf.) *gâl'gih*. || *uččědiit*, inf., NJämtland form for: *uccědiit* (inf.) = lpN *ozâdit*, continuative of *occâ-* search for, look for; fi *etsi-*; vote *õtsi-*; est *otsi-*, *õtsi-*; lv *voču-*. || *gaw'na* = lpN *gaw'dna*, 3sg prs of *gaw'dnâ-* find. || *čonněšěn*, iness. of *čonně* small lake, tarn (< Scand.: Norw. *tjönn*). || *oâija* head = lpN *oai'ive*; see U fi *oiva*. || *čažen*, NJämtland form for *čazen* = lpN *čaze*, gsg of *čacce* water (U). || *šišne* = Lule *sin'ně*, lpN *sis'tě*, inside, in, within (the limits of something): inessive, corresponding to the illative *sisâ* into, (to) within (the limits of something. || *truwa*, 3sg prs, think, suppose, believe (< Scand.). || *lægа*, 3sg prs of *læ-* ~ *lie-* to be = lpN *læ-* ~ *lække-*; see U fi *lie-*. The *-g-* may be, historically, a characteristic of the present tense. || *bâ'naněmě*, ptc prt of *bâ'naně-* drown (intr.), be drowned; sink (intr.) to the bottom; *bâ'ne*, *bâdne* = lpN *bod'ne* bottom, ground (under water or snow; < Scand.: ONorse *botn*). || *trægе*, 3sg prs, pull, drag (< Scand.). || *lantsě* ashore: illsg of *lan'dě* land; soil (< Scand.). || *lappa*, 3sg prs of (inf.) *lappih* leave, desert = lpN *lap'pe-* lose (when it is not impossible that the thing may appear again); drop (stitches when knitting). || *dâssě* = lpN *dâsâ* (to) there, thither; (in combination with verbs denoting 'put, place', 'remain', or 'leave':) there;

illative of lpN *dât*, Härjedalen *dittĕ*. || *wæl'ga*, 3sg prs of (inf.) *wel'gih*. || *malmaksĕ* to the village *Malmagen*. || *sú*, gen. of *sâdnĕ* = lpN *son* he, she; see FU *hän*. || *oåbbah*, npl av *oåbba* = lpN *oab'ba* sister (adaptation of [lpN, obsolete] *oar'ben*, Kola *uõr'ben*). || *liijĕn* = lpN *leggji*, 3pl prt of *læ-*. || *prænnakišne*, iness. of *prænnakĕ*, the village *Malmagsliden*. || *laddedĕ*, illpl of *ladde* = lpN *lad'de*, non-Lapp (< Scand., cf. ONorse *landi*, asg *landa* compatriot). || *sar'najĕ*, 3sg prt. || *bâ'nanĕmĕ*: the absence of (the present tense of) the copula (predicate verb *læ-*) is characteristic of Southern lp. || *biddiĕ* (trisyllabic), 3sg prt, ask, request, beg (< Scand., Norw. *bidja*). || *laddedĕ*, apl. || *gis* '(that) they shall'. || *viekketiit* (inf.) = lpN *vækkĕtæ-* to help. || *dâbbĕdĕ* from there: partitive (ablative); cf. (lpN) *dobbĕ* there (gen. of a 'comparative' derivative of a demonstrative stem). || *frak'tadiit* (inf.) carry, convey, freight (< Scand.). || *iižĕ* (him)self = lpN *(j)ieš*: see U fi *itse*. || *prænnakasĕ*, illative. || *dæide*, illpl of *dittĕ*; here, it functions almost as a definite article. || *samedĕ*, illsg of *same* Lapp = lpN *sabme*. || *oåbbĕdĕ*, illpl. || *sór'nuw*, 3sg prs of *sar'nih*. || *lu'ŋĕn*, 3pl prs, decamp, start, go; cf. (inf.) *lu'ŋih* lift, heave = Lule *log'ŋi-* heave, lift (once); see FU fi *luo-*. || *gâgges*, *gâl'ges*, 3pl prs. || *hem'tih*, inf., fetch away (< Scand.). || *hier'genĕ*, comitative of *hier'ge* horse = lpN *hær'ge* draught-reindeer (castrated male; < fi *härkä* ox, < Balt.: Lituanian *žirgas* horse). || *doårĕdĕ*, 3sg prs of (inf.) *doårediit* follow, accompany = lpN *doarredæ-* pursue, run after, try to overtake, catch. || *ih* (here:) 'to, in order to' (this function is due to Scand. influence: Norw. *å* [written *og*] 'and' is homonymous with *å* [written *at*] 'to' [before an inf.]). || *šlæpadiit* drag (on a kind of stretcher, drawn by a horse; < Scand.). || *ruwgĕjĕ* = lpN *riw'go* woman who is not a Lapp; woman who is not in Lapp dress (< Scand.: ONorse *rýgr* lady, housewife). || *viekkĕtĕ*, 3sg prs. || *ih* to (*vide supra*). || *war'jah*, npl (in Southern Lapp, the plural direct object is often put in the nominative), clothes, dress; lpN *var'jo* shroud (< Scand.: ONorse *verja* covering; an outer garment). || *šiggih*, inf., *šigge*, 3sg prs, take off (a garment); NJämtland *siggĕt*; cf. Lule *sâg'gi-* pull (a sledge) so that it starts moving; start; *sâg'go-* pull the sledges together and arrange the caravan before the start. || *dâh*, npl of *dittĕ*. || *wei'nemine* (lpN *oai'dnemin?*), essive of the verb noun in (N) *-m*, (S) *-mĕ*,

of (inf.) *weiˈnih*, *oaiˈdnet*, see; notice, keep an eye on, have a look at . . . The verb *læ-* is omitted in lpS. || *gaměk*, npl. || *duowěs* full; lpN *dievâs* id.; *dievvâ* full; so that the thing in question becomes full; -ful (as in 'handful'); full of, crowded; very much, very many; see FU hu *töm-*. || *malen*, gsg of *male* blood; lpN *malle* soup (in general, whether there is blood in it or not); Lule 'blood (of animals)'; Skolt, Kola 'sap; soup'; cf. fi *mahla* sap. || *unˈděrt*, 3pl prs of (inf.) *unˈděrdiit* wonder; Lule *undârdě-* (< Scand.: Swed. *undra*). || *gumˈte* how: a 'modal case' of the interrogative stem *gu-* ~ *go-* (see U fi *kuka*). || *malen*, gsg of *male*: bloody, gory, stained, covered with blood or gore (here, lpN would have the essive *vârrân*, of *vârrâ* = fi *veri* [FU]). || *šurtěm*, asg of *šurtě* shirt (< Scand.). || *šiggijin*, 3pl prt. || *fikkijin*, 3pl prt of (inf) *fikkih* get (< Scand.: Swed. prt *fick*). || *læves*, 3pl prs of *læ-* be. || *skötttěmě*, ptc prt of (inf.) *skötttih* (the quality of the vowel of the first syllable varies) shoot (< Scand.).

læ- combined with the ptc prt forms a periphrastic preterite: they have (= somebody has) shot him. || *sedděmě*, ptc prt of (inf.) *seddih* throw; lpN *sadˈdi-* send (< Scand.). || *dân*, gsg of *dittě*; in combination with a substantive in the illative, the pronoun is put in the genitive. || *čonněsě*, illsg. || *duuns*, *dúněs* all of them (derived from *dúně*). || *gaik* = Lule *gaikâh* (npl of *gaiˈkâ*) all (< fi *kaikki*, < Balt.?). || *unˈděrdæves*, 3pl prs. || *gie* who; lpN *gi*; see U fi *ken*. || *dâm*, asg of *dittě*. || *kârrěm*, asg of *kârrě* man (< Scand.: *kar*). || *dunne* there, over there: essive of *duttě* that, yonder. || *fjælnæsěšěn*, iness. of (Swed.) *Fjällnäs* (place-name). || *dokˈtěr* doctor, physician (< Scand.). || *mâm*, asg of *mi* which, what; (relative also:) who; see U fi *mikä*. || *hemˈtijin*, 3pl prt. || *jæně* much, many; lpN attr. *ædnâ*, pred. *ædnâg*; see U fi *enä-*. || *stærah*, npl, people of distinction, persons belonging to the upper classes, gentlemen; *stæris* proud, bumptious; lpN *stuores*, npl *stuorˈrak*, large, great, big; grand, swell; pl. great folk, grand folk; genteel; Lule *stuores*, npl. *stuorrasâh*, proud, bumptious (< PScand. **stōraz*: ONorse *stórr* large, great, big; important; potent; proud, bumptious). || *dâlˈveh*, 3pl prs. || *šiitijin*, 3pl prt of (inf.) *šiitih* will; NJämtland *siitět*; lpN *sittât*; cf. osN, Obdorsk *lit-*. || *unděrsöök* = Swed. *undersök(a)* examine. || *jætta*, 3sg prs of (inf.) *jettih* say, speak, announce (probably < Scand.: ONorse

játta admit, confess). || *kúlĕ* bullet (< Scand.: Swed. *kula*). || *middi* in (or into) the middle of . . . (< Scand.). || *bišše-beær'ga* heart; *bišše* holy = NJämtland *bisse*, lpN *bâsse*; fi *pyhä*; *bær'ga* flesh; lpN *bier'go* (< Scand.: ONorse *bjorg* help, deliverance out of need or danger; means of subsistence, stores, provisions, food). The pagan Lapps used to sacrifice hearts to their idols. || *jâttĕmĕ*, ptc prt of (inf.) *juttih* = lpN *jottet* be in motion, move, go, migrate (U).

MORDVIN

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

Erza-Mordvin has the following vowels:

u	*ï*	*i*
o	*ë*	*e*
a		*ä*

i, *e*, *ä* are front vowels; *ï* and *ë* may be called middle-tongue vowels.

Vowel harmony (esp. alternation *o* ~ *e* in the second and third syllables) is a frequent phenomenon in md.

In the vowel system there is no quantitative opposition.

Erza-Mordvin has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Labiodentales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Palatovelares	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae . . .	*b*	*p*			*d*	*t*			*d′*	*t′*			*g*	*k*
Fric. blaesiformes			*v*	(*f*)							*j*			
Fric. sibilantes . .					*z*	*s*	*ž*	*š*	*ź*	*ś*				(*χ*)
Affricatae								*č*	*ǯ*	*ć*				
Tremulantes . . .							*r*		*ŕ*					
Cryptofricativae .					*l*				*l′*					
Nasales	*m*				*n*				*ń*		(*ŋ*)		*ŋ*	

All the consonants, except *š*, *ž*, and *č*, are palatalized (or followed by a prepalatal glide) before front vowels. Apart from the affricates *ć* and *ʒ́*, we shall therefore not note palatalization in this position.

Apart from such geminates as are written double — insofar as they occur in genuine words, they are the result of agglutination — voiceless consonants are half-long in the position between a vowel and a voiced sound (vowel or consonant); otherwise they are short.

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

The Mordvin language has a suffixed definite article, which historically is identical with the demonstrative pronoun *se*, pl. *ne* (see U fi *se* and fi *nämä*).

Cases: nominative; genitive (also the normal case of the definite direct object in the singular); inessive, elative, illative; ablative (sometimes used as case of the direct object), allative (dative), prolative ('along', 'according to', etc.); translative (cf. Finnish Grammar); abessive ('without'); comparative ('as much as, as big as', etc.). The inessive ends in *-so* ~ *-së*, sometimes *-(s)në* or *-(ś)ne*; the endings of the other cases will appear from the paradigms.

NOTE.—In the following, the term *definite* applies to forms with definite article. A direct object in the genitive often occurs without definite article; e.g., *ovtoń jažise* 'he killed the bear'.

Some nouns have a lative case in *-v* (*-j*, *-y*), e.g. *kudov* '(to the) home'.

It may be that the counterpart of the Finnish essive-ending is combined with a few stems denoting a phase of time, e.g. *tel'ne* 'in (the) winter' (*tele* 'winter'). The ending *-t* functions in the same way; e.g. *vet* 'at night, in the night' (*ve*).

The gsg of any substantive that denotes a stuff, and many other, may function as an adjective, e.g. *sïŕneń* 'golden' (*sïŕne* 'gold'), *ruzoń-eŕźań valks* '(a) Russian-Mordvin dictionary' (*ruz* 'a Russian', *eŕźa* 'an Erza-Mordvin').

The indefinite plural has the characteristic *t* ~ *t'*; the definite plural has *t'ne*, to which regular case endings are added. The in-

definite plural base is not combined with case endings; instead of the oblique cases the corresponding singular cases are used.

The plural ending has a 'copulative' function when the designations of two living beings are co-ordinated by mere juxtaposition, e.g. *at'at-babat* 'an old man and an old woman, an old man and his (old) wife'.

From the (indefinite) gsg of any noun a definite adjective may be formed by adding *-ʒeś* (after pronominal genitives ending in a voiceless consonant: *-ś* or more frequently, *-seś*), e.g. *kudońʒeś* 'domestic, (the one) belonging to the house' (*kudo* 'house', gsg *kudoń*).

Some case forms (iness., prolative, abess., comparative) can be hypostatized by adding the definite article of the nsg; e.g. *kudososś* 'he who is in the house, at home', gsg *kudosońt'*, el. *kudososton't'*.

pel'an kudosonʒedeńt'. 'I am afraid of the person who is in my house'. *kudoson* is iness. Px1sg of *kudo*. *-deńt'* is the ending of the definite ablative. *kudosonzosedeńt'* '... of the person who is in his house'.

To express the notion 'that which belongs to him that is at home', the genitive ending *-ń* + *-ʒeś* is added to the inessive *kudoso*: *kudosońʒeś*, iness. *kudosońʒesëńt'*; etc.

When a genitive functions as qualifier, the principal word is combined with Px3sg; e.g. *čuvtoń taradozo* 'the twig of a tree' (*tarado* 'branch, twig').

As to the counterparts of English expressions with 'have' (= possess), see the first sentence of the first and the second text respectively.

Agreement

Before a substantive in plural, denoting a living being, an adjective as qualifier may be put in the npl; e.g. *beŕań lomań* 'a bad man' ~ *beŕat' lomat'* 'bad men'. Otherwise, there is no agreement.

Comparison of the adjectives

ovtodo pokš 'bigger than a bear' (literally: 'big from a bear'). *sede pokš* 'bigger' (literally: 'big from that'). *pokšto-jak pokš* 'biggest' (literally: 'big even from big').

PARADIGMS

kudo 'house', pl. *kudot*

	Indef. sg	Def. sg	Def. pl.
1. Nom.	*kudo*	*kudoś*	*kudot'ne*
2. Gen.	*kudoń*	*kudońt'*	*kudot'neń*
3. Iness.	*kudoso*	*kudosońt'*	*kudot'nesë*
4. Elat.	*kudosto*	*kudostońt'*	*kudot'nestë*
5. Ill.	*kudos*	*kudońteń*	*kudot'nes*
6. Abl.	*kudodo*	*kudodońt'*	*kudot'nede*
7. All.	*kudoneń*	*kudońteń*	*kudot'neneń*
8. Prol.	*kudova*	*kudovańt'*	*kudot'neva*
9. Transl.	*kudoks*	*kudoksońt'*	*kudot'neks*
10. Abess.	*kudovtomo*	*kudovtomońt'*	*kudot'nevteme*
11. Comp.	*kudoška*	*kudoškańt'*	*kudot'neška*

Px

POSSESSION IN SG

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Nom.	*kudom*	*kudot*	*kudozo*	*-mok*	*-ŋk*	*-st*
Gen.	*kudon, -ń*	*kudo(ń)t'*	*kudonzo*	*-nok*	*-ŋk*	*-(n)st*
Iness.	*kudoson*	*kudosot*	*kudosonzo*	*-sonok*	*-soŋk*	*-sost*
Elat.	*kudoston*	*kudostot*	*kudostonzo*	*-stonok*	*-stoŋk*	*-stost*
Ill.	*kudozon*	*kudozot*	*kudozonzo*	*-zonok*	*-zoŋk*	*-zost*
Abl.	*kudodon*	*kudodot*	*kudodonzo*	*-donok*	*-doŋk*	*-dost*
All.	*kudoneń*	*kudoteń*	*kudonstëń*	*-nenek*	*-neŋk*	*-neńst'*
Prol.	*kudovan*	*kudovat*	*kudovanzo*	*-vanok*	*-vaŋk*	*-vast*

POSSESSION IN PL.

Nom.	*kudon*	*kudo(n)t*	*kudonzo*	*-nok*	*-ŋk*	*-st*

Conjugation

Mordvin has subjective and objective conjugation (see below). In Mordvin, conjugation is not restricted to verbs. Any predicate —substantive, adjective, numeral, pronoun, in the nominative or in some other case—can be combined with an ending of the 1st or 2nd person and with the preterite characteristic *le* ~ *l'* (cf. *ule-* 'to be'). E.g. *pokšan* 'I am big', *pokštol'nek* 'we were big'; *kolmoćejat* 'you are the third'; *tosotanok* 'we are there' (*pokš* 'big', *kolmoće* '[the] third', *toso* 'there').

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristics of tense and moods

Tense

There are two non-periphrastic tenses, namely, present and preterite.

The present tense has no characteristic of its own.

The preterite of verb stems has *ï* ~ *i* in the first and second persons, and *ś* in the third person.

Moods

Historically speaking, the Mordvin moods are partly periphrastic; this accounts for their variegated appearance. Here we will keep to the essential features.

The following moods may be distinguished: indicative, optative, subjunctive, desiderative, conditional, conditional-subjunctive, imperative.

INDICATIVE

The indicative has no mood characteristic.

OPTATIVE

The optative expresses an exhortation (esp. in the third person), or a wish the fulfilment of which is expected or taken for granted. It has the characteristic *z* (+ vowel) ~ *s*.

SUBJUNCTIVE

The subjunctive expresses a wish, the fulfilment of which is uncertain or dependent of a non-existent condition. It has the characteristic *vli* ~ *vol'* (cf. *ule-* 'to be').

DESIDERATIVE

The desiderative expresses an unfulfilled wish. It has the characteristic *kseli* ~ *ksel'*.

CONDITIONAL

The conditional is used in subordinate hypothetic clauses. The present tense occurs when one does not know whether the condition

exists (or is coming about); the preterite occurs when the condition is non-existent (*casus irrealis*).

The simplest way of forming the conditional mood is to add the enclitic *deŕaj* to the prs ind. or the prt ind. respectively. But there is also an enclitic verb-stem *deŕa-* ~ (3sg, 3pl) *dere-*, which is inflected in prs and prt; in both tenses it is combined with the 1sg prt ind. of the principal verb.

CONDITIONAL-SUBJUNCTIVE

This mood occurs in subordinate hypothetic clauses where the condition is presented as desirable, though non-existent. The verb of the principal clause will be in the subjunctive mood.

The characteristic of this mood is usually a compound of the characteristics of the conditional and the subjunctive: either is the enclitic *deŕaj* added to the subjunctive, or the subjunctive characteristic *vli* ~ *vol'* (+ personal ending, if required) is added to the conditional base in *-deŕa-*.

IMPERATIVE

The imperative appears only in the 2nd person. In the singular it has the personal ending *-k* (or *-t* < *-k*; historically, this is the mood characteristic), in the plural it has the ending *-do* ~ *-de*.

Personal endings

Subjective conjugation

Apart from the ending of 2sg imperative, which is, from an historical point of view, a mood characteristic, we find the same personal endings in preterite as in the present tense, as far as the first and second persons are concerned, namely: 1sg *-n* ~ *-ń*, 2sg *-t* ~ *-t'*, 1pl *-nok* ~ *-nek* (~ *-mɛ*), 2pl *-do* ~ *-de* (~ *-dɛ*). In prs ind., however, an element *-ta* ~ *-t'a* (*-da* ~ *-d'a*) is inserted before *-nok* and *-do* respectively.

Whilst these endings are enclitic pronouns, the third person singular is no doubt a verb noun (participle), and 3pl is the regular npl of this noun. Cf. *vanï* 'he sees' with ptc prs *vanï*, and *vanaś* 'he saw' with ptc prt act. *vanaź*.

Objective conjugation

In the objective conjugation, the personal ending indicates person and number of the direct object as well as of the subject. This would *a priori* make for thirty-six endings, but as the system does not include reflexive forms, there are no more than twenty-eight, and by syncretism (homonymy) the number boils down to eighteen.

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

Verb nouns

Nomen actionis

Suffix *-ma*, e.g. *vanama* 'the action, activity of seeing; seen (by somebody); one must see'.

The suffix *-mo* ~ *-me* (vowel harmony) has much the same functions as fi *-ma* ~ *-mä*; e.g. *simeme* 'drink', *maksmo* 'gift'. The illative of this verb noun (*-ms*) functions as an infinitive, and so does the nominative. The inessive functions like the Finnish iness. of the infinitive, e.g. *tonavtomosonzo* (*tonavto-* 'teach', *-nzo* Px3sg) '(while) teaching', fi 'opettaessansa'.

Participles

ACTIVE PRESENT PARTICIPLE

E.g. *vanï* (or *vanïća*) 'seeing'.

PAST PARTICIPLE

Suffix: *-ź*. This participle is more often active than passive.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

There are two derivative endings: *-vt* and *-ń*.

PARADIGMS

Subjective conjugation

Affirmative form

	PRS IND.	PRT IND.	OPT.	SUBJUNCTIVE
s 1	*vanan* 'I see'	*vanïń*	*vanozan*	*vanovliń*
2	*vanat*	*vanït'*	*vanozat*	*vanovlit'*
3	*vanï*	*vanoś*	*vanozo*	*vanovol'*
p 1	*vantanok*	*vanïnek*	*vanozdanok*	*vanovlinek*
2	*vantado*	*vanïde*	*vanozdado*	*vanovlide*
3	*vanït'*	*vanośt'*	*vanost*	*vanovol't'*

	COND. PRS	COND. PRT	IMPER.
s 1	*vanïńdeŕan*	*vanïńderiń*	
2	*vanïńdeŕat*	*vanïńderiť*	*vanok (vant)*
3	*vanïńderej*	*vanïńdereś*	
p 1	*vanïńdeŕatanok*	*vanïńderinek*	
2	*vanïńdeŕatado*	*vanïńderide*	*vanodo*
3	*vanïńderejť*	*vanïńdereśť*	

Negative form

	PRS IND.	PRT IND.	OPT.
s 1	*a vanan*	*eziń (eiń) vano(k)*	*il'azan vano(k)*
2	*a vanat*	*eziť vano(k)*	*il'azat v.*
3	*a vanï*	*eś vano(k)*	*il'azo v.*
p 1	*a vantanok*	*ezinek (einek) v.*	*il'azdanok v.*
2	*a vantado*	*ezide (eide) v.*	*il'azdo v.*
3	*a vanïť*	*eśť v.*	*il'ast v.*

	SUBJUNCTIVE	COND. PRS	IMPER.
s 1	*avoliń vano(k)*	*a vanïńdeŕan*	
2	*avoliť v.*	*a vanïńdeŕat*	*il'a vano(k), il'at' vano*[1]
3	*avol' v.*	*a vanïńderej*	
p 1	*avolinek v.*	*a vanïńdeŕatanok*	
2	*avolide v.*	*a vanïńdeŕatado*	*il'ado vano(k)*
3	*avol't' v.*	*a vanïńderejť*	

Objective conjugation

PRESENT INDICATIVE

Subject	Object					
	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Sg 1	—	*-tan*	*-sa*	—	*-tadïź*	*-sïń*
2	*-samak*	—	*-sak*	*-samiź*	—	*-sïť*
3	*-samam*	*-tanzat*	*-sï*	*-samiź*	*-tadïź*	*-sïńze*
Pl. 1	—	*-tadïź*	*-sïnek*	—	*-tadïź*	*-sïnek*
2	*-samiź*	—	*-sïŋk*	*-samiź*	—	*-sïŋk*
3	*-samiź*	*-tadïź*	*-sïź*	*-samiź*	*-tadïź*	*-sïź*

[1] *il'a vanoka, il'aka vano* please don't look.

PRETERITE INDICATIVE

Subject	Object					
	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Sg 1	—	*-teń*	*-ja*	—	*-diź*	*-ń*
2	*-mik*	—	*-k*	*-miź*	—	*-t′*
3	*-mim*	*-ńzet′*	*-ze*	*-miź*	*-diź*	*-ńze*
Pl. 1	—	*-diź*	*-nek*	—	*-diź*	*-nek*
2	*-miź*	—	*-ŋk*	*-miź*	—	*-ŋk*
3	*-miź*	*-diź*	*-ź*	*-miź*	*-diź*	*-ź*

IMPERATIVE

Subject	Object			
	1sg	3sg	1pl	3pl
2sg	*-mak*	*-(ĭ)k*	*-miź*	*-(ĭ)t′*
2pl	*-miź*	*-(ĭ)ŋk*	*-miź*	*-(ĭ)ŋk*

Conjugation of nouns

ovto 'a bear', *ovtoś* 'the bear'

	PRS		PRT	
	Indefinite	*Definite*	*Indefinite*	*Definite*
s 1	*ovtojan*	*ovtośan*	*ovtoleń*	*ovtoseleń*
2	*ovtojat*	*ovtośat*	*ovtoleť*	*ovtoseleť*
3	*son ovto*	*son ovtoś*	*son ovtol′*	*son ovtosel′*
p 1	*ovt(o)tanok*	*ovtoťneťanok*	*ovtotol′nek*	*ovtoťnel′nek*
2	*ovttado*	*ovtoťneťado*	*ovtotol′de*	*ovtoťnel′de*
3	*syń ovtt*	*syń ovtoťne*	*syń ovtotol′ť*	*syń ovtoťnel′ť*

TEXTS

1

śupav eŕžań ul'neś ajgorozo paro, ul'neś bukazo, i kiŕdi roboťnik', i soki roboťnikeś bukaśť esnē pakśaso. ajgorośť kiŕdi karso, jarsï pineme. bukaś sokaś i saśť kudoj.

A rich Erza-Mordvin had a fine stallion and an ox: and he kept a farm hand, and the farm hand ploughed with the ox in the field. The stallion he kept in the stable, and he ate oats. The ox ploughed, and they came home.

son peĺ siześ bukaś. mol'ś ajgorośť vaks i kortï: 'peĺ tońť paro eŕamot.' 'meŕ', meri. 'jarsat', meri, 'pinemeť, simat', meri, 'śvežoj veď, a mon', meri, 'sokan sokan da sizíń koda! jarsamo dovol' a maksïť, pisi i pul'!'

He had got very tired, the ox. He went to the stallion and said: 'You have a very good time.' 'Why?', says he. 'You eat', he says, 'oats, you drink', he says, 'fresh water, but I', he says, 'plough and plough, and how tired I have got! They do not give me enough to eat, only heat and dust!'

azorozo kil'demeń kel's sodï, son i kunsolï meśť kortïť kil'demendē. 'ot', son ajgoroś oťvečaj bukaźne: 'ton arai a maštat meje tejme! teiĺ ležiks pŕat, maťĺ, i a sajťadïź tońť sokamo!' sajś buka i mać, kulï buto.

His master knows the language of the animals, and he listened to what his animals said. 'Well', the stallion answers the ox: 'Can't you do anything then? Look as if you were lying sick; lie down and they won't take you to plough.' The ox lay down, as if he were dying.

śťaś valkske roboťnikeś i kortï azoronstē: 'bukaś', meri, 'kulï, meśne mon mol'an nej sokamo?' oťvečajaś azorozo roboťnikinstē: 'kiťdiĺ ajgorośť sokamo! štobu čop tendē jarsamo dovol' il'a makso i simeks tožo lamo il'a makso, a ton lotkavsak ajgorom srazu, puskaj simekstēme soki son!'

The farm hand rose early and told his master: 'The ox', says he 'is dying. What shall I plough with now?' The master answered his farm hand: 'Put the stallion to plough! Don't give him enough to eat all day, and don't give him much to drink either; make him stop drinking at once, let him plough without drinking!'

nu, ajgor sokaś, sokaś čop, i siześ. son i nadumal: 'koda mol'an, bukaśt odmańasa'. saś kudoj ajgoroś, a buka veńtindë pil'ĸ i ṕrat, buto son ej kulï.

Well, the stallion ploughed all the day and got tired; and he reflected: 'When I come back, I'll play a trick on the ox.' The stallion came home, but the ox stretched his legs and his head, as if he were just dying.

ajgoroś mol'ś bukaśt vel'kšës: 'ton meśt tejńat, buka?' 'ležan.' 'eit śtakšnoʔ' ajgoroś kevśnisask. oťvečai buka: 'eiń.'

The stallion went and leaned over the ox: 'What are you doing, ox?' 'Lying sick.' 'Haven't you got up yet?' the stallion asked him. 'No,' the ox answers him.

ajgoroś meri: 'sakšnoś azoroś pakšas, kortaś', meri, 'estëdit.' bukaś kevśnisask: 'meśt kortaś?' 'mol'an kudoj', azoroś meri, 'pečksïneĸ bukaśt, koli son a śti.' bukaś i meri: 'neušto pečksamam? mon luči śtan da mol'an luči sokamo.'

The stallion says: 'The master came in the field, and he spoke', he said, 'about you.' The ox asked him: 'What did he say?' 'I'll go home', the master says, 'we'll kill the ox if he doesn't get up.' And the ox says: 'Is he really going to kill me? I'd rather get up and go and plough.'

azoro i rakazevś laŋksosk, meśt kil'demendë kortïť, koda jutkovask odmaniť. a kozejkazo kvaťaś, meks miŕdezë rakazevś. 'me rakiť kardasnëʔ' kevśni kozejkazo. 'śtak', meri, 'rakazeviń roboťniĸ laŋkso.' nu, kozejkazo a kemi esnëndë. 'ot mol'an sarasnëne korm kajan, san i jovtan.'

And the master laughed at what his animals said, when they cheated each other. But his wife noticed that her husband laughed. 'What did you laugh at in the courtyard?' the wife asks. 'Nothing', he says, 'I laughed at the farm hand.' But his wife didn't believe him. 'Well, I'll go and throw some food to the hens; then I'll come and tell you.'

kajaś son korm sarasnëne i manindë sarasnëń. sarazoś kortï ať akšoźne: 'ĸl'uvak ĸl'uvak, ať akš, ostatkineť, azoromok śovoďńa kulï!'

He threw food to the hens and called the hens. The hen spoke to the cock: 'Pick, pick, cock, everything that's left; our master will die today.'

azorosk kunsolï, meśt sarazïndë kortïť. ať akšoś meri sarazośne: 'neušto', meri, 'moń kardas ćeloj estëdiŋĸ, a mon skamun, da mon tïńdeniŋĸ ol'a a maksan.'

Their master listened to what his hens were saying. The cock says to the hen: 'Really?' he says. 'My courtyard is full of you hens, and I am alone, and I don't grant you any rights.'

sarazośť ķl'ukadize aťakšoś kokols i dumai sarazoś, uš a ķl'uvi. son vejks sarasnēń ķl'uvindē kokols. i a ķl'uviť sarasnē, čaťmuniť, dumaiť. aťakšoś i meri: 'me a ķl'uvatatk? pel'ťatk estēdiń? takto azoroś sajevel' kedezïndē lokšo i čavovol'se kozejkando peķkeť, merevel' bu: 'teťakaj, kadïmak moń, koť koda rakak.'

The cock pecked the hen's crest, and the hen reflects, and does not pick any more. He pecked the crests of all the hens, and the hens stop picking, they are silent, they reflect. And the cock says: 'Why don't you pick? Are you afraid of me? In the same way the master should take a whip in his hand and beat his wife thoroughly; then she would say: 'Daddy, let me go, laugh as much as you like!'

ćoraś kunsolïze aťakšośť i sovavś kudos lokšo. i kundïze kozejkando keťte i davaj kozejkando lokšoso keveŕdemendē. 'kadïmak', meri, 'teťakaj, veśkak a kevśťan, koť koda rakak, i koť meje teiķ!'

The man listened to the cock, took a whip and went home. And he seized his wife by the arm and made her jump suddenly with the whip. 'Let me go, daddy,' she said. 'I shall never mind, how much you laugh, or whatever you do!'

śupav rich. || *eŕźań*, gsg of *eŕźa* Erza-Mordvin. || *ul'neś*, 3sg prt of *ul'ne-*, M *ulәńdə-* (derivative) be; *ule-* id.; FU fi *ole-*. *ulne-* is combined with a genitive in the same way as fi *ole-*, 3sg *on*, in *minun on nälkä* I am hungry ('hunger is with me, I have hunger'), and the like. || *ajgor* stallion (< Turk.). || *-zo*, Px3sg; cf. FU fi *hän*. || *paro* good; fi *paras* best (derivative); *par-* in *paraikaa*, just now (*aika* time) | lp *buorre* ~ *buore-* good | ch *purõ* | vty, zr *bur*. || *buka* ox (< Turk.). || *i* and (R). || *kiŕdi*, 3sg prs (praesens historicum) of *kiŕde-* suffer; bear, stand, put up with; keep; fi *kärsi-* suffer; put up with | lp *gierˈdâ-* bear, stand, put up with; take a long time to . . ., be quite a business to . . . | ch *kerdä-*, *kerta-* be able to, have strength enough to (with dubious counterparts in vg and os). || *roboťniķ* hired hand, farm hand, workman (R). *roboťniķ* is direct object. || *soki*, 3sg prs of *soka-* to plough; *soka* (a) plough (R). || *-ś*, nsg, *-śť*, gsg of the definite article; cf. FU fi *se*. || *esnē*, inessive of the pronominal stem *ez-*; see U fi *e-*. *bukaśť esnē* is used periphrastically instead of the iness. *bukasośť*, in instrumental function: 'with'. || *pakśaso*, iness. of *pakśa* field, cultivated land (< Turk. < Persian). || *karso* = *kardaso*,

iness. of *karda* stable (< Turk.). || *jarsï*, 3sg prs of *jarsa-* eat. || *pineme* oats. || *sokaś*, 3sg prt of *soka-*. || *saśť*, 3pl prt of *sa-* come, arrive, attain to; see U fi *saa-*. || *kudoj*, *kudov* (go) home, lative of *kudo* house; see IE fi *kota*. || *son* he, she; see FU fi *hän*. || *peǩ* very (< Turk.). || *size-* get tired. || *mol'ś*, 3sg prt of *mole-* go (somewhere); see FU hu *múl-*. || *vaks*, illative of a defective noun *vaks-*: to, to the place beside . . . || *kortï*, 3sg prs of *korta-* speak. || *toń*t, genitive of *ton* thou; see U fi *sinä*. || *eŕamo* life; *eŕa-* live. *-t*, Px2sg. || *me* why, for what reason; *me* what; see U fi *mikä*. || *meri*, 3sg of *mere-* say. || *jarsat*, 2sg prs. || *simat*, 2sg prs of *sime-* drink; cf. fi *siemaise-* gulp (momentaneous derivative), *sieme* (a) gulp. || *śvežoj* fresh (R). || *veď* water; see U fi *vesi*. || *a* but (R). || *mon* I; see U fi *minä*. || *-n*, 1sg prs. || *da* and, but (R). || *siziń*, 1sg prt of *size-*. || *koda* how; historically abl. (?) of *ko-*; see U fi *kuka*. || *jarsamo*, infinitive. || *dovol'* enough (R). || *a* not; see U fi *e-*. || *maksïť*, 3pl prs of *maksa-* give; fi *maksa-* to pay; cost. || *pisi* heat; hot. || *pul'* dust (R). || *azoro* master (IE). || *-zo*, Px3sg. || *kil'demeń*, gsg (!) of *kil'deme* horse, draught animal, (big) domestic animal; *kil'de-* put to a carriage; cf. lp *gælʲde-* bend, cock, stretch (bow, gun, spring); erect (tail) / ch *kəlde-*, *kilde-*, *kõlde-* bind; *kəldeš*, *kildeš*, *kõldeš* knot. || *kel's*, illative of *kel'* tongue, speech, etc.; see U fi *kieli*. || *sodï*, 3sg prs of *soda-* know. || *kunsolï*, 3sg prs of *kunsolo-*, *kuncolo-*, *kulcono-* listen; probably a derivative from *kule-* hear; see FU fi *kuule-*. || *meśť*, npl of *meze* what. || *kortïť*, 3pl prs. || *kil'demendë*, npl Px3sg. || *ot*, *vot* well, here, there, see there (R). || *-ś*, definite article, nsg. || *ot'večai*, 3sg prs of *ot'večaja-* to answer (R). || *bukaźne*, allative with the def. article. || *ton*, see sub *toń*t. || *arai* (in interrogative clauses) then, perhaps. || *maštat*, 2sg prs of *mašto-* be able to, understand; fi *mahta-* be able to | (?) ch *mõšte-*, *mošte-* understand, be able, know how to . . . || *meje*, *meze* what. || *tejme*, inf., *teiǩ*, 2sg imperative of *teje-* do, make; see FU fi *teke-*. || *ležiks*, translative of *leži*, ptc prs of *leža-* be lying sick (R). || *ṕŕat*, nsg Px2sg of *ṕŕa*, *piŕa*, *ṕre*, *pire* head, summit, top of a tree, ear, spike (spica); here: yourself; see FU fi *perä*. || *maťǩ*, 2sg imperative of *made-* lie down; cf. fi *makaa-*, inf. *maata* lie. || *sajt'adiź*, prs ind., subject 3pl, object 2sg, of *saje-*, *sai-*, M *sävə-*, *śavə-*, *sevə-* take, get; see U fi *saa-*. || *sajś*, 3sg prt of *saje-*; here it is used as a kind

of auxiliary, like Russ. *zvjaŧ*, fi *ottaa*, Swedish *ta*. || *maċ*, 3sg prt of *made-*. || *kulĭ*, 3sg prs of *kulo-* die; see U fi *kuole-*. || *buto* as if (R). || *śťaś*, 3sg prt of *śťa-* rise; see FU fi *seiso-*. || *valkske*, *valcke* early in the morning; *valdo* light (lucidus); fi *valo* light (lumen), *vaalea* light, fair, pale. || *azoronstë*, allative sg Px3sg. || *meśne*, inessive of *me-*, in instrumental function. || *mol'an*, 1sg prs of *mole-*. || *nej* now; fi *nyky-* present, actual, fi *nyt*, est *nüüd* now. || *-mo*, inf. || *-ś*, 3sg prt. || *roboťnikinstë*, allative Px3sg. || *kil'diĸ*, 2sg imperative: see sub *kil'demeń*. || *-śť*, def. article, gsg. || *štobu* in order that; before an imperative, this word has an intensifying function (R). || *čop* all the day. || *tendë*, *tenzë* to him, to her: all. sg Px3sg of the defective noun *te-*, M also *tej-* vicinity; see FU fi *tyvi*. || *il'a*, 2sg imperative of the negative verb; see U fi *älä*. || *simeks* beverage; see sub *simat*. || *tožo* also (R). || *lamǫ* much; fi *lamu* heap, *lamulta*, *lamolta* pretty much, a good deal (of). || *lotkavsak*, prs, subject 2sg, object 3sg, of *lotkavto-* cause to stop, make cease; *lotka-* stop, cease; cf. fi *lakkaa-*, inf. *lakata* cease. || *ajgorom*, nsg Px1sg (object). || *srazu* at once (R). || *puskaj* let him! (R). || *-teme* ~ *-tomo* without; fi caritive adjectives with the suffix *-ton* ~ *-ttoma-*, *-tõn* ~ *-ttömä-* | lp *-tæbme* ~ *-tæme-*. || *nu* now, well (R). || *nadumal* reflected, thought (a Russ. preterite borrowed wholesale). || *koda* here means 'as, when'. || *-śť*, def. article, gsg. || *odmańasa*, prs, subject 1sg, obj. 3sg, of *odmańa-* deceive, cheat (R). || *veńtindë*, *veńtińze*, 3sg prt, obj. 3pl, of *veńte-*, M *venəṕtə-* stretch, extend; *veneme-* stretch oneself; fi *veny-* stretch oneself, be extended; *venyttä-* stretch out, lengthen, drag out | lp *vâdnâ-* ~ *vânâ-* (be able to) be stretched out, extend, become longer, lay oneself down to full length; *vânâtâ-* stretch out (trans.) | ch *wine-* stretch oneself | yr *wõnəla-*, *wõnyda-*, *wõnybte-* stretch (intr.). || *pil'ĸ* = *pil'ĸť*, npl of *piľge* foot, leg. || *ṕŕat*, npl. In a copulative combination of two substantives, often both of them are put in the plural, e.g. *aťat babat* 'the old man and the old woman'. || *ej* just now, presently. || *-śť*, def. art., gsg. || *vel'ksës* over (= to the space above . . .): illative of *vel'ks* that which is above, the upper, topmost part, lid; see U fi *ylä-*. || *tejńat*, 2sg prs of *tejne-*, M *tijəńdə-*, frequentative of *teje-*. || *ležan*, 1sg prs: see sub *ležiks*. || *eiť*, 2sg prt of the neg. verb; see U fi *e-*. || *śťakšno-*, frequentative of *śťa-*. || *kevśnisask*, 3sg prs, obj. 3sg, of

kevśťne-, frequentative of *kevkśte-*, M *kizəʃ'tə-* ask; lp *gâžâtâ-* to question (closely); fi *kysy-* ask, inquire, require, call for | lp *gâččâ- ~ gâžâ-* ask a question of. || *eiń*, 1sg prt of the neg. verb. || *sakšno-*, frequentative derivative from *sa-*; see sub *saśť*. || *-s*, illative. || *estëdiť* about you: elative Px2sg (repeated) of the pronominal stem *ez-*. || *pečksïneĺ*, 1pl prs, obj. 3sg, of *pečke-* cut, slaughter, kill; see U fi *pätkä*. || *koli* if (R). || *śti*, 3sg prs of *śťa-*. || *neušto* what? really? (R). || *pečksamam*, 3sg prs, obj. 1sg. || *luči* rather (R). || *-n*, 1sg prs. || *rakazevś*, 3sg prt of *rakazeve-* start laughing; *raka-* laugh (loudly; onomatopoeic). || *laŋksosk* at them, over them: inessive (?) Px3pl of *laŋgo*, M *laŋga* surface, exterior, *lofca laŋga* cream (*lofca* milk); cf. ch *laj* cream. || *kil'demendë*, npl Px3sg. || *-ïť*, 3pl prs. || *jutkovask* (they) mutually: prolative Px3pl of *jutko* intervening space; see U fi *jotka*. || *kozejka* wife (R). *-zo*, Px3sg. || *kvaťa-* observe, understand (R). || *meks* why; that: translative of *me-*; cf. fi *miksi* why. || *miŕde* man, husband; see IE fi *marras*. *-zë*, Px3sg. || *rakiť*, 2sg prt of *raka-*. || *kardasnë*, iness. of *kardas* courtyard (Lituanian *gardas*). || *(i)śťak* so, just so, for no special reason; *iśťa* so; see U fi *e-* (in *että*). || *-iń*, 1sg prt. || *kemi*, 3sg prs of *keme-* believe; *keme* hard, firm; see FU fi *kämä*. || *esnëndë*, iness. Px3sg of *ez-* he. || *sarasnëne*, all. plural, definite form, of *saras* hen. || *korm* fodder (R). || *kaja-* throw. || *san*, 1sg prs of *sa-*. || *jovta-* say, tell; cf. fi *juttu* story, tale. || *manindë*, 3sg prs, obj. 3pl, of *mańa-* entice, allure (R). || *sarasnëń*, gpl, def. form. || *-ś*, def. art. || *aťakšoźne*, allative sg, def. form, of *aťakš* cock. *aťa* grandfather, old man; cf. est *att ~ ati-* father, dad, old man. || *ĺ'uva-* pick (with the beak); peck (R); *-k*, 2sg imper. || *ostatkine*, diminutive of *ostatka* remainder, remains, the last (R). || *-ť*, npl. || *-mok*, Px1pl. || *śovodńa* today (R). || *-sk*, Px3pl. || *sarazïndë*, npl Px3sg. || *sarazośne*, all. sg, def. form. || *moń*, genitive of *mon*. || *celoj* whole, full (R). || *estëdiŋ́k*, abl. of the pronominal stem *ez-*, with Px2pl. || *skamu-*, *śkamo-* alone; cf. *eś* myself, yourself etc.; see U fi *itse*. *-n*, 1sg prs (the pronoun is conjugated: see under Conjugation). || *tïńdeniŋ́k*, allative Px2pl of *tïń* you; see U fi *te*. || *ol'a* liberty (R). || *-śť*, def. art., gsg. || *ĺ'ukadize*, 3sg prt, obj. 3sg, of *ĺ'ukade-* peck once with the beak (R). || *kokol* crest (R); *-s*, illative. || *duma-* reflect, think (of something) (R). || *uš*, *už* already; (in neg-

ative clauses) any more, any longer (R). || *vejks* all; *vejke, ve* one; see FU fi *yksi*. || *kl'uvi*, 3sg prs; *kl'uvindë*, 3sg prs, obj. 3pl; *kl'uvit'*, 3pl prs, of *kl'uva-*. || *sarasnë*, npl, def. form. || *čat'mune-* be silent. || *-tatk, ťatk*, 2pl prs. || *pele-* be afraid; see U fi *pelko*. || *estëdiń*, abl. Pxlsg of *ez-*. || *takto* just so (R). || *saje-* take; *-vel*, 3sg subjunctive. || *kedezïndë*, ill. sg Px3sg of *keď* hand; see FU fi *käsi*. || *lokšo* whip. || *čavo-* beat, thrash; cf. [? fi *haava* wound | lp *cabᵎme-* beat] | ch *čaŋge-* to notch; *-vol'se*, 3sg subjunctive, obj. 3sg. || *kozejkando*, gsg Px3sg. || *peĸĸeť*, plural of *peĸĸe*, dim. of *peĸ*. || *-vel*, 3sg subjunctive. || *bu*, cond. particle (R). || *teťakaj*, vocative dim. of *tete* father; cf. fi *taatto*, kr *toatto*? || *kadïmak*, 2sg imperative, obj. 1sg, of *kado-* leave, desert, abandon; see U fi *kato*. || *moń*, gen. of *mon*. || *koť, hoť*, concessive particle (R). || *-k*, 2sg imperative. || *ćora* young man, man, son (< Turk.). || *sovavś*, 3sg prt of *sovavto-* introduce, bring; *sova-* enter; see U hu *av-*. || *kudos*, ill. of *kudo*. || *kundïze*, 3sg prt, obj. 3sg, of *kunda-* seize, catch; see U fi **kunne*. || *keťte*, abl. of *keď* (cf. fi *hän otti emäntänsä kädestä*). || *davaj* well! let us . . .! (R). || *-so*, iness., with instrumental function. || *-ndo*, gsg Px3sg. || *keveŕdemendë*, gsg Px3sg of the inf. of *keveŕde-* roll (trans.), make . . . revolve; fi *kivertä-* bend, distort, curl. || *veśkak, veśťkak* (in neg. clauses) once, a single time; *veśť* once, *ve* one; *-kak* even, at all; cf. fi *-kaan* ~ *-kään* id., *-kä* (after the neg. verb) and. || *teiĸ*, 2sg imper. of *teje-*.

2

(1) *aťań babań a ejdest a kakšost.* (2) *uli mazï avakšost.* (3) *alïjaś tombam alov mazï alnë.* (4) *čejeŕ jutaś, pulosondo botadïze, lazïze.* (5) *čikorgaťśť keŋkšendë, morazevśť avakšondo, zabor kajaś žeŕďando, varaka kajaś tolgando, tumo kajaś taradondo, ine-veď čourdaś potmaksondo.* (6) *mol'ć ine-vets avaś veď mel'ga.* (7) *vedrando kuŕćando laznïńde.* (8) *aťaś uroso sel'mendë tarksïńde.*

(1) An old man and his old wife had no child. (2) They had a pretty hen. (3) The hen laid a pretty little egg below the stove. (4) A mouse came, hit it with its tail and broke it. (5) The doors started sqeaking, the hens started singing, the fence threw away its rails, the crow dropped its feathers, the oak dropped its twigs, the Volga stirred up its bottom. (6) The woman was going to

the see for water. (7) She broke her bucket and her carrying-rod. (8) The old man put out his eye with the awl.

Lappish translation

(1) *Boadnjažist, galgost ii læk manna.*[1] (2) *Sud'nust læ čabbâ vuonces.* (3) *Dât mon'nii uuna vuollai čabbâ monažâ.* (4) *Sappan bódii, čâskii dâm seibiinis, cúw'kii dâm.* (5) *Uvsâk gičâidi, vuon'cak al'gi law'lot, ai'de bal'kistii erit câggiidis, vuorâžâs bal'kistii dolgiidis, hai'kâ bal'kistii óvsiidis, mærrâ moi'vii bodnes.* (6) *Gal'go mânâi mærâ gad'dai čaže vieššâžit.* (7) *Son cúw'kii æb'baris jâ guod'dem-staggos.* (8) *Boadnjaš čúg'gii čâlmes nas'kaliin.*

Finnish translation

(1) Ukolla ja akalla ei ole lasta.[2] (2) Heillä on kaunis kana. (3) Se muni lieden alle kauniin munan. (4) Hiiri tuli, löi sitä hännällään, särki sen. (5) Ovet narisivat, kanat rupesivat laulamaan, aitta heitti pois riukunsa, varis heitti sulkansa, tammi heitti oksansa, meri hämmensi pohjansa. (6) Akka meni merelle vettä hakemaan. (7) Hän särki sankonsa ja korentonsa. (8) Ukko puhkaisi silmänsä naskalilla.

-ń, gsg. || *baba* old woman; grandmother (R). || *a* not. || *ejď* child; *-st* Px3pl. || *kakš* child. *uli*, 3sg prs. || *mazï* pretty; cf. lp *muosse* taste; dainty morsel, rarity, 'quite an event' (of food and drink); Lule *muossen dâl dú čâlmeh* 'your eyes are a dainty morsel' (: I am delighted to see you). || *avakš* hen; *ava* mother, woman (Chuvash loan-word). || *alïja-* lay an egg or eggs; *al* egg, probably = *al* the lower part, that which is below or underneath, see U fi *ala*. *-ś*, 3sg prt. || *tombam* hearth in front of the stove. || *alov* (also *aloŋ*) down, under, below (indicating movement or direction): lative case of *al*, see above. || *-në*, diminutive suffix. || *čejeŕ* mouse; see FU fi *hiiri*. || *juta-* come along, pass by; see FU hu *jut-*. || *pulo* tail. *-so*, inessive ending (fi *-ssa*), has also the instrumental function: 'with'. *-ndo* = *-nzo*, Px3sg. || *botade-* hit once (onomatop.). *-i-*, preterite character. *-źe*, personal ending in the objective conjugation: subject 3sg, object 3sg. || *lazo-* break; *laz* board. || *čikorgado-* start creaking, squeaking; *čikordo-* creak, squeak; *čikor* creaking, squeaking (subst.), onomatop., cf. hu *csikorog-*

[1] Better: *Læigâ boadnjaš jâ gal'go; sud'nust ii læm âk'tâge manna.*
[2] Better: Oli kerran ukko ja akka; heillä ei ollut yhtään lasta.

creak, squeak. *-śť*, 3pl prt. || *keŋkš* door; cf. fi *kynnys* treshold. *keŋkšendë* = *keŋkšenzë*, npl Px3sg; the possessive suffix has here the function of a definite article. || *morazeve-* start singing; *mora-* sing. || *zabor* fence (R). || *kaja-* throw away. || *žeŕďa* pole, rail (R). || *varaka* crow; see U fi *varis*. || *tolga* feather; see U hu *toll*. || *tumo* oak; cf. fi *tammi*, ch *tum*, *tumõ*. || *tarad* branch, twig (Chuvash loanword). || *ine* big; see U fi *enä-*. || *vets*, ill. of *veď*. *ine-veď* sea; the Volga. || *čourda-* mix, stir, make muddy. || *potmaks* bottom; *potmo* the interior, belly, bosom. || *mol'ć* = *mol'ś*, 3sg prt. || *-s*, illative ending. || *-ś*, definite article. || *mel'ga* after, for. *-ga*, prolative ending; as to the stem, cf. lp *miel'dě* along. *mol'ć veď mel'ga* she went for water. || *vedra* bucket (R). || *lazno-*, iterative of *lazo-* break, here used of a single action with more than one object. *-ï-*, preterite character. *-ńde* = *-ńze*, objective conjugation: subj. 3sg, obj. 3pl. || *uro* (big) awl; see IE fi *ora*. || *sel'me* eye; see U fi *silmä*. || *tarkse-*, iterative of *targa-* pull out, put out. *sel'me targa-* put out an eye.

CHEREMIS

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF VOWELS

Quality

The Kozmodemyansk dialect of Western Cheremis has the following vowels:

u			*ü*	*i*
o	*õ*	*ə*	*ö*	*e*
a				*ä*

õ and *ə* are middle-high; probably, *õ* is rather a back-tongue vowel than a middle-tongue vowel, whilst *ə* is something between a front vowel and a middle-tongue vowel. *a*, *o*, *u*, *õ* may be regarded as back vowels, the other as front vowels. *õ* and *ə* are called 'reduced' vowels.

There are no diphthongs except such as consist of vowel + non-syllabic *i*, and they are not of frequent occurrence.

Vowel harmony

Western Cheremis has quite regular vowel harmony: the 2nd syllable has *a* or *õ* if the 1st syllable has a back vowel, but *ä* or *ə* if the 1st syllable has a front vowel. In chE there are exceptions to this rule, especially in the dialects next to chW.

In the easternmost dialects (where there has been a development *-õ* > *-o*, and *-ə* > *-e*) we find also *labial* vowel harmony; e.g. *ćaska* 'birch' ~ *jumo* 'God' ~ *šəže* 'autumn' ~ *šüdö* 'hundred'.

Quantity

In Cheremis one may distinguish between etymologically short and etymologically long vowels, just as in Lappish. *õ* and *ə* are

etym. short, the other vowels are etym. long. The etym. short vowels are always short (or extra-short). The etym. long vowels will always be a little longer than the etym. short, but they are noted as short or half-long. In most of the dialects they are half-long in open syllables if the following syllable has an etym. short vowel. In addition to this, the following rules apply to chW (Kozmodemyansk):

Two successive syllables cannot have a half-long vowel.

Final vowels are usually lengthened.

The vowel of an open stressed syllable is usually lengthened, provided that the vowel of the next syllable is not the final vowel of the word.

As the distribution of vowel quantity depends to some extent on whether the final syllable is open or closed, one may speak of *gradation* here, although this phenomenon has nothing to do with the consonant gradation in Finnish and Lappish. Take for instance *kè·ät* 'you go' (sg) ~ *ke·à* 'he goes'.

QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF CONSONANTS

Quality

The Kozmodemyansk dialect has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae	*b*	*p*	*d*	*t*			(*d'*)	*t'*			*g*	*k*
Fric. (blaesiformes) .	*β*	*φ*	*δ*						*j*		*γ*	(*χ*)
Fric. sibilantes . .			*z*	*s*	*ž*	*š*						
Affricatae		(*pφ*)		*c*		*č*						(*kχ*)
Tremulantes					*r*							
Cryptofricativae . .			*l*				*l'*					
Nasales	*m*		*n*				*ń*				*ŋ*	

χ occurs only in loan-words (and as glide after *k*).

Cheremis has *sandhi*: *p*, *t* and *k* at the beginning of a word usually change into *b*, *d* and *g* respectively after a homorganic nasal consonant belonging to the same clause, and into β, δ and γ respectively after other voiced sounds. We write *w* for β, and *d*, *g* instead of δ, γ.

NOTE.—When we write for instance *cilälän bukšat* 'they give all of them to eat', this seems contrary to the rule. But in such cases there is a reciprocal assimilation, and the phonetic notation is *cilälä·n^{m} bu·k^{x}šat*. And in *dišten godat* 'they carved', *-n g-* is phonetically rather *-n^{ŋ} g-*.

Quantity

All consonants are short in initial position.

Geminates occur only as a result of agglutination.

Otherwise, all consonants (and affricates) are short, except voiceless consonants in the position between a preceding voiced sound and a subsequent vowel, which are half-long.

STRESS

In chE etymologically short vowels, and such etym. long vowels as have in some dialects developed from *ə* or *õ*, cannot have the stress, except if the word contains only such vowels. If we keep this reserve in mind, we can say that the stress is, as a rule, in chE on the last of the etym. long vowels, and in chW on the penultima vowel, provided that this is not etym. short and preceded by an etym. long vowel.

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

Cheremis has no article, but the Px3sg (or the Px2sg) may have this function.

The cases are: nominative, genitive, accusative; inessive, elative, illative; ablative, allative (dative), lative; instructive; comitative; abessive; modal.

Obsolete case endings are combined with a few stems; e.g. *wəlnə* 'above' (= fi *yllä*); *wəlec* 'from above' (= fi *yltä*); *wəlän* 'onto'; *wəlkə* 'id'.

ät'ä 'father' and *äwä* 'mother' have the *vocative* forms *ät'i*, *äwi*.

In chW the plural base is formed by adding *-wəlä* (with extra-short *ə*).

When a genitive functions as qualifier, the principal word, as a rule, is combined with Px3sg; e.g. *ədərən pižə* 'the daughter's dog' (*pi* 'dog').

Combination of case endings

The genitive of a pronoun and even a substantive can be inflected, e.g. asg *məńənəm* 'that which is mine' (*mən*, gen. *məńən* 'I'); *škendən(əm) it kodõ*, *jəŋən(əm) it nal* 'do not give away your own, do not take that which belongs to others' (*škendən*, gen. Px2sg of *əške* 'myself, yourself, etc.'; *jəŋən*, gsg of *jəŋ* 'man, human being').

Nouns derived from case forms

Note: *wowšõm šut õlõn kõrõk nerkäštəš, säräη dərəštəš tumeš*. The cavity (: bee-hive) they used to cut into an oak growing on a hill-top or at the edge of a forest glade. The qualifiers *nerkäštəš* and *tərəštəš* are derived from the inessives *nerkäštə* and *tərəštə* respectively (*nerkä* 'top of a hill', *tər* 'edge').

Comparison of the adjectives

In Cheremis, the English comparative is rendered by putting the inferior member of the comparison in the ablative, e.g. *məńgəcən silan* 'stronger than myself' (literally: 'strong from me, compared to me'). On the other hand, the Turkish ending *-rak* ~ *-räk* is used to form relative as well as absolute comparatives; e.g. *iziräk* 'rather small; smaller'; *kogorak* 'rather big, rather great; bigger, greater, older, more venerable'. The superlative may be rendered in the same way ('which is big among the animals' = which is the biggest of the animals), or by putting *en* (Tat.) or *samoj* (R) before the positive.

Possessive suffixes

1sg *-m*. 2sg *-t* ~ *-d-* (after a front vowel, E also *-ć*). 3sg *-žõ* ~ *-žə*. 1pl *-na* ~ *-nä*. 2pl *-da* ~ *-dä*, *-ta* ~ *-tä*. 3pl *-štõ* ~ *-štə*.

Combination of pronoun and Px

A possessive suffix may be added to an interrogative or indefinite pronoun; e.g. asg *kõdõdam* 'which of you, whom among you'; *ni-maem-ät uke* 'I have nothing' (literally: 'there is nothing of mine'; *ma* 'what'; *maem* 'what among my things, what belonging to me'; *ńi-ma-at* 'nothing').

PARADIGMS

		Px1sg	Px3sg
1. Nom.	*kit* 'hand'	*kidəm*	*kitšə*
2. Gen.	*kidən*	*kidemən*	*kitšən*
3. Acc.	*kidəm*	*kideməm*	*kitšəm*
4. Iness.	*kidəštə*	*kidəštem*	*kidəštəžə*
5. Elat.	*kitkəc(ən)*	*kidemgəc(ən)*	*kitšəgəc(ən)*
6. Ill.	*kidəš(kə)*	*kidəškem*	*kidəškəžə*
7. Abl.	*kitlec*		
8. All.	*kitlän*	*kidemläm*	*kitšəläm*
9. Lat.	*kideš*	*kidešem*	*kidəšəžə*
10. Instr.	*kidən*		
11. Com.	*kitke*	*kidemge*	*kitšəge*
12. Abess.	*kitte*	*kidemte*	*kitšəde*
13. Mod.	*kitlä*		

Conjugation

INTRODUCTION

em-verbs and *am*-verbs

There are two conjugations in Cheremis, namely, the *em*-conjugation and the *am*-conjugation. The *em*-verbs have *e* before the personal ending in the first and second persons of the present indicative, whereas the *am*-verbs have *a* (in chW, *a* ~ *ä*) in 1,2sg, and (*õ* ~) *ə* in 1,2pl. Before the personal ending of the 3pl prs, the *em*-verbs have *a* (~ *ä*), whereas the *am*-verbs have *ə* (~ *õ*).

The most striking difference between the two conjugations is in the distribution of the element *š*. In the *em*-conjugation, *š* functions as the character of the imperfect (*imperfectum praeteriti*), in the *am*-conjugation it is the personal ending of the third singular of the present indicative.

NOTE.—3sg prs of *õla-*, *ula-*, 'to be', is *ulõ* in chE; in chW, we find the regular form *õleš* 'is', whilst *õlõ* means 'there is'.

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristics of tense and moods

Tense

There are three simple (non-periphrastic) tenses: present, imperfect preterite, and perfect preterite.

The present tense has no characteristic of its own.

In the *em*-conjugation, the imperfect preterite has the characteristic *š* (before the personal ending of 1sg and 2sg, *-šə-* [∼ *-šõ-*]); in chW, however, the 3pl is alternatively formed by adding the ending *-wə* to the verb stem. Before *š*, the stem has *ə* (∼ *õ*) instead of *e*. E.g., W 3sg ipf *widəš*, 3pl *widewə*, of *wide-* 'lead'.

In the *am*-conjugation, the imperfect preterite is chiefly characterized by the quality, or the absence, of the final vowel of the verb stem.

If the final vowel of the stem is preceded by a vowel, it is dropped in all the forms of the imperfect; e.g. chW sg *lim*, *lic*, *li*, of *liä-* 'become'.

NOTE.—In the easternmost dialects the final vowel of the stem is sometimes preserved in the singular and in 3pl (as *ə*, in 3sg as *e* or *o*). In chW the 3pl ends in *-wə*, preceded by *e*, e.g. *liewə*.

If the final vowel of the stem is preceded by a consonant, it is dropped in 1,2pl; in the other forms it is preserved, mostly as *ə* (∼ *õ*), and a preceding *l* or *n* is palatalized; e.g. W 3sg ipf *mańõ* of *mana-* 'say'. In *õla-*, *ula-*, 'be', palatalization occurs even in 1,2pl. In the eastern dialects, this verb has *ə* or *i* in the first syllable instead of *u* in the imperfect.

3pl has in chE *-ć* as personal ending instead of *-t* (by palatalization), e.g. *il'əć* 'they were'. In chW, 3pl has the ending *-wə*, preceded by *e*, e.g. *õl'ewə*.

3sg ipf of *õla-* is sometimes combined with a prs ind. to form a periphrastic preterite or conditional (sometimes with an optative connotation); e.g. *məń sörem õl'õ wara* 'later on I would have wished' (hu *később kivántam volna*; *sörem* 'I wish'). *õl'õ* may also be combined with pf ind. and with different moods.

The perfect preterite has the characteristic *-n-* (in 3sg, 1,2pl) ~ *-na-* (~ *-nä-*) (1,2sg) ~ *-nə-* (3pl), preceded by *e* in the *em*-conjugation and by *ə* (~ *õ*) in the *am*-conjugation; e.g. W *widenäm* 'I have lead'.

Periphrastic preterite tenses are formed by adding *õlõn* (3sg pf of *õla-* 'be') to a prs ind. or pf ind. These constructions seem to indicate a more or less far past; e.g. *anžen . . . mükšəm kəzətšəlä ak moštep õlõn* 'they did not understand (how) to keep (the) bees as (people do) now-a-days'.

Moods

There are five moods: indicative, conditional, imperative, precative, and desiderative.

INDICATIVE

The indicative mood has no mood characteristic: the personal endings are added to the verb stem (in the present tense) or to the bases of the preterite tenses.

CONDITIONAL

The conditional mood has the characteristic W *-gece-* (in 1sg, 2sg), *-gecə-* (3sg, 1–3 pl), E *-geće-* (1sg, 2sg), *gećə-* (3sg, 3pl), *-geć-* (1pl, 2pl). (In the easternmost dialects: 3sg *-geće-*, 1pl, 2pl *-get'-*.) The final vowel of the stem has the quality *ə* in the *em*-conjugation; in the *am*-conjugation it has disappeared. E.g. 1sg *widəgecem* of *wide-* 'lead', 2pl *tolgecədä* of *tola-* 'come'.

IMPERATIVE

The imperative has no mood characteristic. The 2sg has no ending whatsoever.

If immediately preceded by a vowel, the final vowel of the verb stem has disappeared in the imperative, e.g. 2sg imp. *pu* of *pue-* 'give'. A final vowel preceded by a consonant (other than the initial consonant of the stem) has disappeared in the *am*-conjugation; in the *em*-conjugation it has the quality *ə* or *õ*; e.g. 2sg *tol* of *tola-* come, *kodə* of *kode-* 'leave' (*ke* of *ke-* 'go').

As to the imperative of the negative auxiliary verb, see the Paradigms.

NOTE.—In ch, the 1st person imperative of fi, hu and other languages is rendered by the indicative, e.g. *kenä* 'let us go' (fi *menkäämme*, hu *mënjünk*).

PRECATIVE

The precative, which is a kind of variant of the imperative, occurs only in the second person. Characteristic: (W) *-ma-* ~ *-mä-*; in the *am*-conjugation, the final vowel has disappeared before this characteristic. E.g. *puema*, pl. *puemada* 'please, give!'

DESIDERATIVE

The desiderative mood expresses the wish or desire of the subject. The mood characteristic is *-ne-*. Before this characteristic, the final vowel of the verb stem has usually disappeared in the *am*-conjugation, e.g. *tolnenä*, 'we wish to come'. In the *em*-conjugation the final vowel of the stem, if preceded by a consonant, has the quality *õ* ~ *ə* (except for the monosyllabic stem *ke-*, 'go'); if preceded by a vowel, it has disappeared; e.g., 1pl *kodõnenä* of *kode-* 'leave', *punenä* of *pue-* 'give'.

Additional remark to the tenses and moods

3sg ipf prt of *õla-*, 'to be', is used like a kind of auxiliary in combination with another verb in the present indicative, perfect preterite, conditional, imperative, or desiderative.

Prs ind. + *õl'ə* is used in conditional structures, e.g. *om šoč əl'ə gən, om kuš əl'ə gən, ači den awilan nelə lieš əl'ə*. If I had not been born, if I had not grown up, it would have been difficult for Father and Mother. Sometimes this syntagm stands for a wish, e.g. . . . *naldalam əl'ə* 'I should like to buy . . .'

Pf + *õl'ə* forms a periphrastic preterite, e.g. *miń jalõm jićkältärenäm õl'ə* I had sprained my ancle.

Imperative + *õl'ə*. Example: *kudaldəšəč tudəm i kalasəšəč*: '*ia nalžə əl'ə təjəm*!' You threw it away and said: 'The devil shall take you!'

Conditional + *õl'ə* is used in prayers and spells; e.g. *pətətəme mü werkem, mü kaznam puget'ta il'e*. May it please you (plural) to give us a never-ending affluence of honey, plenty of honey.

Personal endings

Generic endings

From an historical point of view, only the first and second persons have personal endings.

1sg *-m*, 2sg *-t* (*-c*, etc.), 1pl *-na* ~ *-nä*, and 2pl *-da* (*-ta*) ~ *-dä* (*-tä*) are generic personal endings, but as already mentioned, the imperative does not occur in the first person and has no ending in the 2sg, and the precative occurs only in the second person and has no personal ending in the 2sg.

Indicative endings

The 3sg has no explicit personal ending in the *em*-conjugation. In prs ind. the stem ends in *a* (~ *ä*), e.g. *widä*, of *wide-* 'lead'. In the *am*-conjugation, the ending of 3sg ind. is *š*; before this ending the final vowel of the stem is *e*, e.g. *toleš* 'comes' (stem: *tola-*). As to *õla-*, 'be', see above.

The 3pl has the personal ending *-t* (*-c*, etc.). In chW, though, 3pl ipf has the ending *-wə*.

Endings of moods other than the indicative

3sg *-žə* ~ *-žõ*, and 3pl *-št(ə)* are historically identical with Px3sg and Px3pl respectively.

-t, the ending of 2sg imper. of the negative verb, may be identical with the corresponding indicative ending.

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

Cases of the verb stem

LATIVE CASE (ILLATIVE?): INFINITIVE

The infinitive has the ending *-š*. Before this ending, the final vowel of the stem has always the quality *a* (~ *ä*); e.g., *kandaš* 'to bring', *widäš* 'to lead', *tolaš* 'to come'.

INSTRUCTIVE

The instructive indicates an action that takes place at the same time as the action expressed by the predicate of the clause, or has taken place before. In its function it often resembles the French gérondif; e.g., *kolõn* 'hearing, en entendant; having heard, ayant entendu'. E.g. *wučen šogəšəm* 'I stood waiting, I stood and waited'. *kajźa šerən toleš*. The goat (having grazed, after grazing:) grazed and came back. *tu ludəm lüen naleš*. He shot the duck (caught it by shooting it). *manõn ojla* '(speaking) says . . .' *wõl'am . . . əšten mõštõdelət*. They were not able to make . . . bee-hives.

In combination with the verb *õla-*, the instructive forms periphrastic preterite tenses. *ücašen õlt*. They disputed. *pop tek puren ulət, šinžən ulət . . .* They went to the priest (entered the house of the priest), sat down . . .

ABESSIVE

E.g. *kandõde* 'without bringing or carrying'; *kolte* 'without hearing, not hearing'.

Verb nouns

NOMEN ACTI ET ACTIONIS

Derivative ending: *-mõ, -mə*. This noun may denote the action or state expressed by the verb stem, but rather as limited or specified in one way or another (cf. the noun in *-maš*). *ät'äm dokõ kemə šoeš*. I shall go and see my father ('the going to my father is coming'). *šüwer šoktəmə* 'bagpipe playing'. *me tolməna godəm* 'when we came' ('at the time of our arrival'). *šužarže murəməm kolešteš* 'he listens to his (younger) sister's song' (*mure-* 'sing'). *ärmeš puaš* 'to lend' (*ärä-* 'borrow', *pue-* 'give'). *woštəlmem šueš*. I must laugh ('my laughing comes': *woštəla-* 'laugh').

In combination with a following noun, this nomen actionis functions more or less like a (passive) participle. *jümõ wüt* 'drinking-water'; *nalmõ kində* 'bought corn'; *peldəmə u* 'melted butter'. *memnan šonəmə d'əŋgažə* 'the sister-in-law whom we have been thinking of' (*memnan* is the genitive of *me* 'we'); *məj šogəmə tumo* 'the oak in which I was standing'.

NOMEN ACTIONIS

Ending: *-maš*, W *-maš* ~ *-mäš*. *altalmaš* 'deceit'. *i kəlməmaš, lewəmaš* 'the freezing and the melting of the ice'. *keče löltmaš* 'sunrise' (*lölte-* 'rise'); *məjən kimaš pečke* 'the barrel in which I was lying' (*kie-* 'lie'); *kutanžõ popõmašõm cärnen* 'his bottom (anus) ceased to speak'.

ulmaš in the eastern dialects functions as a preterite either alone or together with the present or the perfect of another verb. *kum ergəšt ulmaš, ik üdərəšt ulmaš*. They had three sons and one daughter. *tudə jaləštak ila ulmaš ik pojan mari*. In that village (there) lived a rich man (*ila* is 3sg prs of *ile-* 'live'). *kugəźa dene kuwa il'enət ulmaš*. An old man and an old woman lived together.

PARTICIPIUM NECESSITATIS

Ending: *-šaš*, W *-šaš* ~ *-šäš*. It functions most in the same way as the Latin gerundivum; but it reminds of the gerundium insofar as it takes the direct object in the accusative. *lõtšaš* 'I must read' (*lõda-* 'read'). *mam əštəšäš?* What is to be done, what shall I do, quid est faciendum? *olaš kajšašem ulo*. I must go to (the) town, mihi in urbem eundum est (*-m* is Px1sg). *nömnan nalšaš üdəržə* 'the girl whom we shall take away' (*nömnan* is gen. of *me*, 'we', *-žə* is Px3sg, functioning as a definite article).

NOMEN AGENTIS

Ending: *-šə*, *-šõ*, *-še*, *-šö*, *-šo*; rarely *-kšə*, etc. *pəlgomõštõ õlšõ mänmän ät'i* 'our father, who art in heaven'. *kol-kućəšə* 'fisherman' (*kućе-* 'seize, catch'). *kotšõ oksa* 'the money that is (or was) left' (*koda-* 'remain').

PARADIGMS

Affirmative conjugation

PRESENT INDICATIVE

s 1	*widem* 'lead'	*tolam* 'come'	*õlam* 'am'
2	*widet*	*tolat*	*õlat*
3	*widä*	*toleš*	*õleš*, E *ulõ*
p 1	*widenä*	*tolõna*	*õlna*
2	*widedä*	*tolõda*	*õlda*
3	*widät*	*tolõt*	*õlõt*

IMPERFECT PRETERITE

s 1	*widəšəm*	*tol'õm*	*õl'õm*
2	*widəšəc*	*tol'õc*	*õl'õc*
3	*widəš*	*tol'õ*	*õl'õ*
p 1	*widəšnä*	*tolna*	*õl'na*
2	*widəštä*	*tolda*	*õl'da*
3	*widewə*, E *wüdəšt*	*tol'ewə*, E *tol'əć*	*õl'ewə*, E *il'*

PERFECT PRETERITE

s 1	*widenäm*	*tol(õ)nam*	*õlnam*
2	*widenät*	*tol(õ)nat*	*õlnat*
3	*widen*	*tolõn*	*õlõn*
p 1	*widennä*	*tolõnna*	*õlõnna*
2	*widendä*	*tolõnda*	*õlõnda*
3	*widenət*	*tol(õ)nõt*	*õlõnõt*

CONDITIONAL

s 1	*widəgecem*	*tolgecem*
2	*widəgecet*	*tolgecet*
3	*widəgecəžə*	*tolgecəžə*
p 1	*widəgecənä*	*tolgecənä*
2	*widəgecədä*	*tolgecədä*
3	*widəgecəšt(ə)*	*tolgecəšt(ə)*

IMPERATIVE

s 2	*widə*	*tol*
3	*widəžə*	*tolžõ*
p 2	*widədä*	*tolda*
3	*widəšt(ə)*	*tolõšt*

PRECATIVE

s 2	*widemä*	*tolõma*
p 2	*widemädä*	*tolõmada*

DESIDERATIVE

s 1	*widənem*	*tolnem*
2	*widənet*	*tolnet*
3	*widənežə*	*tolnežə*
p 1	*widənenä*	*tolnenä*
2	*widənedä*	*tolnedä*
3	*widənešt(ə)*	*tolnešt(ə)*

Negative conjugation

The negative verb

PRESENT INDICATIVE

sg 1 *am*, E *om*, 2 *at*, E *ot*, 3 *ak*, E *ok* (*o*, *ogeš*); pl. 1 *ana*, E *ogõna*, 2 *ada*, E *ogõda*, 3 *ak*, E *ogõt*.

IMPERFECT PRETERITE

sg 1 *šəm*, E also *šõm*, 2 *šəc*, E *šəć*, *šõć*, 3 *əš*, E also *õš*; pl. 1 *šənä*, E *šəna*, *šõna*, 2 *šədä*, E *šəda*, *šõda*, 3 *əš*, E *əšt*, *õšt*.

IMPERATIVE

sg 2 *it*, 3 *ənžə*, E also *inžə*, *ižnə*; pl. 2 *idä*, E *ida*, 3 *ənəš(t)*, E also *inəšt*.

DESIDERATIVE

sg 1 *ənem*, E also *õnem*, *inem*, 2 *ənet*, E also *õnet*, *inet*, 3 *ənež*, E also *õnež*, *inež*; pl. 1 *ənenä*, E also *õnena*, *inena*, 2 *ənedä*, E also *õneda*, *ineda*, 3 *əneš(t)*, E also *õnešt*, *inešt*.

The principal verb combined with the neg. verb

PRESENT INDICATIVE

am (*at*, *ak*; *ana*, *ada*) *widə*; 3pl *ak widep*; E *om* (*ot*, *ok*; *ogõna*, *ogõda*, *ogõt*) *wüdə*.

am (*at*, *ak*; *ana*, *ada*) *tol*; 3pl *ak tolep*; E *om* (*ot*, *ok*; *ogõna*, *ogõda*, *ogõt*) *tol*.

amõl 'I am not', *atõl*, *agõl*; *anal*, *adal*, *agõlep*; E *omõl*, *otõl*, *ogõl*, *ogõnal*, *ogõdal*, *ogõtõl*.

IMPERFECT PRETERITE

šəm (*šəc*, *əš*; *šənä*, *šədä*) *widə*; 3pl *əš widep*; E *šõm* (*šõć*, . . . *šõšt*) *wüdə*.

šəm (*šəc*, . . . *šədä*) *tol*; 3pl *əš tolep*; E *šõm* (etc.) *tol*.

IMPERATIVE

sg 2 *it widə*, *it tol*, 3 *ənžə widə*, *ənžə tol*, pl 2 *idä widə*, *idä tol*; 3 *ənəš(t) widep*, *ənəš(t) tolep*, E *inəšt wüdə*, *inəšt tol*.

DESIDERATIVE

ənem (*ənet*, *ənež*, *ənenä*, *ənedä*) *widə*, 3pl *əneš(t) widep*; E *inem* (*inet*, . . . *inešt*) *wüdə*.

ənem (*ənet*, . . . *ənedä*) *tol*, 3pl *əneš(t) tolep*; E *inem* (*inet*, . . . *inešt*) *tol*.

TEXTS

1

The angel and the devil

ožno godõm suksõ dön ia ücašen õlt. ia ojla suksõlan: 'mõńõm cõla kalõk kõckõrat ik were, wes were. mõń' — maneš — 'koštõn cõla were om kert. mõńõm peš šukun kõckõrat', maneš. 'aza šoceš', maneš, 'awaže mõlam pua' — maneš — 'azam.' suksõ ojla ialan: 'kõce' — maneš — 'tõńõm kõckõrat?' — 'awaže šõdeška,' maneš, 'aťaže õrwezõžlan, õrwezõm ojla' — maneš — 'ti õrweze iagõc šocõn, manõn ojla', maneš. suksõž ojla ialan: 'mõń' — maneš — 'tõlat om õnane.' — 'ot õnanõ-dõk', maneš, 'mõń tõlat onʒõktem kõńiškam. mõńõn' — maneš — 'cõla sirõm õlo', maneš, 'kü kõckõren' — maneš — 'mõńõm.' suksõž ojla ialan: 'mõń' — maneš — 'tõlanet om pu' — maneš — 'sulõkan jeŋõm; ške sõlem', maneš, 'sulõkõm kõdaltem', maneš.

Once (long ago) the angel and the devil disputed. The devil says to the angel: 'Everybody calls me hither and thither. I cannot go to all places. A great many people used to call me. When a baby is born, the mother gives the baby to me.' The angel says to the devil: 'How do they call you?'—'When the father and the mother get angry at the baby, they say, speaking of the baby: 'this baby is born by the devil'.' The angel says to the devil: 'I do not believe you.'—'If you do not believe, I shall show you my book. With me (: in the book) everybody is recorded who has called me.' The angel says to the devil: 'I do not give the sinner to you. I shall redeem him myself (and) take his sins away.'

ožno, ožnə, ošno, W *ažnõ* (*-no* is, historically speaking, the ending of the locative) formerly, in former times, beforehand, first; cf. *ošso* etc. ancient; earlier; lp *vuoč'čân* (with the same case-ending as in the ch word) in the first place (enumerating several points, or followed by: and moreover) | mdE *vaśńa* first, in the beginning, M *vasənda* | vty *vaź, vaʒ́* early, earlier, first | zr *voʒ́, võʒ́, oʒ́* early (= at an early hour etc.), very early, earliest, first; *voʒ́yn* first, in the first place. || *kodõm* at the time (of), while, whilst, when: asg of Kozmodemjansk, Uržum *kot* year, time; fi *kotva* time of indefinite length,

(rather) long time, some time, a rather short time | lpSouth, Lindahl & Öhrling *kåtfo*, 'boreal.' (Lule?) *kårfo* intervallum temporis vel locorum (the ch word may have been influenced by russ. *god*, year). *ožno godõm* formerly, earlier. || *suksõ* angel (Chuv. *sakče* < Tat.; Chuv. *syhći* protector, divinity). || *tön* at, with; *ton, tonõ, ten, tenə* at home; at, with; *tokə, tekə* (go) home; near, into the neighbourhood (of); *toran* near, into the neighbourhood (of); *torcõn, tećən* from one's home; from the neighbourhood, from; see FU *tor-*. || *ia, ija, iä* devil; nixie, water-sprite; goblin, kobold (< Tat. *əjä* master of the house; domestic spirit; *su əjäsə* the lord of the water [: ch *wüt-ija* water-sprite]; Chuv. *ijə* an evil spirit). || *ücašen*, instructive of *ücaše-*, Birsk *üćaše-* to compete, dispute, contend, quarrel; Birsk *üć* irritation, vengeance (Tat. *üč* vengeance, anger). || *õlt*, 3pl prs of *õla-*, W *õla-*, E *ula-*, to be; see FU fi *ole-*. A periphrastic preterite tense is formed by combining the instructive with *õla-*. || *ojla*, 3sg prs of *ojle-* speak, say; *oj* advice; talk, conversation (Chuv.?). || *-lan*, allative ending, cf. fi *-len*. || *mõńõm*, acc. of *mõń* I; see U fi *minä*. || *cõla*, Uržum *ćəla*, Kozmodemjansk *cilä* all, every (< russ. *celyj* whole?). || *kalõk* people (Tat.). || *kõckõrat*, 3pl prs of *kõckõre-*, Uržum *kõćkõre-* shout, call (< Tat. *kyčkyr-*). || *ik* one; see FU fi *yksi*. || *wer* place; see FU fi *vero*. *-e* seems to be a lative ending (see Beke, Cseremisz nyelvtan § 213). || *wes, wesə*, Malmyž *weśə* another, the second, the following, the other. *ik were, wes were* hither and thither. || *maneš*, 3sg prs of *mana-* speak, say, order; see U fi *manaa-*. *maneš*, always referring to the angel or the devil respectively, is not taken account of in the translation. || *koštõn*, ptc of *košta-*, W *kašta-* go, walk. || *om*, 1sg of the negative auxiliary verb; see U fi *e-*. || *kerta-*, Kozmodemjansk *kerdä-* be able; fi *kärsi-* suffer, endure, bear, stand, put up with, tolerate | lp *gierʲdâ-* bear, endure; stand, put up with; (with an infinitive:) take a long time to . . ., be quite a business to . . . | md *kirde-* keep; hold (= be firm, be solid, not break); suffer, endure, put up with; to rule, command, control. || *peš* very (< Tat. < Persian). || *šuko* much; cf. fi *sakka* sediment, dregs, *sakea* thick, dense | lp *suokkâd* | zr *suk* something thick, sediment, dregs; compressed, compact, thick, dense, thickly liquid, viscid. *šukun, šukon* is probably essive-locative: *šukon əlʲna*, hu *sokan voltunk* we were many, there

were many of us. || *aza, äzä,* Malmyž *aźźa* child, baby; see U md *ača.* || *šoceš,* 3sg prs of *šoca-* be born; see U mdE *šačo-.* || *awa* mother (Chuv.). *-že,* Px3sg. || *mõlam,* allative of *mõń.* || *pua,* 3sg prs of *pue-* give. || *-m,* accusative ending. || *kõce,* W *kõce,* Uržum *kuze,* Malmyž *kuźe* how. *kõ-,* see U fi *kuka. -ce,* cf. fi *konsa* when, *jonsen* (< **jonsa en*) if I not | vty *kyźy, kyźy* how, *oźy* so, thus, *taźy* so, in this way | zr *kyźy, kuź* how, *taź* so, in this way | hu *hogy* how, *úgy* so, in that way, *igy* so, in this way, *ingyen* gratis, cost-free. || *tõńõm,* acc. of *tõń* thou; see U fi *sinä.* || *šõdeška,* 3sg prs of *šõdeške-,* get angry; *šõde* anger, wrath. || *aťa* father; cf. md *aťa,* hu *atya* (Lallwort). || *õrwezə,* Kozmodemjansk *ərwezə,* Malmyž *urweźə,* boy (or girl; age up to 15); young; see IE fi *orpo. -ž-,* Px3sg. *-lan,* allative ending. || *-m,* acc. || *ti* this; see U fi *tämä.* || *-gõc,* elat. || *manõn ojla* 'saying he speaks'. || *-ž,* Px3sg, functions as a kind of definite article. || *tõlat,* allative of *tõń* thou. || *õnane-, inane-* believe (Turk.). || *ot,* 2sg of the neg. verb. || *-dõk* = (?) *tek* in vain; well, I do not mind (< Tat. *tik*). || *onzõktem,* 1sg prs of *onzõkte-* show; *onze-, onže-, ońźe-, anže-* look, watch, regard, superintend, tend, take care of, bring up, rear. || *kõńiška* book (R *knižka*). || *sirõm,* ptc (?) of *sire-* write (< Chuv. *śyr-*). || *õlo,* 3sg prs of *õla-* be. || *kü* who; U fi *ken.* || *-n,* ptc prt. || *sulõkan* sinner; *sulõk* sin (< Chuv. *śylõh*). || *jeŋ,* Uržum *jəŋ,* Kozmodemjansk *jäŋ* man (human being); foreigner; (W) soul. || *ške* myself, yourself, etc.; see U fi *itse.* || *sule-, sõle-,* Malmyž *śule-* redeem (< Chuv. *śõl-*). || *kõdalte-,* W *kõdalte-,* Uržum *kudalte-* throw away, discard, dismiss; *kõdala-, kudala-,* run (of quadruped), run along (on horseback or in a carriage).

2

marõwəlän mükš-urdõm gišän.

On the bee-keeping of the Cheremis.

toštõn mükš urdaš kəzətšə gań agõl, jažo õlõn: šərgə šukõ, peledəš-ät šukõ õlõn; anžen žə wele mükšəm kəzətšəlä ak mõštep õlõn. wõl'am kəzətšə gań ramanõm əšten mõštõdelət. prosta

Earlier, bee-keeping was not like what it is now—it was easy: there was much woodland, there were plenty of flowers; but people did not understand to keep the bees as

wõlaštõ dä wowšõštõ urdenət. wowšõm šut õlõn kõrõk nerkäštəš, säräп dərəštəš tumeš. wowš šuaš kuzat õlõn tum wujõškõ wowš-kerem-don; tawarõm, tolotam dä müksem kuzõktat sagaštõ.

they do now-a-days. They were not able to make bee-hives like the modern ones, with frames. They kept them in simple hives and tree-cavities. The cavities they used to cut into oaks growing on a hill-top or at the edge of a forest glade. In order to cut a bee-cavity, one climbed to the top of an oak with the aid of a beehive-rope. In climbing, one brought with oneself an axe, a chisel and a (curved) drove.

wowšõm šun bətärəməkəštə, pitəren-ok kodat õlõn läktemžəm-ät meləšəžəm-ät; tənäm-ok tištəm dišten godat õlõn, təheń dištəm dokõšt-at čaŋgen geät dä peregät õlõn, wes edem täləmgəc. käŋgəž lieš-ät čeľńəkəškə õgõršõm orolaš keät. õgõršõ orolõm godõm-ok wowšwəläm-ät anžat õlõn.

Having ended the cutting of the cavity, one fastened (lit.: left fastened) both the upper and the lower cover of the cavity. At the same time one cut an owner's mark (in the tree). They went home and cut such a mark there too and kept it in order to avoid the contention of other people. When summer comes, they go to the bee-garden to watch the bee-swarms. When they watched the bee-swarms, at the same time they looked at the bee-hives.

čel'ńəkəm šukõn ik-wäreš urdat õlõn; toštõn šket urdaš lüdət õlõn: šukõ šolõwəlä õlõnõt; tədən-don ik-wäreš əštenət. samoj kogo žel'ńəkwəläštəm əštenət šur dõr mõčkõ; təštə wär jažo õlõn: pister kogo, alõk kogo, kol-loaš-at wär ulõ.

There were many together working at the bee-garden. In the old time, people were afraid of working separately: there were plenty of thieves, therefore they worked in common. The biggest bee-gardens they made along the banks of the Sura river. There the place was good: a big lime-tree wood, a big meadow-land, even fishing-grounds.

teləm čel'ńəkəštə əške ak əlep, orolõm wele tärlät õlõn. šošõm lieš-ät əške keät čel'ńəkəškə käŋgəž gačeš. šošõm žõ wõl'awəläm wowšwəläm košтat, käŋgəžəm žə õgõršõm orolat. šəžə lieš-ät mü güdäš keät.

In the winter they did not live at the bee-garden, they only hired a guard. When spring comes, they go to the bee-garden themselves for the summer. In the spring they dry the bee-huts (and) the tree-

cavities, in the summer they watch the bee-swarms. When autumn comes, they go and cut the honey-combs.

mü-güdəm godõm žõ čel'ńək jəde praznõk kańõ: jüt äräkäm, pujõrõm, mü-zäškä stöl wəln-ok sinzä, hõť kü põrõ čel'ńəkəškə, cilälän bukšat müm. šərgə roen nälməkə toštõ-goršõ kogo-žel'ńəkwəlä pətenət.

At the time of the honey-harvest there is a sort of feast at each of the bee-gardens: They drink aqua-vitae and honey-beer, a cup of honey stands on the table, (and) whosoever comes to the bee-garden, they give all of them honey to eat. After the clear cutting of the forests, the big bee-gardens of yore have disappeared.

kəzət ərwez-edemwəlä kńigäm mükš kišän ləda š təŋgälnət-ät, ižə pälenət kõce mükš urdaš keleš. kńigäm lõdõn lõdõn raman wõl'am əštäš təngälənət; lõdõnõt kõce mükšəm anžaš keleš, kõce pukšaš keleš mü uke godõm, kõce mükš-äwäm əštəktäš keleš. kńigäštə šüdəm staťan kəzət čel'ńəkəm wojenət. toštõ staťan urdõšõ mükšeš kəzət šon ak kertep; kńigä staťan urdõšõn mükšəž-ät šukõ, müž-ät ulõ.

Now the young people have begun to read books on bees, they have at last found out how one ought to keep bees. After reading books, people have begun to make bee-hives with frames; they have read about how bees should be kept, how they should be fed when there is no honey, how one shall procure a new queen-bee. Now-a-days people arrange their bee-gardens in the way recommended in the books. Those who keep the bees in the old manner cannot get (much) now-a-days; those who work according to the books have both much bees and honey.

marõwšlän, gpl of *marõ*, E *mari* (married) man; Cheremis (IE). *-wšlä*, *-wlak*, *-lak*, plural ending; cf. lp *vâl've* pack of wolves; etc. | md *vele* village; bee-swarm. || *mükš* bee; see IE fi *mehiläinen*. || *urde-*, *wurde-* keep, nourish, rear; *urdaš*, inf.; *mükš-urdõm(õ)* bee-keeping, rearing of bees. || *kišän* instead of, for, because of, about, concerning; *kiš* sort, kind, quality. || *toštõn* earlier, formerly, aforetime, in the old time; *toštõ* old, former, past; mdE *tašto* old (of things); ancient, antique; M *tašta* old. || *kəzətšə* present, now existing,

actual; *kəzət* now (FU). || *kańõ* like, similar; like, as. || *agõl*, 3sg prs of the neg. verb + *õl-* ~ *õla-* be; see FU fi *ole-*. || *jažo* good, excellent, pretty (Chuv.). || *õlõn*, 3sg pf. || *šərgə*, Malmyž *šürgö* forest. || *peledəš* flower; *peledä-* to bloom, blossom. || *-at* ~ *-ät* even. || *anžen*, instr. of *anže-*. || *žə*, *žən* but. || *wele* only. || *-lä*, modal ending. || *ak*, 3rd prs of the neg. verb. || *mõšte-*, *mošte-* be able, understand (how to); fi *mahta-* be able to | md *mašto-* be able, understand (how to). *-p*, the ending of the 3pl of the principal verb in neg. clauses; the neg. verb is put in the 3sg. || *õlõn*, 3sg pf, forms a periphrastic prt: see Grammar. || *wõl'a* beehive (< Chuv. *vəl'l'ɛ*). || *ramanõm*, asg of *raman* provided with a frame; *rama* frame (R). || *əšten*, instr. *əšte-* make, do; work; cost; see FU fi *ehti-*. || *mõštõdelət* = *mõštõde*, abessive of the verb stem *mõšte-* (: unable), + *õlõt*, *ulət*, 3pl prs of *õla-* be. When combined with a verb that means 'be able to', the instr. of the verb stem can be rendered by an infinitive. || *prosta* simple (R). || *-štõ*, inessive. || *tä*, *ta* but, and (Tat.). || *wowš*, *wopš*, Malmyž *wops* beehive for wood-bees (a hollow tree). || *urdenət*, 3pl pf. || *-m*, asg. || *šut*, 3pl prs of *šua-* cut. || *kõrõk*, E *kurõk* hill; fi *korkea* high | mdM *kyrhka* deep. || *nerkäštə*, iness. of *nerkä* hill, top of a hill; *ner* nose, point, etc.; see U md *neŕ*. *-š(ə)*, suffix, forming adjectives. || *säräη* meadow, forest-glade (< Chuv. *śaran*). || *tərəštə*, iness. of *tər*, *tür* edge, brim, brink; shore, bank; (cutting) edge (of a knife etc.) | fi *terä* (cutting) edge; point; blade (of an oar); etc. | vty *dor* edge, margin, side; shore, bank | zr *dor* edge, margin; shore, bank. || *tumeš*, lative of *tum*, *tumõ* oak; fi *tammi* | md *tumo*. || *šuaš*, inf. || *kuzat*, 3pl prs of *kuze-*, *küze-*, Malmyž *küźe-* climb, rise; see FU hu *kúsz-*. || *wujõškõ*, ill. of *wuj* head; (upper) end; tip, ear (of corn); see U fi *oiva*. || *kerem* rope; leather lasso for climbing smooth trees in order to cut holes for wood-bees (< Tat. *kiräm*). || *tawar*, *towar* axe (Tat.). || *tolota* chisel (R). || *mükse*, *nüške*, Malmyž *nüśke* curved drove for hollowing trees for wood-bees; crow-bar. || *kuzõktat*, 3pl prs of *kuzõkte-* draw up, hoist, take with oneself in climbing (causative of *kuze-*). || *sagaštõ*, iness. of *saga* close, near, beside, at, with (Chuv. *śyvõh* close, near). || *šun*, instr. of *šua-*. || *pətärəməkəštə*, iness. of *pətärəmək(ə)*, formed —by a lative ending?—on the basis of the verb noun *pətärəmə*, belonging to *pətäre-*, *põtare-* to finish, terminate, conclude, put an

end to, annihilate, exterminate (Tat.). || *pitəren*, instr. of *pitəre-* to close, shut, stuff up, cork up (Chuv.). || *-ok*, (E) *-ak* indeed, exactly, even. || *kodat*, 3pl prs of *kode-* leave; see U fi *kato*. || *õlõn*, 3sg pf. || *läktem* the upper cover of the cavity of a beehive (with holes for the bees to fly through); *läktä-*, E *lekta-* go out, depart, go away; rise, appear; open, blossom; see FU fi *lähte-*. || *-žə*, Px3sg. || *-m*, asg. || *meləš* the lower cover of the cavity of the beehive; *mel* breast; see FU hu *mell*. || *-ät* . . . *-ät* as well as, both . . . and. || *tənäm*, E *tunam* then, at that time; *tə*, E *tu* that, yonder; see U fi *tuo*. *tənäm-ok*, E *tunam-ak* at the same time. || *tišten*, instr. of *tište-* cut in, carve, or write, one's owner's-mark; *tištə* owner's mark; fi *tähti* star; *tähden* for . . . sake; *tähdellinen* important | md *tešte* star; sign. || *təheń*, *təgeń*, E *tugańe* such a (*tə* + *kańõ*). || *tokõšt(õ)*, iness. (!) of *tokõ*, E *tekə* home (= to the house); see FU ch *tor-*. || *čaŋgen*, instr. of *čaŋge-* to notch, score; cf. [? fi *haava* wound | lp *cabᴵme-* beat] | md *čavo-* beat, whip, thrash. || *keät*, 3pl prs of *ke-*, *keje-*, E *kaje-* go; fi *käy-* ~ *käve-* ~ *käv-* go, walk. || *peregät*, 3pl prs of *perege-* keep, save, preserve (R). || *edem*, E *ademə* man, human being (< Chuv. < Arab.). || *täləmgəc*, elat. of *täləm(ə)*, nomen actionis of *täle-*, E *tawale-* emulate, quarrel, contest a person's right to something, dispute a person something, contend with a person for something (Tat.). || *käŋgəž*, E *keŋež* summer; fi *kevät* spring. || *lieš*, 3sg prs of *liä-*, E *li(j)a-* be; become; be possible; see U fi *lie-*. || *-at* ~ *-ät* when, after. || *čel'ńək* bee-garden (R). || *-əškə*, illative. || *õgõršõ* bee-swarm. *-m*, asg. || *orolaš*, inf. of *orolę-* to watch, guard, keep a lookout (Chuv.). *orolõm*, nomen actionis. || *-ok*, E *-ak*, intensifying enclitic. || *-at* ~ *-ät* (here:) also. || *anžat*, 3pl prt of *anže-*, Jaransk *onʒe-*. || *čel'ńəkəm*, object of *urdat*. || *wäreš*, lative of *wär* = Jaransk *wer*. *ik-wäreš* together, in common. || *urdat*, 3pl prs of *urde-*. || *šket*, *əšket* alone, isolatedly, separately; *ške*, *əške*, Malmyž *iške* myself, yourself etc.; see U fi *itse*. || *urdaš*, inf. of *urde-*. || *lüdət*, 3pl prs of *lüdä-*, E *lüda-* be afraid (U). || *šolõ* thief: see U fi *sala-*. || *õlõnõt*, 3pl pf of *õla-*. || *tədə*, E *tudõ* that, yonder; he, she: enlargement (reduplication?) of *tə*, E *tu* that, yonder; see U fi *tuo*. *-n*, gsg. || *-don*, probably = *ton* at, with, by (in causal function here). || *əštenət*, 3pl pf of *əšte-*. || *samoj* '-est' (superlative; R *samyj*). || *kogo*, E *kugu* big, great; fi *koko* heap; size;

whole, entire; rather, fairly. || *žel'ńək* = *čel'ńək*. || *-wšläštəm*: *-štə*, Px3pl, *-m*, acc. || *šur*, n. pr., the Sura river. || *dor*, enclitic, = *tər*, see above. || *mõčkõ* along; through, throughout; *mõrtnõ*, E *mučno* at the end (cases of **mõč* or **mõčõ*); *mõčaš*, E *mučaš*, *mućaš* (derivative) end, point, top; see FU *mučan*. || *təštə* there (iness. of *tə*). || *õlõn*, 3sg pf. || *pister*, E *pišter* lime-tree wood (forest); *pistə*, E *pištə* lime-tree, Tilia; est *pähn*. || *alõk* meadow, meadow-land (Chuv.). || *kol* fish; see U fi *kala*. || *loaš*, inf. of *loe-* catch. || *-at* also. || *ulõ*, 3sg prs of *õla-*. || *tel*, E *tele* winter; see FU fi *talvi*. *-m*, acc. || *ak*, 3rd prs of the negative verb. || *ələ-*, E *ile-* live; see U fi *elä-*. *-p*, ending added to the verb stem when combined with the neg. auxiliary verb. || *orolõ*, E *orol* guard, watchman (Chuv., cf. *orole-*). || *tärlät*, 3pl prs of *tärle-*, E *tarle-* engage, hire; *tär*, E *tar* wages, hire, payment (Chuv.). || *šošõm* spring, spring-time; in the spring. || *gačeš*, *kačeš*, lative (as answer to the question 'till when?' or 'for how long time?') of *kač*, E *koć*, (Vasil'ev) *koc* across, through. || *žə*, *žõ*, *že*, *žo*, *žö*, *šə*, etc. then, and then (without emphasis); *žə* ... *žə*, has the same function as Greek μὲν ... δὲ. Vasil'ev has the following example: *uremõšte kok jõŋ koješ*: *iktõ že jolõn kaja*, *vesõ že imńe dene* there are two men (to be seen, visible) in the street, one walking, the other riding. || *koštat*, 3pl prs of *košte-* to dry (trans.); *košk*e- to dry (intr.), get dry; *kukšõ* dry (adj.); see U lp *goikes*. || *šəžə*, E *šižə* autumn; see FU fi *syksy*. || *mü*, Malmyž, Birsk *müj* honey; see FU. || *küdäš*, inf. of *küde-*: *mü k.* cut the honeycombs; *küde-* also: examine (and empty fishing-gear); perhaps identical with *küde-* look at, look after, observe, watch, pasture. *-güdəm*, nomen actionis. || *jəde*, E *jəda*, (Vasil'ev) *jeda*, *jõda* (postposition) (at, for) each, every. || *praznõk* feast (R). || *kańõ*, E *kajə* similar, like. || *jüt*, 3pl prs of *jüä-*, E *jüa-*, *đüa-* drink; see FU fi *juo-*. || *äräkä*, E *araka* aqua-vitæ, raw spirit (< Chuv. < Arab.). || *pujõr*, E *purõ*, *pürə* beer mixed with honey; md *pure* mead, hydromel. || *čäškä*, *-zäškä* cup, bowl (R). || *stöl* table (R). || *wəlnə* on; see U fi *ylä-*. || *sinzä*, 3sg prs of *sinze-*, E *šińźe-* stand; see FU fi *seiso-*. || *hõť*: *h. kü* whosoever (R); *kü*, E *ke*, *kö* who; see U fi *ken*. || *põrõ* (!) = *põra*, 3sg prs of *põre-*, E *pure-* enter; have room, fit; see FU hu *fér-*. || *cilä*, E *ćəla* all. *-län* ~ *-lan*, allative-dative. || *pukšat*, 3pl prs of *pukše-* feed, give to eat; *pue-* give. || *roen*, instr. of *roe-*, E

rue- to cut (with an axe etc.), hew; see FU hu *ró-*. || *nälmə*, E *nalmõ*, nomen actionis of *nälä-*, E *nala-* take; buy; marry (trans., a girl). || *-kə* ~ *-kõ* after (according to Beke, *-k-* < **-lk-*). Thus, *roen nälməkə* literally: after the taking away by cutting. || *kotšõ*, *koršõ*, E *kotšo* (being) from the time of . . ., (as) old (as indicated by the preceding word or the former member of the compound); *-šõ* ~ *-šə*, E *-sõ*, *-so* ~ *-sə* and *-śo* ~ *-śe* ~ *-śö*, ending that forms adjectives from local and temporal expressions. *kot* time. || *pətenət*, 3pl pf of *pəte-*, E *põte-* pass away, vanish, disappear (Tat.). || *kńigä* book (R). || *lõdaš*, inf. of *lõda-*, E *luda-* count; read; see IE fi *luke-*. || *təŋgälənət*, 3pl pf of *təŋgälä-*, *tiŋgälä-*, E *tüŋala-*, *tügala-*, *tüala-* begin; *təŋ*, *tiŋ*, acc. *təŋgəm*, *tiŋgəm*, E *tüŋ*, acc. *tüŋəm* butt, base, the lower end (of the trunk); mouth of a river; beginning; see FU fi *tyvi*. || *ižə* only now. || *pälenət*, 3pl pf of *päle-*, E *pale-*, Malmyž *palle-* recognize, find out (Chuv. *palla-*). || *kõce* how. || *pukšaš*, inf. of *pukše-*. || *keleš*, E *küleš*, it is necessary, (I, you etc.) must, shall; FU hu *këll(e)-*. || *lõdõn*, instr. of *lõda-*; *lõdõn lõdõn* 'on reading and reading'. *lõdõnõt*, 3pl pf. || *anžaš*, inf. of *anže-*. || *uke* there is not; non-existence; deficiency, absence. || *mükš-äwä* queen-bee; *äwä*, E *awa* mother. || *əštəkte-*, E *õštõkte-* (causative of *əšte-*) to cause to do or make something, to commission; to procure. || *-štə*, inessive. || *šüdəm(ə)*, nomen acti, nomen actionis of *šüde-* command, advise, recommend. || *staťa* manner, way (R). *-n*, instr. || *wojenət*, 3pl pf of *woje-* arrange (R *zavodiť*?). || *urdõšõ*, nomen agentis. || *-eš* (lative), combined with the expression of the object of an occupation: 'on, with'. || *šon*, instr. of *šoa-*, E *šua-* get, etc.; U fi *saa-*. As to the construction, cf. *əšten mõštõdelət*. || *kertep*, 3pl, used in combination with the neg. verb, of *kerdä-*, E *kerta-*. || *urdõšõn ulõ* . . . the worker (bee-keeper) has . . .: in translating an English clause where 'have' has a direct object, 'have' is rendered by *õla-* 'be' and the ch counterpart of the subject is put in the genitive, just as in md; fi has the same construction in *minun on nälkä* 'I have hunger, I am hungry' and the like. || *mükšəž-* = *mükšəžə*, *müž-* = *müžə*; *-žə* is Px3sg. || *-ät* . . . *-ät* both . . . and . . .

VOTYAK

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

The Yelabuga dialect of the Votyak language has the following vowels:

u, y	*ü, i*
o, õ	(*ė*) *e* *ö, ɛ*
å, a	

At each tongue-level there are two back vowels, which differ insofar that one is labialized, the other not. The higher the back vowel, the stronger the labialization.

ü is an intermediary between German *u* and *ü*, or something like the syllabic vowel of Engl. *sue*.

e is an open (relatively low) *e*, as in fi *mene* 'go'! *ė* is a higher (more closed) variant, occurring in palatalized environment.

ö and *ɛ* stand for rather open vowels.

Diphthongs ending in non-syllabic *i* are of frequent occurrence, and non-syllabic *u* and *ü* (here written *w*) are also frequent, especially in the combinations *åw* (= *åu̯*) and *yw* (= *yü̯*). Before non-syllabic *u* there occurs a more open variant of *o*. There are no other diphthongs than those ending in non-syllabic *i*, *u* or *ü*, except the sequences of *u* or *ü* (both written *w* here) + vowel after initial *k*.

In monosyllables, a final vowel may be lengthened, e.g. *pu* 'tree, wood'. Otherwise, all vowels may be regarded as short, except where the loss of *l* has resulted in the lengthening of the preceding vowel to half-length.

CONSONANTS

The Yelabuga dialect has the following consonants:

	Bila-biales		Labio-den-tales		Prae-dorsales		Apicales		Medio-dorsales anter.		Medio-dorsales poster.		Post-dorsales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae . . .	*b*	*p*			*d*	*t*			*d'*	*t'*			*g*	*k*
Fric. (blaesiformes)			*v*								*j*			
Fric. sibilantes .					*z*	*s*	*ž*	*š*	*ź*	*ś*				
Affricatae							*ǯ*	*č*	*ʒ́*	*ć*				
Tremulantes . .		-					*r*							
Cryptofricativae .					*l*				*l'*					
Nasales	*m*				*n*				*ń*				*ŋ*	

Geminates are of rare occurrence. Apart from the geminates, all consonants may be regarded as short.

STRESS

The main stress is usually on the last syllable.

MORPHOLOGY

DECLENSION

Votyak has no article, but the Px3sg may function as a kind of definite article.

The cases are: nominative, accusative, inessive, (instructive), elative, illative, adessive, ablative, allative (dative), egressive, terminative, prolative, processive, abessive.

The personal pronouns have a locative (instead of inessive and adessive), a separative (instead of elative and ablative), and a lative (instead of illative and allative). See the Paradigms.

An indefinite direct object is put in the nominative. A definite direct object can be put in the nom. with Px3sg (*-z*), but before the Px3sg, the vowel *e* has then been generalized as final vowel of the stem, so that for instance 'his father' or 'the father' is *ajiz* when it functions as subject, but *ajez* when it functions as object (*aj* 'father, a father'), whereas for instance *valez*, nsg Px3sg of *val* 'horse' functions as subject and object alike. Thus *-ez* may be regarded as an accusative ending. After plural possessive suffixes ('our', etc.) the acc. has the ending *-es*, e.g. asg Px1pl *pimes* of *pi* 'son' (nsg Px1pl *pimy*).

After singular possessive suffixes, in singular personal pronouns and in one or two nouns we find the accusative ending *-ɛ*, e.g. asg Px3sg *nylzɛ* of *nyl* 'daughter' (nsg Px3sg *nylyz*); *monɛ*, acc. of *mon* 'I', *sojɛ*, acc. of *so* 'he, that, yonder'; *murtɛ*, asg of *murt* 'man'.

The accusative of the plural personal pronouns mostly ends in *-yz*: *mil'emyz* 'us', *til'edyz* 'you', *so(j)osyz* 'they'. (In the pronouns of the first and second persons the Px3sg seems to have been added to the lative: *mil'em*, *til'ed*.)

NOTE.—In some dialects, the acc. of the plural personal pronouns have the ending *-dy*, *-ty*: 1 *mil'emdy* (stem: *mil'em-*), 2 *til'eddy* (stem: *til'ed-*), 3 *sojosty* (nom. *sojos*). This is no doubt identical with the Px2pl: see below, under Possessive suffixes.

Both historically and from a synchronic point of view it is uncertain whether the inessive and the instructive should be kept apart. Let us here make the somewhat arbitrary distinction that forms ending in *-en* are instructives. We say then that the inessive ends in *-yn* (seldom: *-n*), whilst the instructive ends in *-en*. Both cases have much the same functions: to indicate place (where) or time (when) of the verb action, means or instrument (by, with), etc.

One may say that in the Votyak language the local functions of the internal and the external local cases are not kept apart to the same extent as in Finnish. As to the adessive, it is not a local case, strictly speaking. It corresponds semantically to the fi adessive in constructions where *vyl-*, 'to be', would be rendered in English by 'have', e.g *odig ad'amilen kwiń piez vyläm*, 'a man had five sons', fi *eräällä miehellä oli viisi poikaa*.

The egressive ('from') has the ending *-śen*; it is of rare occurrence.

The terminative (cf. Estonian Grammar) has the ending *-ź́* (*-ź*, *-ś*).

The prolative has the ending *-(e)ti*, which sometimes should be rendered by 'through'.

The processive has the ending *-ja*, which may as often as not be rendered by 'according to'.

A *lative* ending *-ń* occurs in combination with a few defective noun stems.

A suffix *-lań* occurs in *uwlań* '(moving) down', and the like. In Ziryene, this ending forms a case called *approximative*.

The plural base of substantives is formed by adding *-jos* (*-os*; see FU vty *-jos*).

Historically, the plural characteristic *-jos* is probably a noun with the signification 'people' (see FU). This explains why it also stands for 'the inhabitants of' (the place expressed by the word stem), 'the participants' (of a wedding, for instance), 'the (members of the) family of', and the like.

'Parents (father and mother)' is *ajjos* (*aj* 'father'), *anajjos* (*anaj* 'mother'), *mumijos-ajjos* (*mumi* 'mother'), or *ataj-anaj* (*ataj* 'father').

Adjectives are uninflected when they function as attributes. When they function as complement of the predicate, they have the plural ending *-eś*, but they may also be uninflected.

An English genitival construction ('the boy's hat', 'the top of the spruce', and the like) is usually rendered in Votyak by putting the qualifier in the adessive and adding the Px3sg to the principal word (sometimes the ablative is used instead of the adessive), but not unfrequently the qualifier is put in the nominative, and then there is, as a rule, no Px after the principal word.

Comparison of the adjectives

The comparative endings *-ges*, *-gem* have a diminutive function at the same time, e.g. *uzyrges* 'a little richer'. Otherwise, the inferior member is put in the ablative, conveying the notion 'compared to', e.g. *kyzleś žužyt* 'taller than a spruce' (*kyz* 'spruce', *žužyt* 'high, tall').

Possessive suffixes

The Px is placed after the case ending, except in the accusative and the external local cases.

The shape of the Px will appear from the Paradigms.

The npl Px3sg is sometimes used as direct object, the Px functioning as definite article, e.g. *vań kyzjosyz* 'all the spruces, abietes cunctas'. Even the npl Px2sg (*-josty*) is used in the same way.

PARADIGMS

1. Nom. *murt* 'man'
2. Acc. *murtɛ, murtez*
3. Iness. *murtyn*
4. Instr. *murten*
5. Elat. *murtiś*
6. Ill. *murtɛ*
7. Adess. *murtlen*
8. Abl. *murtleś*
9. All. *murtly*
10. Egress. *iṅmiśen* 'from heaven' (*iṅm-*)
11. Termin. *murtoʒ́*
12. Prol. *õseti* 'through the door' (*õs*)
13. Process. *tõlja* '(along) with the wind' (*tõl*)
14. Abess. *murttek*

Nom.	*mon* 'I'	*ton* 'thou'	*so* 'he, yonder'
Acc.	*monɛ*	*tonɛ*	*sojɛ*
Loc.	*mynam*	*tynad*	*solen*
Instr.	*monenym*	*tonenyd*	*so(j)in*
Sep.	*myneśtym*	*tyneśtyd*	*soleś*
Lat.	*mynym*	*tynyd*	*soly*
Nom.	*mi* 'we'	*ti* 'you'	*so(j)os* 'they'
Acc.	*mil'emyz*	*til'edyz*	*so(j)osyz*
Loc.	*mil'am*	*til'ad*	*so(j)oslen*
Instr.	*mil'emyn*	*til'edyn*	*so(j)osyn*
Sep.	*mil'eśtym*	*til'eśtyd*	*so(j)osleś*
Lat.	*mil'em(ly)*	*til'ed(ly)*	*so(j)osly*

Px

	1sg	2sg	3sg
1. Nom.	*murtɛ*	*murted*	*murtez*
2. Acc.	*murtmɛ*	*murttɛ*	*murtsɛ*

	1sg	2sg	3sg
3, 6. Iness., Ill.	*murtam*	*murtad*	*murtaz*
4. Instr.	*murtenym*	*murtenyd*	*murtenyz*
5. Elat.	*murtiśtym*	*murtiśtyd*	*murtiśtyz*
7. Adess.	*murtelen*	*murtedlen*	*murtezlen*
8. Abl.	*murteliś*	*murtedliś*	*murtezliś*
9. All.	*murtely*	*murtedly*	*murtezly*
12. Prol.	*murttim*	*murttid*	*murttiz*

	1pl	2pl	3pl
1. Nom.	*murtmy*	*murtty*	*murtsy*
2. Acc.	*murtmes*	*murttes*	*murtses*
3, 6. Iness., Ill.	*murtamy*	*murtady*	*murtazy*
4. Instr.	*murtenymy*	*murtenydy*	*murtenyzy*
5. Elat.	*murtiśtymy*	*murtiśtydy*	*murtiśtyzy*
7. Adess.	*murtmylen*	*murttylen*	*murtsylen*
8. Abl.	*murtmyliś*	*murttyliś*	*murtsyliś*
9. All.	*murtmyly*	*murttyly*	*murtsyly*
12. Prol.	*murttimy*	*murttidy*	*murttizy*

	1sg	2sg	3sg
1. Nom. pl.	*murtjosy*	*murtjosyd*	*murtjosyz*
2. Acc.	*murtjosmɛ*	*murtjostɛ*	*murtjossɛ*
3, 6. Iness., Ill.	*murtjosam*	*murtjosad*	*murtjosaz*
4. Instr.	*murtjosynym*	*murtjosynyd*	*murtjosynyz*
5. Elat.	*murtjosliśtym*	*murtjosliśtyd*	*murtjosliśtyz*
7. Adess.	*murtjosylen*	*murtjosydlen*	*murtjosyzlen*
8. Abl.	*murtjosyliś*	*murtjosydliś*	*murtjosyzliś*
9. All.	*murtjosyly*	*murtjosydly*	*murtjosyzly*
12. Prol.	*murtjostim*	*murtjostid*	*murtjostiz*

	1pl	2pl	3pl
1. Nom. pl.	*murtjosmy*	*murtjosty*	*murtjossy*
2. Acc.	*murtjosmes*	*murtjostes*	*murtjosses*
3, 6. Iness.-Ill.	*murtjosamy*	*murtjosady*	*murtjosazy*
4. Instr.	*murtjosynymy*	*murtjosynydy*	*murtjosynyzy*
5. Elat.	*murtjosliśtymy*	*murtjosliśtydy*	*murtjosliśtyzy*
7. Adess.	*murtjosmylen*	*murtjostylen*	*murtjossylen*
8. Abl.	*murtjosmyliś*	*murtjostyliś*	*murtjossyliś*
9. All.	*murtjosmyly*	*murtjostyly*	*murtjossyly*
12. Prol.	*murtjostimy*	*murtjostidy*	*murtjostizy*

Conjugation

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristic of tense and moods

Tense

There are three non-periphrastic tenses, namely, present, future, and (simple) preterite.

The present tense has the characteristic *-(i)śko-* in the first and second persons; in the third person it has no characteristic of its own. Cf. the Paradigms.

NOTE.—Stems ending in *l* drop this consonant before a consonant and at the end of the word; e.g., *veraśko* 'I say', *vera* 'he says', but *veralo* 'they say'. This rule holds good in all tenses and moods.

The future tense has the characteristic *o*, before which the final vowel of the stem (if any) disappears; e.g., *baśto* 'I shall take', *veralo* 'I shall say'.

The preterite has the characteristic *i* in the indicative (with loss of the final vowel of the stem before *i*), if the verb stem does not end in *l*. Stems in *l* have the tense characteristic *j* (with loss of the *l*) in the 1st sg; in the other persons they have no preterite characteristic. E.g., *baśti* 'I took', *baśtimy* 'we took', *veraj* 'I said', *veramy* 'we said'.

Moods

There are five moods: indicative, narrative, conditional, imperative, and optative.

The narrative mood (*modus narrativus*) implies that 'people say' that the event has taken place.

The indicative and the imperative have no mood characteristics.

The narrative mood has the character *-il'l'am-* in the third person plural. In the other forms (2sg, 3sg, 2pl) it has the characteristic *-m-* (2sg *-me-*) after stems in *a*, and *-em-* (2sg *-eme-*), with loss of the final vowel of the verb stem, after other stems. Historically speaking, 3sg in *-(e)m* is a verb noun, and 2sg and 2pl have been formed by adding a possessive suffix. Examples: *veram* 'he said,

he has said' (allegedly; Turkish: demiš), *baśtil'l'am(zy)* 'they took' (allegedly; Turkish: almyšlar).

The conditional has the characteristic *-sal-* or (before a personal ending consisting of a consonant) *-sala-*.

There is only one optative base in Votyak, namely, *meda-*, which functions as a suppletive optative of the negative auxiliary verb.

Additional remarks on periphrastic forms

The (prt) form *val* of the verb *vyl(y)-*, 'be', in combination with a preceding present indicative forms a cursive (progressive) preterite, e.g. *baśtiśko val* 'we were taking'. Sometimes this construction implies that the action was on the verge of taking place, just missed the point, e.g. *muso jyry byriśkɛ val* 'my dear head (: I) was on the point of perishing (tantum non interii)'.

Sometimes *val* is combined with an imperative, e.g. *ići-nɛ śi val, no ćeskyt-nɛ śi val! pijosen vetly val, no kõto en lu val!* 'Eat little, but eat sweet (things)! Walk with the boys, but do not get gravid!'

The (3rd sg) narrative *vylem* of *vyl(y)-*, 'be', in combination with a preceding present indicative forms a periphrastic narrative mood with cursive aspect, e.g. *ti baśtiśkody vylem* 'you were taking' (allegedly, as people say).

A periphrastic preterite, especially pluperfect, is formed by combining the narrative or the (nomen actionis and) ptc prt in *-m* (*-em*, *-am*) with a following *val* or *vylem*; e.g. *mi baśtemmy val, mi baśtemmy vylem* 'we had taken'.

A periphrastic *optative* is formed by combining the future with a preceding *med*, e.g. *med baśtozy* 'would that they might take (utinam capiant)'. Sometimes *val* is added, e.g. *med ortčozy val śekyt arjosmy!* 'May our heavy (difficult) years pass away!'

Personal endings

The *imperative* occurs only in the second person. In the singular it has no ending whatsoever: *baśty* 'take!' *myn* 'go!' *vera* 'say!' In the plural it has the ending *-ɛ* or *-elɛ* (with loss of the final vowel of the stem): *baśtɛ* (or *baśtelɛ*), *veralɛ!*

In the other moods, the personal endings are more or less identical with the possessive suffixes. In the present indicative though, there is no Px in the third person. In 3sg, stems in *l* drop this consonant in prs ind., whereas the other stems change their final vowel into *ε*. 3sg prs *baśtε*, *vera*. In 3pl the personal ending is (from a descriptive point of view) *-o* (with loss of the final vowel of the stem): *baśto*, *veralo*.

In the first person singular, the ending *-m* sometimes occurs in the future tense in questions, e.g. *lyktom-a?* (or *lykto-a?*) 'Shall I come?' *mon ku kulom?* 'When shall I die?' Otherwise the first person singular has no ending. Prs ind. *baśtiśko*, *veraśko*. Fut. *baśto*, *veralo*. Ipf. *baśti*, *veraj*. Cond. *baśtosal*, *verasal*.

In the conditional mood, 3sg (and even 2sg) can be identical with 1sg, e.g. *baśtysalyz* or *baśtysal*.

The ending of 1pl is *-m* or *-my* (or *-mε*), e.g. prs ind. *baśtiśkom(y)*.

DEFECTIVE VERBS

The auxiliary verb *vyl(y)-* ~ *val-*, 'be', has no conditional and no imperative, being supplemented in these moods by *lu(y)-* ~ *lo-* 'be, become, be possible'. The present indicative is *vań*, the imperfect *val*, the narrative singular *vylem*, plural *vylil'l'am*. None of these forms is combined with a personal ending, the person and number of the subject being indicated by a pronoun or (in the third person) a noun; e.g. *mon vań* 'I am', *ton vań* 'thou art', *so vań* 'he is'.

The negative auxiliary verb has no conditional and no distinction between present and future. On the other hand, it has an optative base, *meda-* (see the Paradigms).

In the present indicative and future, the neg. verb has the stem *u-*. The personal endings are in the first person *-g*, in the second person *-d*, and in the third person *-z*, without distinction as to number. The *-g* of the 1st person may be historically identical with the *-k* ~ *-g-* in Cheremis W 3sg (and 3pl) *ak*, E 1pl *ogõna*, 2pl *ogõda*, 3pl *ogõt*, which is probably a remnant of the PU characteristic of the present tense.

The preterite has the stem *õ-*; the personal endings are: sg *-j*, *-d*, *-z*, plur. *-m*, *-d*, *-z*.

The imperative is *en* (uninflected).

As to the negative conjugation, see the Paradigms.

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

Nouns derived from the verb stem

NOMINA ACTIONIS

-n (not very frequent) forms substantives denoting the verb action pure and unrestricted, e.g. *dera-kuon* 'the weaving of linen' (*kuy-* 'to weave'). It also occurs in substantives denoting the content of or a special aspect of the verb action, or the place of the action, or an instrument, e.g., *ulon* 'life', *kõlon* 'night's dwelling, night-quarters' (*kõl-* 'pass the night'), *kukćan* 'hoe' (*kukćal-* 'to hack, hoe').

Before this suffix, the final vowel of disyllabic stems has the quality *o*.

-m forms substantives which denote the verb action either in itself or as restricted or determined in one way or the other, e.g. *synam* 'the combing' (*synal-* 'to comb'), *dugdiz vetlemyś* 'he stopped walking' (fi 'lakkasi kulkemasta'); *pyrem berɛ* 'after going in'; *mynam sojɛ aźźemɛ ug pot* 'I do not wish to see him' (literally: 'my seeing him does not please'). *aźźi mon kytsy ponemdɛ.* 'I have seen where you put them.' A few substantives denote the content or a special aspect of the verb action, e.g. *ulem* 'life' (= fi *elämä*), or the result or the object of the action, e.g. *podem* 'primitive beehive, cavity in a tree for bees' (*pod-* 'to cover, shut the bee-cavity').

As qualifiers, nouns in *-m* denote that the person signified by the principal noun has performed the action expressed by the basic stem of the qualifier, or become (been) the object of this action: i.e., they function as ptc prt act. and pass.; e.g. *kulem murt* 'a deceased man'; *lymy-ulyn toljem kudy* 'the currant that had passed the winter under the snow'; *sowen* (= *solen*, adess. of *so*, 'he', used as agent) *pukśem ińtijez* 'the place where he had settled down'; *kwasam ńań* 'broken bread'; *kuśtem kut* 'a thrown-away bast-shoe'; *śyr śiem ńań* 'a bread eaten by a mouse' (fi 'hiiren syömä leipä').

Examples of oblique cases in predicative function: *korkajez pytsamyn* 'the house is shut'; *goštemyn vań* 'is written'; *pyremen ńaltas veraś-*

kyny kuśkiś 'as soon as he had come, he started speaking (having come, he at once started speaking)'; *mynam kyk kwiń tylijɛ ullań uśemyn luoz* 'two or three feathers will fall down from me'.

In combination with a verb noun in *-m* (+Px), *lu-* ~ *lo-* 'become, be, be possible' can be renderered by 'be able to': *uwemeď uz lo* 'you cannot live'; *iźemɛ ug lu* 'I cannot sleep'.

Before this suffix, the final vowel of disyllabic stems has the quality *e*.

NOMEN AGENTIS

Examples of derivatives in *-ś*: *gyriś* 'ploughman'; *źeś užaś* 'a good worker'; *öt'iś dorɛ myn, ul'l'aś doriś pot!* 'Go to him who invites you, go away from him who drives you out!' As qualifiers: *ćil'aś veś* 'a glittering pearl'; *vetliś murt* 'a travelling man, a traveller'.

There are also nomina actionis formed by means of this suffix: *kugaś* 'the cackle' (*kugal-* 'to cackle'); *lymylen ćilaśez* 'the glittering of the snow'.

Before this suffix, the final vowel of disyllabic stems has the quality *i*.

NOMEN ACTURI

The ending *-no* indicates that somebody (something) performs or is expected to perform or is going to perform the action expressed by the basic stem, or has got to be the object of the action; e.g. *gyrono våwmes* 'our ploughing horse(s)'; *vuono gužem* 'the approaching (coming) summer'; *korka estono* 'the house must be heated'; *ma karono* 'what is to be done?'

Before this suffix, the final vowel of disyllabic stems has the quality *o*.

NOMEN FACULTATIS

The ending *-mon* indicates the possibility of performing the action expressed by the basic stem; e.g., *leśtymon už* 'a job that can be done'; *pukymon* 'the possibility of sitting'; *vetlymon nuny* 'a baby that is able to walk'.

Before this suffix, the final vowel of disyllabic stems has the quality *y*.

NEGATIVE GERUNDIVUM

The ending *-ntem* indicates that the action expressed by the basic stem ought not to or cannot be performed, or that it does not take place; e.g., *karontem* 'which should not or cannot be done (or made)'; *verantem* 'which one is not allowed to (or cannot) say'.

Isolated cases

ABESSIVE OF THE VERB STEM

E.g. *juatek* 'without asking' (*jual-*); *todytek* 'without knowing, not knowing'; *užatek kwaž ug śot* 'without work(ing), (if you do not work), heaven (God) does not give anything' (*užal-* 'to work').

Before this ending, the final vowel of disyllabic stems has the quality *y*.

ABESSIVE OF VERB NOUN IN *-m*

The ending *-mtɛ* indicates that the action has not taken place; e.g., *ukśojez śl'apajaz tyrmymtɛ* 'the money did not fill the hat'.

-tɛ may be identical with the privative suffix *-tem*.

INFINITIVE

The infinitive has the ending *-ny*, before which the final vowel of disyllabic stems has the quality *y*, if it has not disappeared; e.g. *munyny*, *munny* 'to go'; *verani* 'to say' (*veral-*).

Historically, the infinitive may be a lative case of the nomen actionis in *-n*.

SIMULTANEOUS GERUNDIUM

The ending *-ky* indicates that the action expressed by the basic stem is (was) going on at the time of the action expressed by the predicate of the clause. *Ton iźykyd kyźy iźiśkod?* 'How do you sleep when you sleep?' *Tywysaz tyw dorin pukykyz so dory påwesmurt pyrem.* 'Whilst he was sitting at the fireside in the hut, the spirit of the forest came in to him.'

TERMINATIVE GERUNDIUM

This gerundium is the terminative of a stem formed by adding *-t-* to the verb stem. The *-t-* may be identical with the fi (lp, os) infinitive suffix *-ta-* ~ *-tä-*.

This gerundium can (in most cases) be rendered by a dependent clause beginning with 'till' (or 'before'), 'while, whilst', or by the construction 'instead of -ing'. It is often combined with Px. *kuwytożad dyšod* 'you learn till you die (to your death).' *anajez ćorig põštytoź daskyk iškemɛ piwaškyny vetlem.* 'Once he walked twelve kilometres to take a bath, whilst his mother was cooking (the) fish (for dinner).' *udmurt-kalyk kenakäz baštytoǯ kõto niläz med baštoz.* 'Instead of (or: rather than) marrying the widow of his elder brother, a Votyak should marry a gravid girl.' *muket påwesmurtjos 'mimåwa urom taźy kariz' šüsa uwtoźazy ad'ami pegǯysa koškem.* 'Whilst the other forest-spirits were saying: ". . .", the man made off.'

Modal gerundium

The ending *-sa* indicates that the action expressed by the stem takes place in connection with the action denoted by the predicate of the clause. In most cases, this gerundium tells us how or why the predicate action takes place. Sometimes *-sa* can be rendered by 'after'. Often this gerundium specifies the action, whereas the principal verb has a more generic meaning (as 'leave, go, live, be', and the like). *berdysa berdysa gurtaz koškem.* 'She went home, crying bitterly.' *ad'ami zal'asa leźem sojɛ.* 'The man let him in because he felt sorry for him.' *pyrasa potasa vetlil'l'am.* 'They went out and in.' (Literally: 'They walked going in and going out.')

The gerundium in *-sa* in combination with a finite form of *ul-* 'live, exist, be' implies a habit or inclination rather than the actual performance of the action, e.g. *pereśjosly jyrdäs ponysa ulelä!* '(Always) bow (your heads) to old people!'

PARADIGMS

Affirmative conjugation

PRESENT INDICATIVE

s	1	*baštiśko* 'I take'	*veraśko* 'I say'
	2	*baštiśkod*	*veraśkod*
	3	*baštɛ*	*vera*

p	1	*baśtiśkom(y)*	*veraśkom(y)*
	2	*baśtiśkody*	*veraśkody*
	3	*baśto*	*veralo*

FUTURE

s	1	*baśto*	*veralo*
	2	*baśtod*	*veralod*
	3	*baśtoz*	*veraloz*
p	1	*baśtom(y)*	*veralom(y)*
	2	*baśtody*	*veralody*
	3	*baśtozy*	*veralozy*

PRETERITE INDICATIVE

s	1	*baśti*	*veraj*
	2	*baśtid*	*verad*
	3	*baśtiz*	*veraz*
p	1	*baśtim(y)*	*veramy*
	2	*baśtidy*	*verady*
	3	*baśtizy*	*verazy*

NARRATIVE

s	2	*baśtemed*
	3	*baśtem*
p	2	*baśtemdy*
	3	*baśtil'l'am(zy)*

CONDITIONAL

s	1	*baśtysal*	*verasal*	*lusal* 'I would be'
	2	*baśtysal(yd)*	*verasal(yd)*	*lusal(yd)*
	3	*baśtysal(yz)*	*verasal(yz)*	*lusal(yz)*
p	1	*baśtysalmy*	*verasalmy*	*lusalmy*
	2	*baśtysaldy*	*verasaldy*	*lusaldy*
	3	*baśtysalzy*	*verasalzy*	*lusalzy*

IMPERATIVE

s	2	*basty*	*myn* 'go!'	*vera*
p	2	*baśtɛ, baśtelɛ*	*mynɛ*	*veralɛ*

OPTATIVE

s	1	*med baśto*	*med veralo*
	2	*med baśtod*	*med veralod*

etc.

Negative conjugation

PRESENT INDICATIVE

sg 1	*ug baśtiśky*	*ug veraśky*	*õvõl*[1] 'am not'
2	*ud baśtiśky*	*ud veraśky*	»
3	*ug baśty*	*ug vera*	»
pl 1	*um baśtiśkɛ*	*um veraśkɛ*	»
2	*ud baśtiśkɛ*	*ud veraśkɛ*	»
3	*ug baśto*	*ug veralo*	»

FUTURE

sg 1	*ug baśty*	*ug vera*
2	*ud baśty*	*ud vera*
3	*uz baśty*	*uz vera*
pl 1	*um baśtɛ*	*um veralɛ*
2	*ud baśtɛ*	*ud veralɛ*
3	*uz baśtɛ*	*uz veralɛ*

PRETERITE INDICATIVE

sg 1	*õj baśto*	*õj vera*	*õj val*
2	*õd baśto*	*õd vera*	*õj val*
3	*õz baśto*	*õz vera*	*õj val*
pl 1	*õm baśtɛ, õm baśtelɛ*	*õm veralɛ*	*õj val*
2	*õd baśtɛ, õd baśtelɛ*	*õd veralɛ*	*õj val*
3	*õz baśtɛ, õz baśtelɛ*	*õz veralɛ*	*õj val*

CONDITIONAL

sg 1	*õj baśtysal*	*õj verasal*	*õj lusal*
2	*õd baśtysal(yd)*	*õd verasal(yd)*	*õd lusalyd*
3	*õz baśtysal(yz)*	*õz verasal(yz)*	*õz lusal(yz)*
pl 1	*õm baśtysalmy*	*õm verasalmy*	*õm lusalmy*
2	*õd baśtysaldy*	*õd verasaldy*	*õd lusaldy*
3	*õz baśtysalzy*	*õz verasalzy*	*õz lusalzy*

IMPERATIVE

sg 2	*en baśty*	*en vera*	*en lu(y)*
pl 2	*en baśtɛ, en baśtelɛ*	*en veralɛ*	

[1] Yelabuga *övöl*, and likewise *ö* instead of *õ* in all the forms of the negative auxiliary verb.

OPTATIVE

sg 1			*medam lu(y)*
2			*medad lu(y)*
3	*medaz baśty*	*medaz vera*	*medaz lu(y)*[1]
pl 1			*medam luɛ*
2			*medad luɛ*
3	*medaz baśtɛ, medaz baśtelɛ*	*medaz veralɛ*	*medaz luɛ*

[1] Also: *med lo*. The verb *lu-* ~ *lo-*, 'be, become, be possible', has in prs (-fut.) ind. preferably the meaning 'be possible'; e.g. *uz lo* 'it is not possible, that will not do'.

TEXT

Ad'amien påwes-murt

The man and the forest-spirit

vaškåwa dyrja tuž baď'žyn üno ńuwes vywem. vań udmurtjos so ńuweskyn ńuweskasa vetlo vywem.

odig udmurt syčɛ nuwesky mynem no tywysɛ köwny pyrem. tywysaz tyw doryn pukykyz so dory påwes-murt pyrem.

påwes-murt so udmurtleś juam: 'ton iźykyd kyźy iźiśkod?' šüem. ad'ami 'mynam iźykym śińmy ćarka kaď lüɛ' šüem no påwes-murtleś asleśtyz juam: 'ton noš kyźy iźiśkod?' šüsa. påwes-murt 'mynam ymiśtym töďy šüky potɛ' šüem.

soberɛ påwes-murt juan aďamiweś: 'tynad ńimyd kyźy?' šüsa. aďami 'mynam ńimy mimåwa urom' šüem. oźy veraśkem berazy sojos iźny vydil'l'am.

påwes-murtlen ymiśtyz šüky potny kutiśkem berɛ aďami uśkem no soweś kizɛ tywy ponemzɛ aźźem. aďami 'ta monɛ viny turttɛ dyr!' šüsa as ińtijaz pukl'o ponsa, šodderemenyz šobyrtysa kel'tysa aćiz östi uśkysa uwem.

påwes-murt suwtem no pöšatem ćińienyz doygàny kutiśkem pukl'ojez, aďami kožasa. sojɛ aźźisa aďami pyčåwenyz ybem påwes-murtez.

In former times there were many very big forests. All the Votyaks are said to have hunted in these forests.

A Votyak (once) went into such a forest in order to spend the night. While he was sitting in the hut beside the fire, the forest-spirit came in to him.

The forest-spirit asked the Votyak: 'When you sleep, how do you sleep?'—'When I sleep, my eyes are like a vodka-glass', said the man and asked the forest-spirit himself: 'But how do you sleep?' The forest-spirit said: 'From my mouth comes white froth.'

Then the forest-spirit asked the man: 'What is your name?'—'My name is *mimåwa urom* (*last year's friend*)', said the man. Having talked thus they went to sleep.

When the froth began to come out of the forest-spirit's mouth, the man looked (at him) and saw that he had put his finger in the fire. 'He will probably kill me!' said the man, put a (wooden) block on his sleeping-place, covered it with his doublet, went out and stood at the door to look.

The forest-spirit got up and began to prick the block with his red-hot finger, believing it to be the man. When the man saw this, he shot the forest-spirit with his gun.

påwes-murtlen köńa-kɛ viryz üśem, so-mynda påwes-murt lüem. so påwes-murtjos vańmyz-ik juàny kutiś-kil'l'am 'tonɛ kiń taźy kariz?' šüsa. pervoj påwes-murt 'monɛ mimåwa urom taźy kariz' šüsa veram. muket påwes-murtjos 'mimåwa užez kytiś šettod-na!' šüsa uwtožazy aďami pegźisa koškem.

As many blood-drops as fell from the forest-spirit, so many (new) forest-spirits arose. All these forest-spirits began to ask: 'Who has done this to you?' The first forest-spirit said: '*Last year's friend* has done this to me!' While the other forest-spirits were saying: 'How can you investigate last year's deeds!', the man ran away.

aďamien, instr. (with comitative function) of *aďami* man, human being (< Tat. < Arab.). || *påwes-murt*, *pales-murt* forest-spirit (literally: 'half-man'): a one-eyed, one-armed, one-footed giant, whose voice is heard in the echo. *påw*, *pal* side; region; half; see U fi *pieli*. *murt* man (human being, human male); foreigner; see IE fi *marras* || *vaškåwa*, *vaškala* ancient, old. || *dyrja*, processive of *dyr* time; zr *dyr* a long time; long (= for a long time) (Iranian loanword?). || *tuž* very. || *bad'źyn*, *badzym* etc. big; cf. *bydzym*, *bytsym* great, dignified; *bytsa* so and so big, the size of . . .; *bydes* entire, whole, full; *byd* whole, entire, complete; zr *byd* every, whole, all (< Chuv.?). || *üno*, *uno* much; see U fi *enä-*. || *ńuwes* ~ *ńuwesk-*, *ńules* ~ *ńulesk-* forest (suffix **-ks*?); cf. *ńulo* elm (see U ch *nolgo*), and *ńyl-pu* silver-fir (*pu* tree; see U ch *nulgo*). || *vywem*, *vylem*, 3sg narrative of *vyw(y)-*, *vyl(y)-* be; see FU fi *ole-*. || *vań* ~ *vańm-* there is; that which is at hand; entirely; all; probably < **olma*, verb noun of *vyl(y)-* ~ *val-* be; *-ń* ~ *-ńm-* < *-*lm-* as in *śiń* ~ *śińm-* eye (see U fi *silmä*), and *iń* ~ *ińm-* air (see FU fi *ilma*). || *udmurt* Votyak; zr *vot-ud* id. | ch *odo*, *odo-marij* (*marij* man, Cheremis: IE). || *-jos*, plural ending (FU?). || *so* that, yonder; he, she, it; see FU fi *hän*. || *-yn*, inessive. || *ńuweskasa*, abs. ger. of *ńuweskà-*, *ńuweskal-* hunt; see *ńuwes*. || *vetlo*, 3sg prs of *vetly-* go, wander, travel. || *vylem*, (here:) auxiliary, forming periphrastic preterite. || *odig* one; see FU fi *yksi*. || *syčɛ* such; zr *sečõm*; cf. *so*. || *ńuwesky*, illative. || *mynem*, 3sg narrative of *myn(y)-* go; see U fi *mene-*. || *no* but, and, also (R). || *tywysɛ*, ill. of *tywys*, *tylys* hut (for temporary use); see IE fi *talas*. || *köw-*, *kõl-* spend the night; see FU hu *hál-*. || *pyrem*, 3sg narrative of *pyr(y)-*

enter; see FU hu *fér-*. || *tywysaz*, iness. Px3sg; the Px functions as a kind of definite article. || *tyw*, *tyl* fire; see U fi *tuli*. || *doryn* at, beside: iness. of *dor*, *dur* edge, margin, side; shore, bank; zr *dor* edge, margin; shore, bank | ch *tər*, *tür* edge, brim, brink; shore, bank; (cutting) edge (of a knife etc.) | fi *terä* (cutting) edge; point; blade (of an oar); etc. || *puk(y)*- sit; see FU hu *fekv-*. *-ky*, gerundium absolutum simultaneum. *-z*, Px3sg. || *dory* to, into the presence or neighbourhood of . . .: ill. of *dor*. || *-leś*, ablative. || *juam*, 3sg narrative of *jual-* ask; zr *ju(v)al-* | ch *jada-*, *joda-*. || *ton* thou; see U fi *sinä*. || *iź(y)*-, *yźy*- to sleep; zr *uź-*. *-ky*, see under *puky-*. *-d*, Px2sg. || *kyźy* how; zr *kyźi* how; as | ch *kõce*, *kuze*, Malmyž *kuźe* how | fi *konsa* when; see U fi *kuka*. || *-śkod*, 2sg prs. || *šüem*, 3sg narrative of *šu(y)*- say; zr *šu-*; cf. fi *hoke-* say again and again. || *mynam*, adess. of *mon* I; see U fi *minä*. (*-m*, Px1sg.) || *śińmy*, nsg Px1sg of *śiń* eye; see U fi *silmä*. || *ćarka* (conical) glass for drinking raw spirit (R). || *kaď* similar, like; zr *koď*. || *luɛ*, 3sg prs of *lu(y)*- become; be; be possible; see U fi *lie-*. || *asleśtyz*, elat. Px3sg of *as-* myself, thyself, himself, etc. || *noš* again, in (my, your, etc.) turn; zr *nõšta* still. || *šüsa*, modal gerundium. || *ymyśtym*, elat. Px1sg of *ym* mouth; see U lp *vuoŋâs*. || *töďy*, *tõďy* white; cf. lp *dæggjo-* ~ *dæjo-* shine white in the distance, glint, gleam (of something moving). || *šüky* foam. || *potɛ*, 3sg of *pot(y)*- go out, come out; grow forth; come about; become; zr *pet-* go out, come out. || *berɛ* after: ill. of *ber* posterior (part), back (part); back (= retro); see FU fi *perä*. || *-weś*, *-leś*, ablative. || *tynad*, adess. of *ton*. || *ńimyd*, nsg Px2sg of *ńim* name; see U fi *nimi*. || *mimåwa*, *mimala* of last year, earlier, old; *mijym* last year, the year before; zr *mõjim-u* last year, in the year before (*u* year). || *urom* friend (< Tat. < Arab. *rūmī* Christian < Greek ῥωμαῖος). || *oźy* so, thus. As to the ending *-źy*, see *kyźy* (above). As to the stem, see FU hu *az*. || *veraśkem*, nomen actionis of *veraśky-* talk, have a conversation; *veral-* speak, talk; zr *vargy-* talk much, chatter. || *bera-*, equivalent to *berɛ*. *-zy*, Px3pl. || *-jos*, plur. || *vydil'l'am*, 3sg narrative of *vydy-* go to rest; zr *vod-*. || *-len*, adessive. *-ż*, Px3sg. || *-ny*, inf. || *kutiśkem*, 3sg narrative of *kutiśky-* begin; *kuty-* seize, take; zr *kut-* begin; keep, seize; cf. os *kätl-* seize, keep hold of. || *uśkem*, 3sg narrative of *uśky-*, *ućky-* watch, regard, examine; *uťy-* examine,

investigate; etc. || *soweś, soleś*, abl. of *so*. || *kize*, asg Px3sg of *ki* hand; see FU fi *käsi*. || *-y*, illative. || *ponemzɛ*, acc. Px3sg of nomen actionis of *pon(y)-* put; see U fi *pane-*. || *aźźem*, 3sg narrative of *aźźy-* see, look, regard; zr *aźź(y)-* see, observe, find. || *ta* this; see U fi *tämä*. || *monɛ*, acc. of *mon*. || *vi(jy)-* kill; see FU hu *öl-*. || *turttɛ*, 3sg of *turtty-* to will, plan. || *dyr* perhaps, probably (< Tat.). || *ińtijaz*, illsg Px3sg of *ińty, inty* = *ińi, in* place; zr *in*. || *pukl'o* block, log; zr *pukyl'* swipple; cf. fi *pökkö, pökkelö* dry stump. || *ponsa*, mod. ger. of *pon-*. || *šodderem* = *šort-derem* (white) doublet (or bodice). *šort* yarn; zr *šõrt* thread | ch *šərtə, šürtə* yarn, thread; cf. os *pŏrt*, S *turt* root. *derem* shirt; zr *dõrõm* (man's) shirt; vty *dera*, zr *dõra* linen | ch *tõgõr, tuwur* shirt; cf. vg *taar, toor* linen (< Turk.?). *-enyz* instr. Px3sg. || *sobyrtysa*, abs. ger. of *sobyrty-* cover; zr *šebyrt-*; vty *šobyr* cover, blanket, quilt; zr *šebras* id. || *kel'tysa*, abs. ger. of *kel'ty-* leave (trans.); zr *kol't*; vty *kyl'(y)-, kil'y-* remain; see U fi *kato*. || *aćiz* himself; see U fi *itse*. || *ös, õs* door; see FU fi *uksi*. *-ti*, prolative. || *uwem, ulem*, 3sg narrative of *uwy-, uly-* be, live; remain, stay; see U fi *elä-*. || *suwty-, sulty-* stand; rise, arise; zr *sult-*; vty *syl(y)-* stand; see FU hu *áll-*. || *põśatem*, nomen actionis of *põśaty-, põšaty-* make red-hot; *põśal-* to sweat; *põś* hot, red-hot; heat, glow; zr *põš* hot; sweaty; heat; sweat | md *p(i)si* hot; heat | ch *püž-wüt* sweat (*w.* water); *püžältä-* become sweaty. || *ćińy* finger; zr *ćuń. -enyz*, instr. Px3sg. || *doŋgàny*, inf. of *doŋgal-* prick, prod. || *pukl'ojez*, nsg Px3sg. || *kožasa*, modal ger. of *kožal-* think, be of the opinion that . . .; see FU lpS *qweitse-*. || *sojɛ*, asg of *so*. || *pyčăw, pyčal* rifle (R). *-enyz*, instr. Px3sg. || *ybem*, 3sg narrative of *yby-* shoot; fi *ampu-*. || *kõńa-kɛ* as many as . . .; *kõńa, kõńa*; how much, how many; see U fi *kuka*. *-kɛ*, emphatic enclitic, perhaps identical with the interrogative enclitic *-kɛ*, zr *-kõ*; cf U fi *kuka*. || *viryz*, nsg Px3sg of *vir* blood; see FU fi *veri*. || *üśem*, 3sg narrative of *üś(y)-* to fall; see U hu *es-*. || *so-mynda* that much, so much. *mynda* as much as; see IE fi *moni*. || *vańmyz*, nsg Px3sg of *vań* there is; what is (at one's disposal etc.), all there is, all; verb noun derived from *vyl(y)* ~ *val-*, be, = fi *olema-* in *on olemassa*, there is, and the like. *-ik* just, even, exactly (< Chuv.). || *kutiśkil'l'am*, 3pl narrative of *kutišky-*. || *tonɛ*, acc. of *ton*. || *kiń* who; see U fi *ken*. || *taź(y)* in this way, so; zr *taź*; cf. (above) *ta-, kyźy,*

oży. || *kariz*, 3sg prt of *kar(y)*- make, do; zr *kar*- (probably Iranian loan-word). || *pervoj* the first (R). || *muket*; zr *mukõd* other; cf. vty *myd*, zr *mõd* id. (see FU fi *muu*); as to *-ket*, cf. zr *kod*, *kõd* who; vty *kytyn* where, *kytiś* from where; zr *kyti*, *kytõn* where, *kytyś* from where (see U fi *kuka*). || *užes*, nsg Px3sg of *už* work; deed; thing; zr *už* work. || *šettod*, 2sg future of *šetty*- find, find out; procure, get; understand; investigate; *šeď(y)*- get stuck, get caught; zr *šed*- fall to a person's share; be caught (esp. of quarry); come to a place, occur. *-na* still (~ *uno* much?). || *uwtożazy*: *uwtoź*, *ultoź*, terminative gerund of *uly*- live, be; *-zy*, Px3pl: 'while they were -ing'. || *pegźisa*, mod. ger. of *pegźi*- run away, flee, escape. || *koškem*, 3sg narrative of *košky*- go away, leave; go, run; flow.

ZIRYENE

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

Ziryene has the following vowels:

u, y	*i*
o, õ	*e*
a	

There are no other diphthongs than sequences of a vowel + non-syllabic *i*.

In all the dialects except zrIžma, all the vowels may be regarded as short.

CONSONANTS

Ziryene has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Labiodentales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae . . .	*b*	*p*			*d*	*t*			*d'*	*t'*			*g*	*k*
Fric. blaesiformes											*j*			
Fric. sibilantes . .			*v*		*z*	*s*	*ž*	*š*	*ź*	*ś*				
Affricatae							*ǯ*	*č*	*ǰ*	*ć*				
Tremulantes . . .							*r*							
Cryptofricativae .					*l*				*l'*					
Nasales	*m*				*n*				*ń*					

Apart from geminates, which are of no frequent occurrence, all consonants may be regarded as short.

STRESS

In most of the dialects, the stress is on the stem in inflected word forms. In some dialects there is on one hand a tendency to accentuate the first syllable, on the other hand the vowel *a* will attract the stress to the detriment of the high vowels (*u, y, i*).

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

Ziryene has the following cases in common with Votyak: nominative, accusative, inessive, instructive, elative, illative, adessive, ablative, allative, egressive, terminative, prolative, and abessive. The *approximative* ending *-lań*, which in vty is added only to a few defective stems, is a living case ending in zr.

The prolative has in most diaclects the ending *-õd* (in some dialects *-õt* or *-õt'*). But there is also an ending *-t(i)*, e.g. *set(i)* 'here, this way', *tat(i)* 'there, that way'.

NOTE.—Historically, the ending *-t(i)* is identical with the vty prolative ending *-(e)ti*. Cf. below, p. 312, line 20.

Ziryene has the following cases that do not occur in Votyak: preclusive, comitative, and consecutive.

The preclusive ending *-śa* may be rendered by 'except, beside'. The comitative ends in *-kõd*, the consecutive in *-la*. *me turunla vetla* 'I am going to fetch hay'.

In zrS there has developed a new set of case endings from the inessive, elative, illative and prolative of the stem *vyv-*, *vyl-* 'the space above' (see U fi *ylä-*): superessive *ybvyn* 'on the field' (*yb*), delative *ybviś* 'from the field', sublative *ybvõ* 'onto the field, supralative *ybvõt'* '(walking) in the field'.

The *processive* ending *-ja, -ji* is added to a few stems, e.g. *dyrja* 'at the time of . . ., during'.

There are examples of a *vocative* case in Text Nr. 2.

An indefinite direct object is put in the nominative.

The plural character is *-jas, -jõs* (see FU vty *-jos*).

NOTE.—In zrS there is a plural character *-jes, -jez*, historically different from *-jas*.

Syntax of the possessive suffixes

In the southern dialect (Juśva), the terminative, the instructive, and the prolative have the order: stem + case ending + Px. The inessive, the illative, and the elative have the same order, except for Px1sg, which is placed before or after the case ending in these cases.

All the other cases have the order: stem + Px + case ending.

Juśva *zon* 'son': instr. Px1sg *zonnam*, 2sg *zonnat* (without Px *zonõn*); iness. Px1sg *zonõyn*, Px2sg *zonat*, Px3sg *zonas*; illat. Px1sg *zonõõ*; elat. Px1sg *zonõiś*. Abessive Px1sg *zonõtõg*, Px2sg *zonyttõg*, Px3sg *zonystõg*.

Juśva *ki* 'hand': iness. Px1sg *kiam*, Px2sg *kiat*, Px3sg *kias*; illat. Px1sg *kiam*, Px2sg *kiat*, Px3sg *kias*; elat. Px1sg *kiśim*, Px3sg *kiśis*.

In the other dialects, the inner local cases have the order stem + case ending + Px without exception. The egressive has the same order (in the Ižma dialect, however, both orders occur).

The approximative has both orders alternatively in most of the dialects (as to this case, the Sysola dialect agrees with the Juśva dialect).

In the comitative and the abessive both orders occur in some of the dialects.

The possessive suffixes preferably function as substitutes for a definite article.

Comparison

The comparative has the ending *-žyk*, which may be added even to finite verb forms. The outdone member of a comparison is put in the preclusive or the elative. *võl yžyžžyk ponśa* (or *ponjyś*) 'the horse is bigger than the dog' (*yžyd* 'big'); *regyd* 'speedily, fast', comp. *regyžžyk*; *užališžyk* 'he worked more' (*užal-* 'work').

The highest degree is expressed by *med* 'very, exceedingly' (put before the positive, or sometimes before the comparative) or *medśa*.

PARADIGMS

1.	Nom.	*mort* 'man'
2.	Acc.	*mortõs*
3.	Iness.	*mortyn*
4.	Instr.	*mortõn*
5.	Elat.	*mortyś*
6.	Ill.	*mortõ*
7.	Adess.	*mortlõn*
8.	Abl.	*mortlyś*
9.	All.	*mortly*
10.	Egress.	*mortśań*
11.	Preclus.	*mortśa*
12.	Approx.	*mortlań*
13.	Termin.	*mortõź*
14.	Prol.	*tujõd* 'along the path'
15.	Consec.	*mortla*
16.	Com.	*mortkõd*
17.	Abess.	*morttõg*

Px

ćoj 'sister', *dyš* 'laziness', *gort* 'house', *ki* 'hand', *nyv* 'daughter', *pi* 'son', *purt* 'knife', *tuj* 'path, way', *võv* 'horse'.

	1sg	2sg	3sg	
1. Nom.	*piõj*	*piyd*	*piys*	
2. Acc.	*piõs*	*pitõ*	*pisõ*	
3, 6. Iness., ill.	*kiam*	*kiad*	*kias*	
4. Instr.	*kinam*	*kinad*	*kinas*	
5. Elat.	*kiśym*	*kiśyd*	*kiśys*	
7. Adess.	*piõjlõn*	*piydlõn*	*piyslõn*	
8. Abl.	*piõjlyś*	*piydlyś*	*piyslyś*	
9. All.	*piõjly*	*piydly*	*piysly*	
10. Egress.	*gortśańym*	*gortśańyd*	*gortśańys*	
13. Termin.	*gortõźym*	*gortõźyd*	*gortõźys*	
14. Prol.	*tujõdym*	*tujõdyd*	*tujõdys*	
15. Consec.	*piõjla*	*piydla*	*dyšysla*	'for (because of) laziness'
16. Com.	*piõjkõd*	*piydkõd*	*piyskõd*	
17. Abess.	*piõjtõg*	*piydtõg*	*piystõg*	

	1pl	2pl	3pl
1. Nom.	*purtnym*	*purtnyd*	*purtnys*
2. Acc.	*võvnymõs*	*nyvnytõ*	

3, 6. Iness., ill.	*kianym*	*kianyd*	*kianyꙗ*
4. Instr.	*kinanym*	*kinanyd*	*kinanyꙗ*
5. Elat.	*kiśynym*	*kiśynyd*	*kiśynyꙗ*
7. Adess.	*võvnymlõn*	*võvnydlõn*	
8. Abl.	*võvnymlyś*	*võvnydlyś*	
9. All.	*võvnymly*	*võvnydly*	
10. Egress.	*gortśańnym*	*gortśańnyd*	*gortśańnyꙗ*
13. Termin.	*gortõʒnym*	*gortõʒnyd*	*gortõʒnyꙗ*
15. Consec.		*võvnydla*	*võvnyꙗla*
16. Com.		*ćojnydkõd*	*ćojnyꙗkõd*
17. Abess.		*ćojtõgnyd*	*ćojtõgnyꙗ*

Conjugation

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristics of tense and moods

Tense

There are three non-periphrastic tenses, namely, present, future, and (simple) preterite.

The base of the present tense ends in *a* in the first and second persons, in *õ* in the third person.

The base of the future tense differs from the present base only in the third person: *-as(-)*.

The preterite base ends in *i*.

Moods

There are three non-periphrastic moods: indicative, narrative, and imperative. As to the function of the narrative mood, see Votyak Grammar.

The indicative and the imperative have no mood characteristics.

The narrative mood has the characteristic *(õ)m* ~ *(õ)ma* ~ *(õ)my*.

Additional remarks on periphrastic tenses and moods

The preterite *võli* of *võl-*, 'be', in combination with a preceding prs ind. forms a periphrastic preterite: cf. Votyak Grammar.

A periphrastic pluperfect is formed by combining the narrative

with the prt of *võl-*. In contradistinction to the narrative, the pluperfect occurs in the first person too; 1sg of the principal verb ends in *-ma* (or *-m*), and 1pl ends in *-ma(õ)s*. E.g. *munõma võli* 'I had gone'.

A periphrastic conditional is formed by adding the enclitic *-kõ* to the subject, e.g. *sijõ-kõ sijõs tõdis, sijõ ez mun* 'if he had known that, he would not have gone'. The compound *eś-kõ* (or *veś-kõ*) may be added, e.g. *me-kõ eś-kõ sijõs tõda, me eś-kõ og mun* 'if I knew it, I would not go'.

Personal endings

2sg imperative has no ending; e.g. *mun* 'go!' 1pl is usually identical with 1pl prs indicative. 2pl ends in *õ* or *õj*, e.g. *munõ(j)*. The 3rd person is formed by putting *med* (or zrS *aś*) in front of the 3sg and 3pl respectively of prs ind. or fut. ind.

Prs has no personal ending in 1sg: *muna* 'I go'. In medieval zr there is an instance of the ending *-m*. 2sg has *-n*: *munan*. 3sg prs may be said to have no personal ending: *munõ*. 1pl ends in *-m(õ)*: *munam(õ)*; earlier: *-mnym*. 2pl ends in *-nyd* etc.: *munannyd*; earlier: *-dnyd*. 3pl has the personal ending *-ny* etc., preceded by the vowel *õ*: *munõni*.

The future ends in *-s* in 3sg: *munas*, and in *-sny* etc. in 3pl: *munasny* (earlier: *-snys*). The 1st and 2nd persons are identical with the present tense.

3sg and 3pl of the future tense are often used instead of the corresponding present forms, and they may even denote past time (*praesens historicum*).

The simple preterite coincides with prs and fut. as far as the personal endings are concerned: *muni* 'I went', *munis* or *muni* 'he went'.

The narrative, being historically a noun, has possessive suffixes in the 2nd person: 2sg *munõmyd*, 2pl *munõmnyd*. 3sg *munõm(a)*, 3pl *munõmaõs* etc.

DEFECTIVE VERBS

The auxiliary verb *võl-* (~ *vyl-*), 'be, exist, be present', has in prs (-fut.) ind. one form for the singular: *em* (*vyjym* etc.), and one for

the plural: *emõś* or *vyjymõś* etc. Prt ind. has the base *võli-* (in 3sg also *vyli-*), with regular inflection. Narrative: 3sg *võlõma*, 3pl *võlõmaõś* (also *võlõmny*). Imperative: 2sg *ov*, *ol*, 3sg *med olas* (zrS *aś ovõ*, *aś ovas*); 1pl *olam(õ)*, 2pl *olõ(j)*, 3pl *med olasny* (zrS *aś ovõn[y]*, *aś ovas[õ]*).

The negative auxiliary verb has the stem *o-* in prs(-fut.) ind. and in the first and third persons of the imperative, and the stem *e-* in the simple preterite, and in the second person of the imperative. The personal endings are in 1sg *-g*, in 1pl *-g(õ)*, 2sg *-n*, 2pl *-n(õ)*, *-d(õ)* or *-dõj*, 3rd person *-z* (3pl also *-zõ*).

As to that form of the principal verb which is combined with the negative auxiliary, see the Paradigms.

võl- has an irregular negative inflection in prs(-fut.): sg *abu* etc. (earlier: *abul*), pl. *abuõś* etc. (zrS also *obõlõś*). Narrative: 3sg *abu võlõma*, 3pl *abu võlõmaõś*. Prt and imperative are regular; e.g. *en ov* . . . 'don't be . . . !'

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

Nouns derived from the verb stem

NOMINA ACTIONIS

-(a)n (cf. Votyak Grammar), e.g. *kulan* '(the) dying, death', also forms participles, e.g. *loktan voj* 'the following night'.

-(õ)m = vty *-m*: see Votyak Gr. *-(õ)ma* is used as participle, e.g. *munõma* 'gone' (*munõm* means 'gone' or '[the] going').

NOMINA AGENTIS

-(y)ś, e.g. *munyś* 'going (= who goes)'. Cf. Votyak Gr.

-(a)na, e.g. *võjana* 'sinking (= who sinks)'. Cf. vty Nomen acturi.

NEGATIVE PARTICIPLE

-tõm, e.g. *eštytõm* 'unripe' (*ešty-* 'ripen, get ripe').

VERB NOUN IN *-ig*

The defective verb noun in *-ig* occurs in constructions equivalent to an *accusativus cum infinitivo*. *tenćyd nadejćõny śiźim-śo koľig*. People think you have left behind you seven hundred (roubles). Credunt

te septingentos (thaleros imperiales) reliquisse. It can also be used as qualifier: *syly kolõ tol'ko as tõrig* (or: *tõrmõnys*: instr. Px3sg of verb noun in *-m*) *mesta* 'he needs only a place just big enough for himself' (*tõr-* 'have room' = 'not be too big').

This verb noun + *moz* 'as, like', *kostas* 'between, during (this)', and the like, indicates that the action of the verb accompanies the action expressed by the predicate of the clause, or that the main action is simultaneous with or takes place during the action expressed by the verb stem. The instructive *-igõn* has the same function, and so has ill. Px(1)2(3)sg: *te võrõ munigõn* (or *munigad*) *sijõs aźźylin* 'you saw him as you went to the forest'. *tajõ nojys śõdaśõma vajygas* 'this homespun has got dirty during the transport (when it was brought here)'.

Isolated case-forms

ABESSIVE OF THE VERB STEM

E.g. *śojtõg* 'without eating'.

CASES OF VERB NOUN IN *-m*

Instructive (?)

E.g. *śojmõn* 'so much that it suffices for eating'. This may be identical with the vty Nomen facultatis.

Elative

E.g. *śojmyśt(õn)*, *śojmyś* 'having eaten, after I (you, etc.) have eaten'.

CASES OF VERB NOUN IN *-t-*

Instructive (?)

E.g. *kortõn* '(go) begging' (*kor-* 'beg'); *pukavtõn*, *pukavtõń* 'in sitting (during the time one is sitting); having sat'. This form may be called *temporal gerundium*.

Terminative

E.g. *jugdytõž* 'till it gets light, till dawn' (*jugdy-* 'to dawn, get light'); *põttõž* 'to (one's) satiation, until one is satisfied' (*põt-* 'satisfy one's hunger'). This form may be called *terminative gerundium*.

INFINITIVE

The infinitive has the ending *-ny*, before which the final vowel of disyllabic stems has the quality *y*, if it has not disappeared; e.g. *munny* 'to go', *kõsjyny* 'to wish'.

PARADIGMS

Affirmative conjugation

	PRS(-FUT). IND.	PRT
s 1	*muna* 'I go'	*muni*
2	*munan*	*munin*
3	*munõ*, fut. *munas*	*muni(s)*
p 1	*munam(õ)*	*munim(õ)*
2	*munannyd*	*muninnyd*
3	*munõny*, fut. *munasny*	*munisny*

	NARRATIVE	IMPERATIVE
s 2	*munõmyd*	*mun*
3	*munõma*	*med munõ, med munas*
p 1		*munam(õ), munamõj*
2	*munõmnyd*	*munõ(j)*
3	*munõmaõs*	*med munõny, med munasny*

Negative conjugation

	PRS(-FUT.) IND.	PRT
s 1	*og mun*	*eg mun*
2	*on mun*	*en mun*
3	*oz mun*	*ez mun*
p 1	*og(õ[j]) munõ(j)*	*eg(õ) munõ(j)*
2	*on(õ), od(õ[j]) munõ(j)*	*enõ(j) munõ(j)*
3	*oz munny*	*ez munny*

	NARRATIVE	IMPERATIVE
s 2	*abu munõmyd*	*en mun*
3	*abu munõma*	*med oz mun*
p 1		*og(õ) munõ(j)*
2		*en(õ), edõ munõ(j)*
3	*abu munõmaõs*	*med oz munny*

TEXTS

1

Vasa-pi i zon

The son of the water-sprite and the boy

olis-vylis gõlińik mort; sylõn võli ðĺi pi. baĺys pisõ ystas nažõvitny. pi leć́as va-dor dorõ i kutas ńin kuĺny.

There was a poor man; he had a son. The father sends out his son to earn. The son goes down to the river-bank and begins to pull off bast.

sy dinõ vasa-pi petas i šuas: 'myj nõ keran?'—'ńin kuĺ'a' vasa-pi šuas: 'myjla tajõ ńinsõ kuĺ'an?' zon šuas: 'tajõ vasõ koštyny.'

To him the son of the water-sprite comes out and says: 'What are you doing?'—'I am pulling off bast.' The son of the water-sprite says: 'Why do you pull off this bast?' The boy says: 'To dry up this river.'

vasa-pi ďedys dinõ pyras i šuas: 'ďedõ, ďedõ, vatõ õd kõsjõny koštyny!' ďed i šuas: 'mun, viśtav, myjta põ ďeńga kolõ, śetam, med oz košty vasõ.'

The son of the water-sprite goes to his grandfather and says: 'Grandfather, grandfather, they want to dry up the river, to be sure!' And the grandfather says: 'Go, say that we will give as much money as is necessary, so that he does not dry up the river.'

vasa-pi siźik i šuas. zonmys i šuas: 'šań!' põ.

And the son of the water-sprite says so. And the boy says: 'Good!'

seśśa vasa-pi koras šĺ'apasõ zonlyś. sijõ šĺ'apasõ rożõdas, guśõńikõn lõšõdas šĺ'apa ulas mešõk i čõktas vasa-piõs lõdny. vasa-pi šĺ'apaõ ďeńga lõdas mešõk da šĺ'apa tyrtõź.

Then the son of the water-sprite asks the boy for his hat. The latter makes a hole in his hat, secretly (puts) a sack under the hat and orders the son of the water-sprite to pack it. The son of the water-sprite packs money into the hat till the sack and the hat are filled.

seśśa najõ munny kutasny va-dor põlõn. munasny da munasny, voas rynyš.

Then they begin to walk along the river-bank. They go and go; they come to a kiln.

vasa-pi jualas zonlyś: 'tajõ nõ

The son of the water-sprite asks

myj?' zonmys šuas: 'tajõ meam ďedõjlõn važ šl'apays.' vasa-pi šuas: 'tajõ nõ loõ menym šlapaavny?'—'ďert' põ 'loõ!' zonmys šuas. vasa-piyd šapkaalas.

the boy: 'Well, what is this?' The boy says: 'This is my grandfather's old hat.' The son of the water-sprite says: 'Well, shall I put it on my head?'—'Of course, do!' says the boy. The son of the water-sprite puts it on his head.

bara munasny da munasny, voas iz-ki. vasa-pi šuas: 'tajõ nõ myj?'—'tajõ' põ 'važ ďedjaslõn ši-kõč-mol'-jys.'—'tajõ nõ menym loõ žõ ši-kõčavny?'—'ďert' põ 'loõ!' vasa-pi ši-kõčalas.

Again they go and go; they come to a millstone. The son of the water-sprite says: 'Well, what is this?'—'This is a pearl from the pearl necklace of my ancestors.'—'Shall I hang it around my neck?'—'Of course, do!' The son of the water-sprite hung it around his neck.

munasny da munasny, pińa voas. vasa-pi jualas: 'tajõ nõ myj?'—'tajõ' põ 'važ ďedjaslõn pernays.' vasa-pi pińasõ pernaalas.

They go and go; they come to a harrow. The son of the water-sprite asks: 'Well, what is this?'—This is the neck-cross of my ancestors.' The son of the water-sprite hung the harrow on his breast.

seśśa munasny da munasny, ju voas. vasa-pi šuas: 'tati nõ me kyž vužа?'

Then they go and go, they come to a river. The son of the water-sprite says: 'Well, how can I pass here?'

ju vomõn võli pos. zonmys šuas: 'pos kużays vuž!' vasa-pi vužny kutas: õťik põv ćegõ i vasa-pi ušõ i võjas. pińayd eśkõ kypõdõ, rynyšyd da iz-kiyd võjtõ.

Across the river there was a bridge. The boy says: 'Pass along the bridge!' The son of the water-sprite starts (crossing): one board breaks and the son of the water-sprite falls and sinks. Even if the harrow should carry him, the kiln and the millstone sink him.

zonmys gortas munas. baťmamys samõj võli užõny. zonmys pyras gortas i ďeńgasõ kiśtas žož šõras. i õni olõny-vylõny.

The boy goes home. His parents were just sleeping. The boy goes into the house and pours out the money in the middle of the floor. And now they still live.

va water; see U fi *vesi*. *-sa*, adjective suffix: *vasa* water-spirit, water-sprite. *pi* son; boy; see FU fi *poika*. || *i* and (R). || *zon* ~ *zonm-* boy, lad, young man (Iranian loan-word?). || *olis*, 3sg prt, with the

personal ending *-s*, of *ol-* live, be; see U fi *elä-*. || *vylis*, 3sg prt of *vyl-* ~ *võl-* be; see FU fi *ole-*. || *gõl'ińik* poor; *gõl'* poor (R). || *mort* man, human being, person; see IE fi *marras*. || *sylõn*, adessive of *sy* he, she, it; see FU fi *hän*. || *võli*, 3sg prt of *vyl-* ~ *võl-*. || *õťi*, *õťik*, (as first member of a compound) *õk*, (as first member of a compound, and before Px) *õt* one; see FU fi *yksi*. || *baťys*, nsg Px3sg of *baťa* father (R). || *pisõ*, asg Px3sg of *pi*. || *ystas*, 3sg fut. (here used as *praesens historicum*) of *yst-* send, send out. || *nažõvitny*, inf. of *nažõvit-* earn (by working) (R). || *leććas*, 3sg fut.(-prs) of *lećć-* descend; *leź-* let, let loose; see FU fi *laske-*. || *dor* edge, margin; shore, bank; *va-dor* shore, river-bank; vty *dor*, *dur* edge, margin, side | ch *tər*, *tür* edge, brim, brink; shore, bank; edge = cutting edge | fi *terä* (cutting) edge; *airon terä* oar-blade; *jalkaterä* sole of the foot; *auringon terä* the disk of the sun. || *dorõ* to: illative of *dor* edge; vty *dorɛ*, *durɛ*. Another word is probably: zr *dor* neighbourhood, environment, side; vty *dor* (in all the dialects) home, the parents' house; neighbourhood: see FU chW *tor-*. || *kutas*, 3sg fut.(-prs) of *kut-* seize; keep; begin; vty *kut(y)-* | (?) os *kätl-* seize, keep. || *ńin* bast; vty *ńiń*, *ńin* | ch *ńi*, *ni(j)* | fi *niini*. In connexion with verb nouns, the direct object is put in the nominative. || *kul'ny*, inf. of *kul'-* flay, skin, peel, pull off; see FU ch *kõdaša-*. || *dinõ* to: ill. of *din* the thick end of a tree trunk; see FU fi *tyvi*. || *petas*, 3sg fut.(-prs) of *pet-* go out, come out; vty *pot(y)-*. || *šuas*, 3sg fut.(-prs) of *šu-* say; vty *šu-*, *šü-*. || *myj* what; see U fi *mikä*. || *nõ* well, but (esp. in interrogative clauses) (R?). || *keran*, 2sg prs-fut. of *ker-* do, make; vty *kar(y)-* (Iranian loan-word). || *kul'a*, 1sg prs-fut. of *kul'-* pull off. || *myjla* why: consecutive of *myj*. || *tajõ* this; see U fi *tämä*. || *ńinsõ*, asg Px3sg of *ńin*. || *kul'an*, 2sg prs-fut. of *kul'-*. || *vasõ*, asg Px3sg of *va*. || *koštyny*, inf. dry, dry up (trans.); *koš* dry; see U lp *goikes*. || *ďed* grandfather (R). *-(y)s*, Px3sg. || *pyras*, 3sg fut. (-prs) of *pyr-* go in, enter; see FU hu *jér-*. || *ďedõ* grandfather (R). *-õ* may be Px1sg, in which case we have here a form of *ďed*. || *vatõ*, asg Px2sg of *va*. || *õd* as you know, to be sure, of course (R). || *kõsjõny*, 3pl prs of *kõsj-* will, want, wish. || *mun*, of *mun-* go; see U fi *mene-*. || *viśtav*, 2sg imper. of *viśtav-* say. || *myjta* how much, as much as: = *myj*, what, + the pronominal suffix *-ta*. || *põ*, expletive, used especially in quoting another person. || *deńga* money (R, < Tatar). || *kolõ*

(it) is necessary, one must: 3sg prs of *kol-* be necessary, etc.; see FU hu *këll(e)-*. || *śetam*, 1pl prs of *śet-* give. || *med* in order to, so that. || *oz*, 3sg prs of the negative verb. || *kośty*, neg. base of *kośt-*. || *vasõ*, asg Px3sg of *va*. || *siźik* so; free of cost, gratis; *siź* id.; *sy* he, she, it. As to the ending *-ź*, cf. *taź* so, in this way, *kyź(y)* how; vty *kyź(y)* | fi *konsa* when | ch *kõce*, *kuźe* how | hu *hogy*. || *zonmys*, nsg Px3sg of *zon*. || *šań* good; see FU fi *hyvä*. || *seśśa* (< **seśja*) then, after that (looks like a processive of *seś*, from there, which is in itself the elative of *se-* = *sy* he, etc.). || *koras*, 3sg fut.(-prs) of *kor-* ask, request; see FU fi *kerjää-*. || *šl'apasõ*, asg Px3sg of *šl'apa* hat (R). || *zonlyś*, abl. of *zon*. || *sijõ* he, she, it, that, that one: *si-* = *sy*, + the pronominal suffix *-jõ*. || *rożõdas*, 3sg of *rożõd-* make a hole; *roź* hole; see FU ch *raž*. || *gušõńikõn* secretly; *guś* thief; as to the suffix *-ńik*, cf. *gõl'ińik*; *-õn*, instructive ending. || *lõšõdas*, 3sg of *lõšõd-* prepare, arrange; *lõšav-*, *lõšal-* fit (to something); fit together; etc.; vty *leśty-* arrange, adapt; bring about; build; etc.; *leśal-* be similar | ch *ləšte-*, *lište-* 'make, prepare' | lp *lačče-* make (bed); prepare (sleeping-place); (Polmak also:) put a patch on a boat; Polmak *laźâ* wooden patch on a boat; Inari *læče-* make (bed); lay the table; arrange in a group. || *ulas* (going, putting) under . . .; see U fi *ala*. || *mešõk* sack (R). || *čõktas*, 3sg of *čõkt-* to order, command, compell. || *piõs*, asg of *pi*. || *lõdny*, inf. of *lõd-* pack, load; see FU fi *luo-*. || *šl'apaõ*, ill. of *šl'apa*. || *tyrtõź*, terminative gerund of *tyr-* be filled, become full; see U fi *tyrtty-*. *mešõk da šl'apa tyrtõź* till the sack and the hat were filled. || *najõ* they; see U fi *nämä*, and above, under *sijõ*. || *munny*, inf. of *mun-*. || *kutasny-*, 3pl of *kut-*. || *põlõn* along, alongside: instr. of *põl* side; see U fi *pieli*. || *munasny-*, 3pl of *mun-*. || *da* and, but (R). || *voas*, 3sg of *vo-* come. || *rynyš* kiln for drying grain; cf. fi *riihi*. || *jualas*, 3sg of *jual-* ask; ch *jada-*, *joda-*. || *meam*, adessive of *me* I; see U fi *minä*. || *ďedõjlõn*, adess. of diminutive of *ďed* (or *ďedõ*). || *važ* old; vty *vuž* | fi *vanha*. || *šl'apays*, nsg Px3sg of *šl'apa*. *ďedõjlõn šl'apays* grandfather's hat. || *loõ*, 3sg of *lo-* be, become, shall, must, have to; see U fi *lie-*. || *menym*, allative of *me*. The designation of the person who shall do something is put in the allative in combination with *lo-*. || *šl'apaavny*, inf. of *šl'apaav-* (trisyllabic!) put (something as) a hat on one's head. || *ďert* of course, naturally, certainly (R). || *vasa-piyd*, nsg Px2sg of

vasa-pi. Even Px2sg has often the same function as the English definite article. || *šapkaalas*, 3sg of *šapkaal-* put (something as) a cap on one's head; *šapka* cap (R). || *bara* again, anew; still; cf. *bõra* id.; *bõr* back, posterior, the back part of something; see FU fi *perä*. || *iz* stone. *iz-ki* millstone. For *ki*, see FU fi *kivi*. || *ďedjaslõn*, adess. pl. of *ďed*. || *śi-kõč* string of pearls, pearl necklace; *śi-* is the basic word of the derivatives *śily*, neck, and *śijõs*, hame: see FU fi *sepä*. The primary meaning of *śi-kõč* may have been 'edging, setting, frame of the neck' or something like that: *kõč* the place (space) next to the entrance door in a room; door-jamb, door-post; *kyr-kõč* steep, precipitous river-bank (*kyr* steep slope, declivity); *kõč-pel'õs* corner beside the doorway (*pel'õs*); cf. md *keŋkš*, *kenčiks* door, entry | lpInari *gozzáš* threshold | fi *kynnys*; vepsS *kündüz*. || *mol'jys*, nsg Px3sg of *mol'* pearl; berry; see FU hu *mëggy*. || *žõ* but, however; as you know; also (R). || *śi-kõčav-* hang (trans.) around one's neck as a pearl necklace; *-ny*, inf. ending. || *śi-kõčalas*, 3sg. || *pińa* harrow; originally: 'toothed'; *piń* tooth: see FU fi *pii*; *-a*, adjective suffix. || *perna* neck cross (of the orthodox Catholic); *-ys*, Px3sg. || *pernaalas*, 3sg of *pernaal-* hang (trans.) as a cross on one's breast. || *pińasõ*, asg Px3sg of *pińa*. || *ju* river; see U fi *joki*. || *tati* here, in this direction, here along, is the prolative of *ta* this (see U fi *tämä*). The *-t-* of this case ending is probably identical with the vg locative ending *-t*; cf. hu *itt*, here, *ott*, there, (and the locative ending *-tt* ~ *-t* in place-names etc.); os *tŏt* there, *kot* where; md *čit* by day, *te vet* in this night (*či* day, *ve* night); fi *nyt*, dial. *nyyttä* now (*nyky-* in *nykyaika* the present, our time, etc.), est *nüüd*. || *me* I. || *kyź* how. See U fi *kuka*, and *siźik* (above). || *vuža*, 1sg of *vuž-* cross, pass, go over; see FU ch *wanže-*. || *vomõn* (right) across, straight on. || *võli*, 3sg prt of *võl-* be. || *pos* bridge; ladder, staircase. || *kuźa* along, alongside; *kuź* long; see FU *hosszú* (add: km *kunzu* along; *kunďu* long (= during a long time). *-ys*, Px3sg. If a postposition is combined with a substantive, it often takes the 'definite article'. || *vuž*, 2sg imper. of *vuž-*. || *vužny*, inf. || *põv*, *põl* board; vty *pul*; cf. vg *pääl* bench. || *ćegõ*, 3sg of *ćeg-* break (intr. and trans.); see FU hu *szeg-*. || *uśõ*, 3sg of *uś-* fall; see U hu *es-*. || *võjas*, 3sg of *võj-* sink, be drowned; see FU fi *vajoa-*. || *pińayd*: the Px2sg functions as definite article.

|| *eśkõ*, conditional particle, often to be translated by 'if'. || *kypõdõ*, 3sg of *kypõd-* lift, carry. *pińayd eśkõ kypõdõ* even if the harrow should carry him. || *võjtõ*, 3sg of *võjt-* sink (trans.), causative of *võj-*. || *gortas* home, to the house: lative Px3sg of *gort* house; cf. *ulas*. || *munas*, 3sg of *mun-*. || *baťmam* (the) parents: *baťmam* father (R), *mam* mother. *-ys*, Px3sg. || *samõj* just, a moment ago (R). || *võli uźony*, periphrastic prt of *uź-* sleep. || *đeńgasõ*, asg Px3sg of *đeńga*. || *kiśtas*, 3sg of *kiśt-* shake out, pour. || *žožˇ* floor; see FU lpSkolt *cazel*. || *šõras* in(to) the middle of . . . : lative Px3sg of *šõr* middle. || *õni* now. || *olõny* and *vylõny*, 3pl of *ol-* and *võl-* ~ *vyl-* respectively.

2

Aje mijan

The Lord's prayer

aje mijan, vel-tydalan-inyn võlyśe,
med vežaśas ńimyd tenad.

med voas kanalanyd. med voas gažyd kučõm-kõ vel-tydalan-inyn i mu vylyn.

ta-põrja mijan ńańes śet mijanly ta-lun.

inelt mijanlu myžjasnymõ kuźi mi ineltamnym myžajasnymlu.

in pyrt mijandy põrjaśan pyčkõ, čõč-kõ mynty mijandy varkõslyś.

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.

Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread.

Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.

Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

aje, vocative of *aj* father; vty *ajy* father; male (of animals) | fi *äijä* grandfather; old man; kr *äijä* much | lp *agˈgja* grandfather; old man. || *mijan*, adess. of *mi* we; see U fi *me*. || *vel-tydalan-inyn*, iness. of *vel-tydalan-in* heaven. *vel-* surface; the top, that which is highest; cf. *vylas* on; *jõl-vyl* cream (*jõl* milk); vty *vyl* upper part: see U fi *ylä-*. *tydalan* 'that which is visible': *tydal-* be visible. *in* place; vty *in*, *iń*. || *võlyśe*, voc. of nomen agentis of *võl-* be. || *med* utinam: forms periphrastic imperative (3rd person). || *vežaśas*, 3sg prs-future of *vežaś-*, to hallow; *veža*: *v.-pi* godson (Russian *krestnyj syn*: *krest* cross); *vež* (?): *vežõn mun-* pass without meeting each other; *tuj-vež* crossway (*tuj* way); *wežyń* warping, bend; ch *wäžək* oblique,

cross, askew | fi *mene- vitaan* (illative of *vita-*) go awry, go askew. || *ńimyd*, nsg Px2sg of *ńim* name; see U fi *nimi*. || *tenad*, adess. of *te* thou; see U fi *sinä*. || *voas*, 3sg prs-fut. of *vo-* come, arrive; vty *vuj-* come; ripen, get ready; etc. || *kanalan* realm; *kanal-* rule; *kan* ruler; vty *kun* prince, ruler, king (< Chuv. < < Chinese). *-yd*, Px3sg. || *vo-* (here:) be done. || *gaž* joy; will; vty *gažal-* to wish, to love | vg *kääš*, *kaas* will; joy | os *kæč* (the vg and os words may be zr loan-words). || *kučõm-kõ* some; as; *kučõm* which (interrog.); how; vty *kõčɛ* which, what kind; zr *kod* who, which, vty *kud*; see U fi *kuka*. *-kõ* if. || *i* and, also (R). || *mu* earth; field; land, country; see U fi *maa*. || *vylyn* on: iness. of *vyl-* upper part, surface: see U fi *ylä-*. || *ta-põrja* present, actual; daily. *ta* this; see U fi *tämä*. *põrja* may be derived from *põr*, *pyr* in *kyk põrjõ* twice, *õt-pyr*, once, see U zr *pyr*, or from *pyr*, through, see FU hu *fér-*; as to the second alternative, cf. lp *čâđâ* through; in the course of (time); *čâđâg* through without stopping, on without a stop, without changing reindeer; continually, perpetually, always. (zr *pyr* 1) always. 2) instantly, immediately, and vty *pyr* 1) always, for ever, 2) directly, are no doubt identical with vty, zr *pyr*, through, rather than with zr *pyr* in *õt-pyr*.) || *ńańes*, nsg Px3sg of *ńań* bread (Persian *nān*). || *śet*, 2sg imper. of *śet-* give; vty *śoty-*. || *mijanly*, allative of *mi*. || *ta-lun* today. *ta* this; *lun* day; *lun-šõr* noon (*šõr* middle); vty *nunal*, *nynal*, *nun-*, *nyn-*, *lun-* day; (?) *lym-šyr*, *lum-šur* noon; South | fi *lounas* noon; Southwest, South; est *lõune* noon; the highest position of the sun; South, Southeast. || *inelt-* leave, desert; pardon, forgive; vty *ayalt-* throw away, discard, dismiss. || *mijanlu* = *mijanly*. || *myžjasnymõ*, npl Px1pl of *myž* guilt, sin; see FU hu *-máz*. || *kuźi*(*i*) = *kyźy*, *kyźi* (here:) as. || *ineltamnym*, *ineltam*(*õ*), 1pl prs. || *myžajasnymlu*, all. pl. Px1pl of *myža* guilty. || *in*, *en*, 2sg imper. of the neg. verb; see U fi *e-*, 3sg *ei*. || *pyrt-* lead (somewhere, to a place); *pyr-* enter; see FU hu *fér-*. || *mijandy*, acc. || *põrjaśan* temptation; *põrjaś-* lie (tell lies), cheat; (?) *põr-* to fall; change (intr., into something); *põrt-* change, alter (trans.); vty *põrtem* diverse, varied, various, diversified; of (such and such a) kind | md *pra-* fall (down), tumble (down) | [? vg *puurmät-*, *pourmät-* fall; cf. est *põru-* to shake (intr.), rock, be shaken. || *pyčkõ* in(to), under (of a movement); *pyč* the interior of something; see U vty

puč. || *čõč-kõ* but (: rather, on the contrary). *čõč* together, also; *õt-čõč* in common, jointly (*õt* one); *õt-čõč ker-* to make even, to smooth; *čõčyd* smooth (e.g., of a path); vty *čoč* together, in common; *čočkyt* smooth, even; cf. vgN *sast-, säst-* make smooth, make even. *kõ* if. || *mynt-* pay; redeem, save; *myn-* get loose, escape; see U hu *men-*. || *varkõs* astute, cunning; the evil one, the devil. *-lyś*, elative.

3

Komi nyvly

To a Ziryene girl

mića nylõ, jeẑyd nylõ! — Pretty girl, white girl!
en te sečõm nora śyv! — Do not sing so sadly!
med mi, tom jõz, ogõ kylõ — May not we, young men, hear
tenćyd jona śogśan kyv. — from you such doleful words!
ted myj õni bõrdan tor, — What have you got to cry about,
gažõďćyny kolõ kor? — when you ought to rejoice?

en na šogśy, aj-eń dinyn! — Do not be sad yet, (being still) with your parents!

jona śorńit zonjaskõd: — Talk more to the boys:
as bur gortsa vokjas piyn — among your friends and countrymen
on na gudyr vayn põd. — you will not drown in muddy water.
en te šogśy! en te bõrd! — Do not be sad! Do not cry!
šinmyd abu na med gõrd. — Your eyes should not get red!

eštyštan na põryślańyn — You will have time in your old age
kiśtny asśyd śin-va-tor, — to shed your tears;
kor te loan verõs sajyn, — when you are married,
śyvnyd loas sek ńe-kor. — then you will never be able to sing.
gažažyka, nylõ, śyv! — Sing more gaily, my girl,
musa nylõ, komi nyv. — my dear girl, Ziryene girl!

I. A. Kuratov.

komi Ziryene; see FU fi *kymi* (with reference). || *nyv, nyl* daughter; girl; see U fi *neiti*. *-ly*, allative. || *mića* beautiful; *mić* beauty; see U lv *mütsa-*. || *-õ*, Px1sg. || *jeẑyd* white; deadly pale. || *en*, 2sg imper. of the neg. verb; see U fi *e-*, 3sg *ei*. || *te* thou; see U fi *sinä*. || *sečõm* such; vty *syčɛ*; zr *sy* he, she, it; see FU fi *hän*. || *nora* sadly; *nor* sensitive, pitiful, compassionate; *noraś-* to lament; (?) vty *nirjal-*

sob, wail, moan, lament. || *śyv-*, *śyl-* sing; (?) vty *čiľy-*, *śiľy-* to cry cuckoo. || *med* 'utinam': forms, together with 3sg and 3pl prs ind., a periphrastic imperative. || *mi* we; see U fi *me*. || *tom* young. || *jõz* people, folk; etc.; fi *jäsen* joint, limb; member | md *jєźnє*, *eźne* | ch *ježəŋ*. || *ogõ*, 1pl prs of the neg. verb. || *kyl-* hear; be audible, be heard; see FU fi *kuule-*. *kylõ* is the form used in combination with the neg. verb. || *tenćyd*, abl. of *te*. || *jona* very; *jon* ~ *jonm-* strong; strength, power; vty *jun* strong, firm; very | fi *julma* cruel; ferocious (lp *julʲbme* fierce-looking, reserved, uncommunicative, is to all probability a fi loan-word). || *šogšan* sad; *šog* sorrow; vty *šug* trouble, pains; sorrow; troublesome; sad. || *kyv*, *kyl* tongue; language; word; see U fi *kieli*. || *ted*, allative of *te*. || *myj* what; see U fi *mikä*. || *õni* now; *õn-taj* recently (*taj* you see; indeed). || *bõrdan* worth of weeping, to cry at; *bõrd-* weep, cry; vty *bõrd-*. || *tor* thing; piece, fragment; cf. vg *taur* fragment. || *gažõđćy-* rejoice, be glad; *gaž* joy. *-ny*, inf. || *kolõ*, 3sg prs of *kol-*, *kov-* it is necessary, must, ought to; see FU hu *këll(e)-*. || *kor* = *kodyr* when; *kod* who, which (interrogative); see U fi *kuka*. *dyr* long (= for a long time); vty *dyr* time. Uotila has connected these words with Persian *dīr*, remote; long (= of long duration), OPersian *darga-* long, Sanscrit *dīrgha-*. || *na* yet. || *aj-eń* parents. *aj* father; grandfather. *eń* female (of animals); cf. vote *enne* mother | lp *ædʲne*. || *dinyn* with (: in the house of . . . , etc.): iness. of *din* butt, the lower, thicker end; see FU fi *tyvi*. || *jona* (here :) more. || *śorńit*, 2sg imper. of *śorńit-* speak, talk; *śorńi* talk, conversation; see U fi *saarna*. || *zonjaskõd*, com. pl. of *zon* boy. || *as* own; myself, yourself, etc. || *bur* good; vty *bur* good; right; fortune; abundance | ch *purõ* good | md *paro* | lp *buorre* | fi *parempi* better; *paras* best. || *gortsa* domestic, home . . . ; *gort* house, home; vty *gurt*. || *vok* brother; cf. fi *veikko*. *-jas*, plural. *gortsa vokjas* friends and countrymen. || *piyn* among: iness. of *pi* bosom; see FU fi *povi*. || *on*, 2sg prs of the neg. verb. || *gudyr* muddy. || *vayn*, iness. of *va* water; see U fi *vesi*. || *põd-* suffocate (intr.); see FU hu *fúl-*. || *śinmyd*, nsg Px2sg of *śin* eye; see U fi *silmä*. || *abu* is not, are not; not; vty *õvȯl*, *evõl*; *ab-* = fi *epä-*, privative prefix, historically speaking: ptc prs of the neg. verb; *-u* = *võl-* to be. || *gõrd* red; vty *gord*. || *ešty̆štan*, 2sg prs of *ešty̆št-* have time, have leisure; *ešty-*, *ješty-* get ready, be finished (of a job);

be able (to do something); ripen (of fruits, corn); arrive in time; have time, have leisure; see FU fi *ehti-*. || *põryślan* old age; *põryś* old; vty *pereś* | lp *boares* (with a different suffix); cf. FU lp *boares* (to all probability, os *pyrəs* is a zr loan-word). *-yn*, inessive. || *kiśtny*, inf. of *kiśt-*, *kiśty-* pour, pour out, spill, shed; scatter; pull down, demolish; vty *kiśty-* scatter, shed, pour; zr *kiśky-* pour, scatter; vty *kiśk-* pour forth | lpInari *goš'kâ-* throw | ch *kəške-* pour, pour out; throw; stir up. || *asśyd*, abl. Px2sg of *as*. || *śin-va* tear(s) ('eye-water'). *tor* (here:) drop(s). || *loan*, 2sg prs of *lo-* become, be; see U fi *lie-*. || *verõs* husband—probably derived from [Stephen] *ver* slave, servant; see FU md *vardo*. *sajõ* (go) behind: acc. = illative of *saj* room behind something; see FU fi *suoja*. *verõs sajõ mun-* marry (of a woman; *mun-* go: see U fi *mene-*; cf. Russian *vyjti zamuž*. || *śyvnyd*, inf. Px2sg. || *loas*, 2sg prs-fut. of *lo-*. || *sek* then; vty *soku*; cf. zr *sy* he, she, it. || *ńe-kor* never; *ńe* not, nor (R; cf. U hu *në*). || *gažažyka* more gaily. *-žyk*, comparative ending, = *žyk*, *žyk* more; that much. || *musa* dear, beloved; vty *muso*; vty, zr *mus* liver; see U fi *maksa*.

VOGUL

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

The idiom represented by the text—an intermediary between the Upper Konda dialect and the Pelymka dialect—seems to have the following vowels:

u, *y*	*i*
o, *õ*	*e* *ö*,
å, *a*	*ä*

e stands for a high (narrow) variant of *e*, as a rule.

Diphthongs the second component of which is non-syllabic *u* or *i*, are frequent. One diphthong with rising sonority is of frequent occurrence, namely *oå*, which has developed from (long) *ä*; e.g. *woår-* 'work, make', vgTavda *wäär-*.

Combinations of non-syllabic *i* and a following vowel (even *i̯i*) are frequent especially in initial position, but in our transcription they do not look like diphthongs, because we write *j* for *i̯*.

Vogul has preserved the old vowel harmony in the southernmost dialects.

In Vogul, as in Cheremis and in Ostyak, the vowels are either etymologically short or etymologically long. On the basis of the text we shall analyse here, these two groups can be distinguished only in so far as etym. short vowels cannot be phonetically long. Thus, if a vowel is marked long, it is etym. long; if it occurs in an open stressed (: first) syllable and is not marked long, it is etym. short.

CONSONANTS

	Bilabiales		Labiodentales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae . . .		*p*				*t*				*t'*				*k*
Fric. (blaesiformes)	*β*	(*φ*)											*γ*	*χ*
Fric. sibilantes .						*s*		[*š*]		*ś*				
Affricatae										[*ć*]				
Tremulantes . . .							*r*	(*R*)						
Cryptofricativae .					*l*	(*L*)			*l'*					
Nasales	*m*	(*M*)			*n*				*ń*				*ŋ*	

š and *ć* do not occur in the idiom represented by the text.

The fricative *j* does not seem to occur. In the combination *i̯i*, the non-syllabic component is of course narrower (higher).

We write *w* for *β*, *g* for *γ*, and *h* for *χ*.

In our text, *g* is extra-short in the position after *y*.

STRESS

The stress is often on the second syllable in the Tavda dialect; in all the other dialects it is on the first syllable.

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

The Px3sg often functions as definite article.

Vogul has three numbers: singular, dual and plural. As to the characteristics of the dual and the plural, see the Paradigms.

The dual ending has a 'copulative' function when the designations of two living beings are co-ordinated by mere juxtaposition, e.g. *eekwäyg ååjkäyg* 'an old woman and an old man, an old man and his (old) wife'.

Vogul has the following cases: nominative, accusative, locative,

separative, lative(-dative), translative, instructive. The accusative does not occur in Pelym or in vgN. The direct object is put in the acc. only if it is definite, else it is put in the nominative. The ending is either *-m*, or *m*+ a vowel (*-a*, *-e*, *-i*), which is historically identical with the Px3sg.

The endings of the other oblique cases are: loc. *-t*, sep. *-nel*, lat. *-ne*, transl. *-yg*, *-äyg*, etc., instr. *-(e)l*, after Px: *-tel*, *-te*, etc.

The translative functions as essive too.

The dual base has the characteristic *γ* (preceded by a vowel), *i* etc.

A few words have a vocative, e.g. Tavda *εŋkä* of *öŋ* 'mother'.

The character of the plural base is *t*.

Before a Px, though, the plural base has another shape; and the same may be said of the dual base of most of the dialects. The plural has then the characteristic *n*.

The possessive suffixes are put before the case ending; but in combination with a few defective stems the order case ending + Px prevails: *numtem* 'above me' (*num* 'the highest, uppermost', loc. *numt*), *jejtem* 'after me', *jejten* 'after you (thee)', *jejtä* 'after him' (*jej*[-] 'that which is behind', loc. *jejt*), *jortelem* 'with me', *jortelen* with you', *jortelä* 'with him' (*jort* 'fellow, comrade', instr. *jortel*).

Comparison of the adjectives

The comparative has the ending *-nuw*, e.g. *l'uul'nuw* 'worse'. Comparative + 'than' may be rendered by the positive grade + the separative of the word that denotes the outdone member of the comparison, e.g. *taw aanemnel jänyg* 'he is bigger than I am'.

The word *wos* forms a kind of periphrastic superlatives, e.g. *wos joriŋ* 'most excellent'.

PARADIGMS

(Konda)

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1. Nom.	*kwäl* 'house'	*kwäli*	*kwäl(e)t*
2. Acc.	*kwälme* 'the house'	*kwälima*	*kwältma*
3. Loc.	*kwält*	*kwälit*	*kwältet*
4. Sep.	*kwälnel*	*kwälinel*	*kwältnel*
5. Lat.	*kwälne*	*kwäline*	*kwältne*
6. Transl.	*kwäläyg*		
7. Instr.	*kwälel*	*kwälil*	*kwältel*

Px

Konda

Object (possession) in nominative

Owner(s)	One obj.	Two obj.	More than two obj.
s 1	*kwälem*	*kwälåm*	*kwäläm*
2	*kwälen*	*kwälån*	*kwälän*
3	*kwälät*	*kwälå*	*kwälän*
d 1	*kwäläm*	*kwäläm*	*kwälenäm(en)*
2	*kwälän*	*kwälän*	*kwälenän*
3	*kwäläten*	*kwälän*	*kwäl(en)än*
p 1	*kwälåu*	*kwälåu*	*kwälenåu*
2	*kwälän*	*kwälän*	*kwälenän*
3	*kwälän(l)*	*kwälän*	*kwälenän*

Standard vg (Sosva dialect)[1]

Object inflected

haap 'boat'

Case	One object			
1. Nom.	*haapum*	*haapyn*	*haape*	One owner
2. Loc.	*haapumt*	*haapynt*	*haapet*	
3. Sep.	*haapumnyl*	*haapynnyl*	*haapenyl*	
4. Lat.	*haapumn*	*haapynn*	*haapen*	
5. Instr.	*haapumtyl*	*haapyntyl*	*haapetyl*	
1. Nom.	*haapmen*	*haapen*	*haapen*	Two owners
2. Loc.	*haapment*	*haapent*	*haapent*	
3. Sep.	*haapmennyl*	*haapennyl*	*haapennyl*	
4. Lat.	*haapmenne*	*haapenn*	*haapenn*	
5. Instr.	*haapmentyl*	*haapentyl*	*haapentyl*	
1. Nom.	*haapuw*	*haapan*	*haapanyl*	More than two owners
2. Loc.	*haapuwt*	*haapant*	*haapanylt*	
3. Sep.	*haapuwnyl*	*haapannyl*	*haapanylnyl*	
4. Lat.	*haapuwn*	*haapann*	*haapanyln*	
5. Instr.	*haapuwtyl*	*haapantyl*	*haapanyltyl*	
	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers.	

[1] Standard vg does not distinguish between short and long vowels in syllables other than the first. Thus, for instance, *haapmen* stands for *haapmeen* (or *haapmɛɛn*).

	Two objects			
1.	*haapagum*	*haapagyn*	*haapage*	One owner
2.	*haapagumt*	*haapagynt*	*haapaget*	
3.	*haapagumnyl*	*haapagynnyl*	*haapagenyl*	
4.	*haapagumn*	*haapagynn*	*haapagen*	
5.	*haapagumtyl*	*haapagyntyl*	*haapagetyl*	
1.	*haapagmen*	*haapagen*	*haapagen*	Two owners
2.	*haapagment*	*haapagent*	*haapagent*	
3.	*haapagmennyl*	*haapagennyl*	*haapagennyl*	
4.	*haapagmenn*	*haapagenn*	*haapagenn*	
5.	*haapagmentyl*	*haapagentyl*	*haapagentyl*	
1.	*haapaguw*	*haapagan*	*haapaganyl*	More than two owners
2.	*haapaguwt*	*haapagant*	*haapaganylt*	
3.	*haapaguwnyl*	*haapagannyl*	*haapaganylnyl*	
4.	*haapaguwn*	*haapagann*	*haapaganyln*	
5.	*haapaguwtyl*	*haapagantyl*	*haapaganyltyl*	
	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers.	

	More than two objects			
1.	*haapanum*	*haapann*	*haapane*	One owner
2.	*haapanumt*	*haapant*	*haapanet*	
3.	*haapanunnyl*	*haapannyl*	*haapanenyl*	
4.	*haapanumn*	*haapann*	*haapanen*	
5.	*haapanumtyl*	*haapantyl*	*haapanetyl*	
1.	*haapanamen*	*haapanen*	*haapanen*	Two owners
2.	*haapanament*	*haapanent*	*haapanent*	
3.	*haapanamennyl*	*haapanennyl*	*haapanennyl*	
4.	*haapanamenn*	*haapanenn*	*haapanen*	
5.	*haapanamentyl*	*haapanentyl*	*haapanentyl*	
1.	*haapanuw*	*haapann*	*haapanyl*	More than two owners
2.	*haapanuwt*	*haapant*	*haapanylt*	
3.	*haapanuwnyl*	*haapannyl*	*haapanylnyl*	
4.	*haapanuwn*	*haapann*	*haapanyln*	
5.	*haapanuwtyl*	*haapantyl*	*haapanyltyl*	
	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers.	

Conjugation

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristics of tense, mood, and voice

Tense

There are two tenses, namely, present and preterite. The present characteristic *-g-* has been preserved only in certain forms, especially in 1sg, 2sg, and 3pl. *-i-* appears in the dual and in 2pl. The preterite has the characteristic *s* (in the indicative).

The present tense often functions as *praesens historicum*. If the verb has terminative aspect (in itself or in the context), the present tense will indicate future time.

In vgS Tavda, an action that is going on is often expressed by means of a continuative derivative, e.g. *šäuräntem* 'I am cutting, I do cut', but *šäureem* 'I'll cut, I am going to cut.'

NOTE.—A periphrastic *future* is formed by putting the present of *pömt-*, 'begin, start', or *jemt-* 'become' as auxiliary before the infinitive, e.g. *pupi-qworne jälentähw pömtwän* 'you will be visited' by the serpent' (*pupi-qworne*, lative, used as agent; *pömtwän*, 2du prs pass.).

Moods

There are five moods, namely, indicative, narrative, conditional, imperative, and hypocoristic.

The indicative has no mood characteristic.

The narrative mood implies that 'people say' or that one infers that the event has taken place. It has the characteristic *m*.

The conditional mood has the characteristic *nuw*, *nõ(g)*.

The imperative has no characteristic in the active voice; in the passive, it has the mood characteristic *ŋk*. In Standard vg, the imperative occurs only in the 2nd person. In some of the dialects it occurs even in the 1st and 3rd persons; it is then preferably used to express a purpose, a wish, a concession, or the like.

The hypocoristic is a mood insofar as it implies a mental attitude (on the part of the speaker) towards the action expressed by the

verb stem; but from the viewpoint of formation it is a diminutive of the indicative or the imperative. *-riś* or *-k(w)-* (which in themselves are denominative diminutive suffixes) may be added to the indicative base (= 3sg prs ind.), or a finite indicative form, or the preverbium of a compound verb. E.g., *jolhujirišum* 'I'll go to bed (literally: 'lie down'), poor me' (*jol* 'down'); *jolhujirišn* 'you go to bed, poor fellow'; *jålkojamriś* 'I'll go to bed'; *jolariś hujegm* 'id.': *jolhujeken* 'let us (two) go to bed!' In the last example the diminutive suffix has been added to the base of the imperative (2du imper. **hujen*).

When the hypocoristic mood is moulded on the indicative, it often has a hortative function. When it is moulded on the imperative, it has always a hortative function, and such forms we shall therefore call *hortative*.

Voices

There are two voices (*genera verbi*), active and passive. The active voice has no characteristic.

In the indicative and the conditional, the passive voice has the characteristic *we*, which is put between the stem and the tense characteristic in the prt ind., but after the mood characteristic in the conditional. In the prs ind. the final vowel of the stem has the quality *a* before *we*. E.g., *totawem* 'I am being brought', *totwesum* 'I was brought'.

In the narrative mood, the passive voice has the characteristic *ime*, e.g. *totimen* 'thou hast been brought' (see the Paradigms).

The passive voice is of very frequent occurrence in vg.

Personal endings

Introductory remarks

When the finite verb has a *definite* direct object, the personal ending usually indicates the number (singular, dual, or plural) of the direct object as well as the person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) and number of the subject. When the subject is in the 1st or the 2nd person, the (definite) object (3rd person) is indicated by a suffix which is

put before the subject indicator; this interposed suffix we shall call *object ending*. E.g., *teglum* 'I am eating (this)', *teslum* 'I ate (this)', *tesagum* 'I ate (those two things)', *tesanum* 'I ate (those things [more than two])' ~ *tegum* 'I am eating, I eat', *tesum* 'I ate'.

Historically, the personal (subject) endings of the 1st and 2nd person are pronouns, more or less identical with the possessive suffixes which are combined with nouns. From a diachronic, if not from a synchronic point of view, *tesagum* can be interpreted as '(these are) my two finished objects of eating'.

In Vogul, as in the other Uralic languages, the forms of the third person—like *mini* 'he goes', *minegt* 'they (more than two) go', *minas* 'he went', *minasyt* 'they went' do not include any affixed pronoun; historically, they are nouns (in nsg, ndu, npl). In the *objective conjugation* (see above) the third person is formed by adding a possessive suffix (3sg, 3du, 3pl) to the corresponding form of the subjective conjugation. Thus, *totite*, 'he brings this', is = *toti*, 'he brings', + Px3sg, *totijage*, 'he brings these two', is = *toti* + dual characteristic + Px3sg, *totijagen*, 'these two bring those two', is = *toti* + du. char. + Px3du, *totijane*, 'he brings these' (more than two), is = *toti* + pl. char. + Px3sg.

We shall now regard the personal endings from a strictly descriptive point of view.

Subject endings

The *imperative* ends in *-n* in the 2nd person in all the three numbers. (As to the preceding vowel, see the paradigms.) The third person is usually replaced by a periphrastic construction.

In the other moods, the subject endings are (if we disregard the quality of the preceding vowel);

1sg *-m*; 2sg *-n*; 3sg: prs *-i* (also *Ø*), else *-Ø*.
1du *-men*; *-ma* ~ *-mä*; *-me*; *-m*. 2du *-n*; *-na* ~ *-nä*; *-ne*. 3du *-yg*; *-ga* ~ *-gä*; *-ge*; *-gy*.
1pl *-w*; *-wa* ~ *-wä*; *-we*; *-wen*. 2pl *-n*; *-na* ~ *-nä*. 3pl *-t*.

The third singular of prs ind. act. has the personal ending *-i*. Before this ending the final vowel of the stem has disappeared. In the other tenses and moods, 3sg has no personal ending.

SUBJECT ENDINGS PECULIAR TO THE OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION

In the objective conjugation there are partly other subject endings than in the subjective conjugation.

3sg prs ind. has the subject ending *-e* (added to the object ending *-t-*).

In Standard vg, 3du has the same ending as 2du.

3pl has the ending *-anyl*. Before this ending, there is nothing to indicate the plurality of the object: *wasanyl* means 'they saw him' and 'they saw them (more than two)', whereas *wasaganyl* means 'they saw these two'.

Object endings

When the subject is in the first or the second person, singular object is indicated by *-l-*, e.g. *totilum*, I bring it (cf. *totegum* I bring). When the subject is in the 3sg, the singular object is indicated by *-t-*. When the subject is in the 3du, the singular object is not indicated by any affix of its own.

The dual object is indicated by *-ag-*, the plural object by *-an-*.

In the prs ind. of the objective conjugation, the present characteristic appears throughout as *-i-* (before a vowel, *-ij-*).

Remarks on the vowel that precedes (or does not precede) the tense characteristic

The present characteristic is preceded (in Standard vg) by *e*, e.g. 1sg prs ind. *totegum*, 3pl *totegt*.

Before going further, we should state that in vg a verb stem is said to have as many syllables as there are syllables before the infinitive ending *-ŋkwe*. Thus, *miŋkwe* 'give' has a monosyllabic stem, *totuŋkwe* 'bring' a disyllabic.

Before *-s-* + vowel, the final vowel of *disyllabic* stems has usually disappeared if it was preceded by an intervocalic consonant, e.g. *totsum* 'I brought' (but *minasum* 'I went'). Even after *ŋh* the vowel has disappeared, e.g. *roŋhegum* 'I shout', *rohsum* 'I shouted'. After other consonant clusters the vowel has either disappeared or assumed the quality *y*, e.g. *johtsum* or *johtysum* 'I came'.

The final vowel of *trisyllabic* and *pentasyllabic* stems has the quality *a*, e.g. *totyglasum* 'I carried', *totyglas* 'he carried'.

Those stems which do not have *a* before *-s-* + vowel, have *y* before final *s*, e.g. *totys* 'he brought'.

Remarks on the vowel that precedes the personal ending (with special reference to Standard vg)

If we take for instance 2sg prt ind. *totsyn*, 2du *totsen*, and 2pl *totsan*, or the corresponding forms of narr. act., *totmyn*, *totmen*, and *totman*, we can say that the personal endings of 2sg, 2du and 2pl are *-yn*, *-en*, and *-an* respectively. But this is not true of the imperative: 2sg, 2du *toten*, 2pl *totan*, or of prs ind. pass.: 2sg, 2du, 2pl *totawen*, or cond. pass.: 2sg, 2du, 2pl *totnuwen* (= 2du cond. act.). The description of the personal endings given above is incomplete and it must be supplemented by an account of the vowels preceding the endings.

-m is preceded by *u* in the active voice—e.g., 1sg prs ind. *totegum*, prt ind. *totsum*, cond. *totnuwum*, narr. *totmum*, hort. *totirišum*—and in the prt ind. pass.: *totwesum*. *-m* is put immediately after the passive characteristic *-we-*, e.g. *totnuwem* 'I would have been brought'.

-n is preceded by:

y in 2sg of the active voice and of prt ind. pass., e.g. *totegyn* 'thou bringst', *totnuwyn* 'thou wouldst bring';

e in all the forms of 2du and in 2sg and 2pl of ind. prs pass. and cond. pass., e.g. *totsen* 'you (two) brought', *naŋ totnuwen* 'thou wouldst be brought', *nan totnuwen* 'you (more than two) would be brought';

a in all the forms of 2pl act. and in 2pl prt ind. pass., e.g. *totsan* 'you (more than two) brought', *totnuwan* 'you (more than two) would bring', *totwesan* 'you (more than two) were brought';

iji in 2du, 2pl prs ind. act., e.g. *totijin* 'you (two or more than two) bring'.

-men is preceded by:

i in prs ind. act., e.g. *totimen* 'we (two) bring';

a in prt ind. (act. and pass.) and cond. act., e.g. *totsamen* 'we (two) brought', *totnuwamen* 'we (two) would bring';

u in narr. act., e.g. *totmumen* '(I am sure) we (two) have brought';

e in prs ind. pass. and cond. pass., e.g. *totawemen* 'we (two) are being brought';

no vowel at all in the hypocoristic, e.g. *totiriśmen* 'please bring (, kids)!'

-yg is preceded by *e* in prs ind. (act. and pass.) and in cond. pass. and narr. pass.—e.g. *toteyg* 'they (two) bring', *totnuweyg* 'they (two) would be brought'—in the other forms it is preceded by no vowel at all, e.g. *totsyg* 'they (two) brought'.

-w is preceded by *e* in prs ind. (act. and pass.) and in cond. pass., e.g. *totew* 'we (more than two) bring', *totawew* 'we (more than two) are being brought', *totnuwew* 'we would be brought'. In the other forms it is preceded by *u*, e.g. *totsuw* 'we brought', *totnuwuw* 'we would bring'.

-t is preceded by:

y in prt act. (ind. and narr.), cond. act. and hort., e.g. *totsyt* 'they (more than two) brought', *totnuwyt* 'they would bring';

e in prs ind. pass., cond. pass. and narr. pass., e.g. *totawet* 'they are being brought', *totimet* '(people say that) they have been brought';

by no vowel at all in prs ind. act. and prt ind. pass., e.g. *totegt* 'they bring', *totwest* 'they were brought'.

These rules refer to the subjective conjugation. The objective conjugation diverges in the following points:

The subject ending *-n* is added immediately to the object ending *-an-* in 2sg and 2pl, e.g. *totijann* 'thou bringst them' or 'you (more than two) bring them'; but *totijanen* 'you two bring them';

-men is preceded by *a* after *-l-* and *-an-*; *-ag-* is followed by *-men* or *-amen* according to whether *-ag-* has or has not secondary stress.

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

There are two kinds of infinite verb forms, namely, nouns derived from the verb stem, and isolated case forms of defective stems. The latter category is represented in Vogul by the infinitive, which

ends in *-uŋkwe* in the literary language and in *-hw* (*-ähw*, *-ohw*) in the idiom of our text.

An infinitive with Px is sometimes used in a hortative, desiderative or deliberative function, without being combined with a finite verb form. *ti mir man uurel ååluŋkwä* (Px3sg), *man uurel jänymuŋkwä* 'how shall this people (or 'mankind') live, how shall they increase?'

Some of the deverbative noun suffixes form pure nouns which have nothing to do with the structure of the predicate; e.g. *uunles* '(act of) sitting' (*uunl-* 'sit'), *päntil* 'lid, cover' (*pänt-* 'to cover'), *nomt* 'reason, understanding' (*nom-* 'think, remember').

Some derivatives in *-iŋ*, *-eŋ*, and *-i* can be used as qualifiers and may then be regarded as participles; e.g. *peeniŋ nee* 'sorceress, enchantress' (*peen-* 'conjure, practise sorcery'), *waahteŋ ńääl* 'a fired (discharged) arrow' (*wååht-* 'throw, shot'); cf., on the other hand, *laatiŋ* 'word, message, speach', *jontiŋ har* playground; *ńiuli tõht* 'a pursued (black-throated) diver'; *ätenti potären* 'your (thy) sniffing nose-tip'; cf., on the other hand, *jany* 'play, game'. The suffix *-p*, which is found in substantives as *teep* 'food' (*tee-* 'eat') and *juuntep* 'needle' (*juunt-* 'sew'), occurs in deverbative qualifiers (ptc prs), especially when the qualifier is preceded by a word that determines or specifies the verb action, e.g. *qwålt kwålep nee* 'a woman that rises in the morning'.

The suffix *-ne* ~ *-n* (the distribution depends on whether the basic stem had originally an even or uneven number of syllables) is preferably added to verb stems that have (always or in the context) a cursive aspect, e.g. *totyglan* '(the activity of) carrying' (R 'nošenie')—but on the other hand, *totne* '(the activity, or act of) carrying, bringing somewhere' (R 'nesenie'; *totygla-* is cursive: R 'nosit'', whereas *tot-* is rather terminative: R 'nesti'); *alne* '(the activity of) killing'. Note such constructions as *wonlene śöu wonles* 'he sat for a while' (literally: 'for the time of sitting'). When used as qualifier, such a verb noun may be rendered in English by a present participle, e.g. *hasne hum* 'a writing man'.

The suffix *-m* (*-me*) is preferably added to verb stems that have (always or in the context) a terminative aspect, e.g. *ekwayg-ojkayg minam jui palt* 'after the old woman and the old man had gone (after the departure . . .)'. With Px: *kwålepemä śõut* 'when he rose' (literally: 'at the time of his rising'; *kwålepe-* 'suddenly rise [and go]'); *menemät ji-poålt* 'after he had gone'. Such a verb noun, when used as qualifier, may be rendered in English by a past participle, e.g. *minam hum* 'a man that has (had) gone, the man that went'. Like the Finnish verb noun in *-ma* (see Finnish Grammar, § 152), it is used as a kind of passive participle together with the word that indicates the performer (agent) of the verb action; e.g. *taw* (or *tawne*: lative) *teeltalem looptatä* 'the leaf (or leaves) which he had brought forth' (*teeltale-* 'bring forth', *looptatä*, nsg Px3sg of *loopta* 'leaf'). When the verb is cursive the derivative in *-m* may refer to the actual time; e.g. *manner jomas piś oońśam* 'what a good contrivance he has!' (*oońś-* 'use, keep, etc.'; 3sg prs *oońśi* 'he has'.)

Derivatives in *-im* (*-ime*) have about the same functions. *alim uj* 'a killed animal'.

These derivatives form the bases of the narrative mood (active and passive).

A negative participle is formed by the suffix *-tal*; e.g. *vartal* 'undone, not done', *sustal* 'invisible' (*suns-* 'see').

Note constructions like *åule johttal põul* 'a village the end of which is unreachable, unattainable' (Hungarian: 'vége érhetetlen falu'; *åule*, nsg Px3sg of *åul* 'end').

PARADIGMS

(Standard vg)

Subjective conjugation

PRESENT INDICATIVE

		Act.	*Pass.*
s	1	*totegum*	*totawem*
	2	*totegyn*	*totawen*
	3	*toti*	*totawe*

		Act.	*Pass.*
d	1	*totimen*	*totawemen*
	2	*totijin*	*totawen*
	3	*toteyg*	*totaweyg*
p	1	*totew*	*totawew*
	2	*totijin*	*totawen*
	3	*totegt*	*totawet*

PRETERITE INDICATIVE

		Act.	*Pass.*
s	1	*totsum*	*totwesum*
	2	*totsyn*	*totwesyn*
	3	*totys*	*totwes*
d	1	*totsamen*	*totwesamen*
	2	*totsen*	*totwesen*
	3	*totsyg*	*totwesyg*
p	1	*totsuw*	*totwesuw*
	2	*totsan*	*totwesan*
	3	*totsyt*	*totwest*

NARRATIVE

		Act.	*Pass.*
s	1	*totmum*	
	2	*totmyn*	*totimen*
	3	*totum*	*totime*
d	1	*totmumen*	
	2	*totmen*	*totimen*
	3	*totmyg*	*totimeyg*
p	1	*totmuw*	
	2	*totman*	*totimen*
	3	*totmyt*	*totimet*

CONDITIONAL

		Act.	*Pass.*
s	1	*totnuwum*	*totnuwem*
	2	*totnuwyn*	*totnuwen*
	3	*totnuw*	*totnuwe*
d	1	*totnuwamen*	*totnuwemen*
	2	*totnuwen*	*totnuwen*
	3	*totnuwyg*	*totnuweyg*
p	1	*totnuwuw*	*totnuwew*
	2	*totnuwan*	*totnuwen*
	3	*totnuwyt*	*totnuwet*

IMPERATIVE

		Act.
s	2	*toten*
d	2	*toten*
p	2	*totan*

Objective conjugation

PRESENT INDICATIVE

		Singular obj.	*Dual obj.*	*Plural obj.*
s	1	*totilum*	*totijagum*	*totijanum*
	2	*totilyn*	*totijagyn*	*totijann*
	3	*totite*	*totijage*	*totijane*
d	1	*totilamen*	*totijagmen*	*totijanmen*
	2	*totilen*	*totijagen*	*totijanen*
	3	*totiten*	*totijagen*	*totijanen*
p	1	*totiluw*	*totijaguw*	*totijanuw*
	2	*totilan*	*totijagan*	*totijann*
	3	*totijanyl*	*totijaganyl*	*totijanyl*

PRETERITE INDICATIVE

		Singular obj.	*Dual obj.*	*Plural obj.*
s	1	*totyslum*	*totsagum*	*totsanum*
	2	*totyslyn*	*totsagyn*	*totsann*
	3	*totyste*	*totsage*	*totsane*
d	1	*totyslamen*	*totsagamen*	*totsanamen*
	2	*totyslen*	*totsagen*	*totsanen*
	3	*totysten*	*totsagen*	*totsanen*
p	1	*totysluw*	*totsaguw*	*totsanuw*
	2	*totyslan*	*totsagan*	*totsann*
	3	*totsanyl*	*totsaganyl*	*totsanyl*

TEXT

Åtom eekw-åńśuh loåttel'p

The tale of the old man Adam and his wife

pees eelt måntel åtom eekw-åńśuh oolseyg. säk mås jorliäyg oola, teeneqår at äńśa, äjne-qår at äńśa.

In the old time (there) lived an old man Adam and his wife. They were very poor, they had no food and nothing to drink.

äk-mät-śöut tooremśiśkwen åńśuhqwårel jäjwesge.

Once they were visited by God in the shape of an old man.

teen tooremme toormäyg oåt qańśesten. eekw-åńśuh ńoute loåthata: 'oåle-ne-ser mojīy qomne johtwesemen, närel tehtilämen?'

They did not recognize God. The old man and his wife discussed between each other: 'Some kind of guest has come to us; what shall we give him to eat?'

ton mojiy åńśuh wonlı pel loåtti: 'eekw-åńśuh, neen när loåttine?' kwäley åńśuh loåtti: 'meen ńoute loåthatimen närel nään tehtilämen.'

That old guest sits and says: 'Old man and woman, what are you saying?' The master of the house says: 'We were discussing what we shall give you to eat.'

mojiy åńśuh loåtti: 'qun soj tehtoh weertesne-ke, soml'ehne kwäne jälkän, mäter-l'i oåt qoontine.' kwäley åńśuh loåtti: 'oålpel ponne ponememt oåt'i-pel när qoontimen?'

The old guest said: 'If you really want to give me something to eat, go out to the larder (and see), if you do not find something.' The master of the house says: 'If I have not put anything there before, what can we find?'

'eekwe!' — loåtti — 'sar jälken, mäter at qoontän-l'i'. eekwe menes. menem mõõtet äkweps, päri at jiw.

'Woman!' he said, 'just go (and see), if you do not find something.' The woman went. She stays away altogether, she does not come back.

wonleseyg, wonleseyg, kwäley åńśuh nåmsi: 'aykeske qwåte menes? päri jene moårõ oål-qun ools; åm sar jälam, sonsilem, när-qomel' jemts.'

They sat and sat, the master of the house thought: 'Where has the old woman gone? It was time for her to come back long ago; I will just go and see what has happened.'

mojiy åńśuhne kwålepemä śöut loåtti: 'mojiy qom, wonlen sar, åm

When he rose to go out, he said to the old guest: 'Guest, just sit, I

kwäne jälgem; aŋkeske qwåte menes, sonsilem.' kwäne te menes.

aŋkeske soml'eh-kiwert te wonli. soml'eh teene-qårel taqylä. tooremśiśkwe teen oolnäten-qwåśtel teene-qårel poojerteste. eekw-åńśuh wos joriŋ teenänel wesge, ju tåtsän; mojiŋ åńśuhme tehtesten, äjtesten.

wonlene śöu wonles, tåul mojiŋ åńśuh menoh kwåls. menoh kwålmä śöut loåtti: 'eekw-åńśuh, åm neen poohenne uuqtähw jälsem, åm qåjer wor qoolgem: pupi-qworne jälentähw pömtwän, täunånel teene-qårel tåtiläh pömtwän. neen ton śöut wel tåjän; ań tåul mäter teesne-ket mät wor jemti.' mojiŋ åńśuh menes.

menemät ji-poålt mot qotel pupiqworne johtwesge, mot-mot ser polel tåtwesge. 'eekw-åńśuh, tyyl tåjepoålkän!' loåtti pupi-qwor.

'tåmõ, oåt teymen', loåtta. qwåse närel seretåuseyg, seretåuseyg: oåt teege. pupi-qwor näres, näres, i menes.

åńśuh qotelätel kensoh jälenti. mot qotel åńśuh kensoh jälnät mäntel aŋkeske pupi-qworne uus te johtwes, mot-ser polel tåtwes.

'aŋkeske!' — loåtti — 'åńśuh qwåte menes?' — aŋkeske loåtti: 'oål-qwåte kensoh menes.' — 'åm aŋkeskem!' — loåtti pupi-qwor — 'tyyl tåjepoålken!' — 'tåmõ, at teem.' — pupiqwor qwåśe näres, näres i menes.

will go out; I will see where the old woman has gone.' He went out.

The old woman was then sitting in the larder. The larder was full of food. God had provided them with food till the end of their life. The old man and his wife took most excellent food and brought it in; they gave the old guest to eat and drink.

The old guest sat there for a while, then he rose to go. When he rose to go, he said: 'Old man and woman, I have come to visit you; I hear a cunning thing: the snake will begin to visit you, it will begin to bring you food. Then do not eat; because if you eat anything of it, something bad will happen.' The old guest went.

On the second day after he had gone, the snake came to them. It brought various sorts of berries to them. 'Old man and woman, please eat a little of this!' says the snake.

'Oh no, we won't eat', they said. Whatever they were offered, they did not eat. The snake (repeatedly) exerted itself, and (then) went.

The old man goes hunting every day. Another day, when the old man had gone hunting, then the old woman was visited by the snake again; it brought her another kind of berries.

'Old woman!' it says, 'where has the old man gone?' — The old woman says: 'He went hunting somewhere.' — 'My old woman!' says the snake, 'please eat a little of this!' — 'Oh no, I won't eat.' — The snake exerted and exerted itself for a long time, and went.

tåul quurmet qotel moleh jälem toorem-ńśuh johts. 'äń' — loåtti — 'uus jiwän, åm l'õõŋqem wel jårulelän, reettähw jiwän. åm l'õõŋqem jåruleslän-ke, nään-pel åm jårtlem oolne oåmelän oåt'i.'

mot qotel åńśuh uus kensoh menes. ton-mäntel pupi-qwor quurmentäyg jes; uus mot ser polet tåtes. 'aŋkeske!' — loåtti — 'tåjepoålen tyyl-tååŋqel!'

aŋkeske loåtti: 'eekwoj, nä-ner qomel' jemti?' polme weste i tåjeps.

tåjepemät uite aŋkeske ńoåren tuńśi. 'tet' — loåtti — 'ne-ne te-ser teene polän? åm såum-pel oål-qwåte menes.' pupi-qwor läkwelts i menes.

täu menemät ji-poålt mät qwåśe oåt'i åńśuh johts, åńśuh qwås johti, åńśuh-pel ńoåren, eekwe-pel ńoåren.

åńśuh śoritähw pömtes.'nene toqo woårsen? äń ås oolep såunämtel oolmemen uit ńoårne qoml'e oolimen?'

tonäntel oolmejesge. oola, oola, woretenta, åńśuh wel johte. eesemtahta, tujthatne mõõ keerstesge.

äk-mät-śöut åńśuh johtes. ju qwåse tuui: tåtel kwäl. 'eekw-åńśuh!' — loåtti — 'qwåte menesän?' — oåt'inär soj oåt'im.

mootentäyg nämentel kiitiliga: 'åtom eekw-åńśuh, qwåte menesän?'

Then on the third day, old man God, who had been there before, came. 'Now', he says, 'it comes to you again; do not forget my word, it comes to you to deceive you. If you forget my word, you will have no means of living with me.'

On the next day the old man went hunting again. Then the snake came for the third time; again it brought another kind of berries. — 'Old woman!' it says, 'eat a little of this!'

The old woman says: 'Well, what can happen anyway?' She took the berry and ate.

At the same time as she eats, the old woman stands naked. 'These', she says, 'what kind of berries for eating (are they)? My hide has gone away somewhere.' The snake jumped away and went.

The old man came no long time after it had gone. As the old man comes, the old man is naked, the woman also is naked.

The old man started quarrelling. 'Why did you do so? Being now with naked skin, how shall we live in a state of nakedness?'

Then they began to live (as best they could). They live and live; they wait, if the old man will not come. They feel ashamed, they provided a hiding-place (for themselves).

Once the old man came. When he entered, there was an empty house. 'Old man and woman!' he says, 'where have you gone?' — There is no sound whatever.

Once again he called them by their names: 'Adam old man and woman, where have you gone?'

quurmentäyg kiitilemä śöut åńśuh soj woårs. 'tet oolimen' — loåtti. — 'neen tåu nene måqtesne?' — 'näyg sämänt oolne oåmelämen oåt'im.' — 'åm moleh loåtsem, neen wel reettäy-kwän; qoml'e reettåusän-keepel, jäjän kwäne sämne!'

When he asked for the third time, the old man gave sound. 'Here we are', he says. — 'Why did you hide yourselves there?' — 'There is no way for us to live before your eyes.' — 'I told you before (to beware), lest he deceive you; just as you have been deceived, come before my eyes!'

eekw-åńśuh kwäne jesge ńoårne tuńśä. åńśuk-tooremśiśkwe kääsän räuts; mot poål kääsänel räuts: åńśuhme kwärtel råsteste, mot poål kääsänel räuts, aykeskem jöpkel råsteste. 'tetenäntel oolän' — loåtti — 'uus pees såwän wel ääsentelän!'

The old man and his wife came forward: they stand naked. The old man God put his hand in his pocket. He emptied one pocket: he threw a shirt to the old man. He put his hand in the other pocket: he threw a skirt to the old woman. 'Live with these', he says, 'do not hope for your old hides again!'

oålpel mäsne-qår oåt koåreh ools, äń mäsne-qår ära te mässän. eelem-qols mäsne-qårät toorem-piśel toqo te täulähw pömtes.

Earlier no clothes had been necessary, now they put on much clothes. Thus man's clothes began to appear by the wisdom of God.

åtom Adam. || *eekw-åńśuh* (an) old man and (an) old woman. *eekwe* (old) woman; wife; cf. fi *eukko* old woman. *åńśuh* old man; head of the house. || *loåttel'p* tale, story. *loått-* speak, say. || *pees* old. || *eelt*, npl of *eel* year (< Tat.?). || *måntel* since, from; along; during; os *munt* lately, of late. || *oolseyg*, 3du prt of *ool-* be, live; see FU fi *ole-*. || *säk* very, rather. || *mås* to, unto, up to. || *jorliäyg*, ess.-transl. of *jorli* poor (< Tat.). || *oola*, 3du prs of *ool-*. || *teene-qår* food. *teene* id.: ptc prs of *tee-* eat; see FU fi *syö-*. *qår* thing; something (serves to make a substantive out of an adjective); cf. *qwår* (below). || *at* not; see U fi *e-*, 3sg *ei*. || *äńśa*, 3du prs of *äńś-* possess, have. || *äjne-qår* beverage, drink, something to drink. *äjne*, ptc prs of *äj-* to drink; see FU fi *juo-*. || *äk-mät-śöut* once. *äk*, *ääkwe* one; see FU fi *yksi*. *mät* some; cf. *män* which, what kind: see U fi *mikä*. *śöut*, loc. of *śõu* time; measure; quantity; cf. hu *-ség* ~ *-ság* '-ness, -ty'. || *toorem* God; os *turəm* god, God; heaven; weather; etc. *śiś* dear, beloved. *-kwe*, dim. suffix, = fi *-kka* ~ *-kkä*. *-n*, lative (functioning as

agent). || *-qwårel* in the shape of . . .: instr. of *qwår* form, figure, image, shape: see U lp *gorod*. || *jäjwesge*, 3du prt pass. of *jäj-* ~ *jiw-* ~ *je-* come; os *jə(g)-* | hu *jöv-*. || *teen* they (two): dual of *täu* he, she, it; see FU fi *hän*. || *-me*, acc. || *toormäyg*, ess.-transl. of *toorem*. || *oåt* = *at*. || *qańśesten*, 3du prt, obj. conj., sg obj., of *qańś-* know; see FU lpS *qweitse-*. In Finnish, the clause may be rendered literally: He eivät tunteneet Jumalaa Jumalaksi. || *ńoute* with each other (locative). || *loåthata*, 3du prs of *loåthat-*, refl.-reciprocal deriv. of *loåt-*. || *oåle-ne-ser* some kind of . . . *oåle* some, one or the other. *ne* which (< Tat.). *ser* sort, kind; see IE hu *szër*. || *mojiŋ*, adj. formed from *moj* guest. || *qom* man (human male); see U lpKola *gujj*, derivatives, 2. *-ne*, lative (functioning as agent). || *johtwesemen*, 1du prt pass. of *joht-* come; see FU hu *jut-*. || *närel*, instr. of *när* which, what. || *tehtilämen*, 1du prs, obj. conj., sg obj., of *teht-* feed, give to eat: causative of *tee-* eat. || *ton* that, yonder; see U fi *tuo* (*-n* is a suffix). || *wonli*, 3sg prs of *wonl-* sit; hu *ül-*. || *pel* also; and. || *loåtti*, 3sg prs. || *neen* you two; os *nen*. || *loåttine*, 2du prs. || *kwäleŋ* domestic, . . . of the house. *kwäl* house, dwelling; see FU fi *kylä*, and UA nr. 61. || *meen* we (two); os *men*. || *loåthatimen*, 1du prs. || *nään*, acc. of *näy(g)* thou; os *năŋ*. || *qun* when; if; see U fi *kuka*. || *soj* really, indeed. || *tehtoh*, inf. of *teht-*. || *weertesne*, 2du prt of *weert* be able; be willing; wish. *-ke* if; cf. U fi *ken*. || *soml'eh* storehouse, larder. *-ne*, lative. || *kwäne* out (lative); *kwän* (being) out, outside; *kwänel* from without, from the outside; see FU hu *ki*. || *jälkän*, 2du hortative of *jäl-* go. || *mäter* something; cf. *mät* (above). *-l'i*, interrogative enclitic (R). || *qoontine*, 2du prs of *qoont-* find; see U fi **kunne*. || *oålpel* early, at an early hour; earlier, before. *-l*, separative case. *-pe*, suffix. *oål-*; os *ələŋ* morning; in the morning; early. || *ponne*, ptc prs of *pon-* put; see U fi *pane-*. || *ponememt*, loc. Px1sg of ptc prt of *pon-*. (*-em* may be = *-äm* = *-ämen*: Px1du.) || *oåťi-pel* nothing. *ponne ponememt oåťi-pel*, literally: 'after my (or: our) having put nothing at all to be stored up'. || *-imen*, 1du prs. || *sar* only, just. || *-ken*, 2sg hortative. || *-än*, 2du prs. || *menes*, 3sg prt of *men-* go; see U fi *mene-*. || *menem*, ptc prt. || *mõõtet*, loc. Px3sg of *mõõ* earth; land; place; see U fi *maa*. || *äkweps* once, once and for all. *äkwe* one. *-ps* = *pes* time, turn, occasion. *menem mõõtet äkweps*, literally: '(she was)

on the place of her going once and for all'. || *päri* back, rursum, retro (lative, ending: **-k*); see FU fi *perä*. || *jiw*, 3sg prs of *jäj-* come. || *wonleseyg*, 3du prt of *wonl-*. || *nåmsi*, 3sg prs of *nåms-* think; os *numəs-* think; understand; *nŏm-* remember. || *aŋk* woman; *aŋkw* mother; os *äykä*. *-ske*, dim. ending (R). || *qwåte* whither; see U fi *kuka*. || *jene*, ptc prs of *jäj-* come. || *moårõ* time. || *oål-qun* at some time (or other); long ago: *oål* = *oåle*, + *qun* when. || *ools*, 3sg prt of *ool-* be. || *åm* I; see U fi *minä*. || *jälam*, 1sg prs of *jäl-*. || *sonsilem*, 1sg prs, obj. conj., sg obj., of *sons-* look. || *när-qomel'* how; *qomel'* id.; cf. U fi *kuka*. || *jemt-* become; occur, happen; cf. *jäj-*. *-s*, 3sg prt. || *-ne*, lative. || *kwålepemä*, ptc prt Px3sg of *kwålep-*, momentaneous derivative of *kwål-* rise, go; see U fi *kaalaa-*. || *wonlen*, 2sg imper. of *wonl-*. || *-gem*, 1sg prs. || *te* = the pronoun *te*, this (see U fi *tämä*); immediately before the predicate verb it indicates time ('now, then'), place ('here, there'), or manner, way ('so; very'); cf. lp *die* there (nearer to the person addressed to than the speaker, also fig.: in thought or where he is looking): *de* (adv. of time, always unemphatic, sometimes repeated later in the sentence), then (= next, after that); in certain expressions: then (= in that case); introducing apodosis = 'then' in temporal or consecutive sentences. || *kiwert* in: loc. of *kiwr* (the) interior; recess. || *qårel*, instr. of *qår*. || *tagylä* full; see FU fi *täysi*. || *oolnäten*, ptc prs Px3du of *ool-*. *qwåśt* length; *qwåśe* long; see FU hu *hosszú*; adde: km *kunzu* along; *kunďu* (for a) long (time) (probably **-ńć-*). *-l*, instr. || *poojerteste*, 3sg prt, obj. conj., sg (!) obj., of *poojert-* provide, present, donate. || *wos* most (forms periphrastic superlatives). || *joriŋ* excellent; *jor* power, strength; os *jur*. || *teenänel*, sep. of *teene*. || *wesge*, 3du prt of *we-* ~ *wäj-* take; hu *vëv-* | os *wə-*. || *ju* (go) in: lative of *ju-* (the) interior; home; hu *jo-* in *jonhom*, *jonhod*, *jonha*, etc. (with)in me, thee, him, etc. (< **john-* < **jo-hon*, etc.; cf. FU zr *kynõm*) | os *jŏk*, *jŏgi* home, domum; back, rursum, retro. || *tåtsän*, 3du prt, obj. conj., of *tåt-* bring. || *-me*, acc. || *tehtesten*, 3du prt, obj. conj., sg obj., of *teht-*. *äjtesten*, the same form of *äjt-*, causative of *äj-* drink. || *wonlene śõu*: '(for) the time of sitting'. || *wonles*, 3sg prt of *wonl-*. || *tåul* from there; after that, then. *tå-*, demonstrative stem, cf. U fi *tuo*. *-u-*, perhaps lative ending. *-l*, separative ending. || *menoh*, inf.

of *men-*. || *-s*, 3sg prt. || *kwålmä*, ptc Px3sg of *kwål-* rise. *kwålmä śōut*, literally: 'at the time of his rising'. || *pooh* side; edge, margin. *-en-* = *-än-*, Px2du. *-ne*, lative. || *uuqtähw*, inf. of *uuqt-* visit, come to see: deriv. of *uu-* ~ *uj-* ~ *wõõ-* see; know. || *-sem*, 1sg prt. 'I came to you to pay a visit.' || *qåjer* cunning, treacherous (< Tat.). || *wor* thing; bad thing. || *qoolgem*, 1sg prs of *qool-* hear; see FU fi *kuule-*. || *pupi-qwor* snake, serpent. *pupi* gnome, goblin. *qwor* form, image (= *qwår*, see above). *-ne*, lative (functioning as agent). || *jälentähw*, inf. of *jälent-*, visit, frequentative of *jäl-* (see above). || *põmtwän*, 2du prs of *põmtw-*, pass. of *põmt-* begin, seize. 'You will begin to be visited, frequented by the serpent.' || *täunånel*, sep. of *täu* he, she, it (see FU fi *hän*): 'by it' (or 'from it, on its part'; as a rule, the agent is put in the lative). || *tåtilähw*, inf. of frequentative of *tåt-* (*-il-* < **-χl-*). || *wel* don't! || *tåjän*, 2du imper. of *tåj-* = *te-* eat. || *ań* because, for. || *teesne*, 2du prt of *tee-*. *-ket*, conditional enclitic: *-ke*, if, + the loc. ending *-t*. || *menemät*, ptc prt Px3sg of *men-*. || *ji-poålt* after. *ji-* (the space) behind, < **juj*, adj. derived from *ju-* (the) interior. *poålt*, loc. of *poål* side; see U fi *pieli*. || *mot* other, second; see FU fi *muu*. || *qotel* day; os *kotl*. || *johtwesge*, 3du prt pass. of *joht-*. || *mot-mot* different, diverse, various. || *polel*, instr. of *pol* berry; see FU fi *puola*. || *tåtwesge*, 3du prt pass. of *tåt-*. || *tyyl*, *təgl*: *te* this (see U fi *tämä*) + lative ending *-g* + sep. ending. || *tåjepoålkän*, 2du hortative of mom. deriv. of *tåj-* ~ *tee-*. || *tåmõ* (oh) no (Tat.). || *teymen*, 1du prs of *tee-*. || *loåtta*, 3du prs. || *qwåse när* whatever. *qwåse* -ever. *när* what. *-l*, instr. || *seretåuseyg*, 3du prt pass. of *seret-* offer; urge (a person) to take (a thing). || *teege*, 3du prs of *tee-*. || *näres*, 3sg prt of *när-* exert oneself. || *i* and (R). || *qotelätel* daily. *qotel* day. *lätel*, instr. of *lät* measure. || *kensoh*, inf. of *kens-* hunt; see FU ch *kəčälä-*. || *-i*, 3sg prs. || *jälnät*, ptc Px3sg of *jäl-*. || *mäntel* along; at the time of . . ., during . . . (*-l*, sep. ending); *mänt* id.; see FU fi *myötä* and FU lp *mædda*. || *uus* again. || *qwåte* whither. || *oål-qwåte* (go) somewhere. *oål* = *oåle* one or the other. || *-m*, Px1sg. || *tåjepoålken*, 2sg hortative. || *teem*, 1sg prs of *tee-*. || *qwåśe* long, longus; for a long time; see under *qwåśt*. || *quurmet* third; hu *harmad* | fi *kolmas* ~ *kolmante-*; vg *quurem* three; see FU fi *kolme*. || *moleh* earlier, before; osN Kazym *moþga*. || *jälem*,

ptc prt of *jäl-*. || *johts*, 3sg prt of *joht-*. || *äń* now. || *jiwän*, 2du prs pass. of *ji-* ~ *jäj-*. || *l'õõyqem*, nsg Px1sg of *l'õõq* (*l'õq*?) word. || *jårulilän*, 2du imper., obj. conj., sg obj., of *jårul-* forget; os *jõrəgþ-*. || *reettähw*, inf. of *reett-* deceive. || *jåruleslän*, 2du prt, obj. conj., sg obj. *-ke-* conditional enclitic ('if'). || *nään*, acc. of *näy(g)* you (sg)? *-pel* (in neg. clauses:) either. || *jårtlem* with me: instr. Px1sg of *jårt* fellow (< zr *jort*). || *oolne*, ptc prs of *ool-*. || *oåmeläп*, nsg Px2du of *oåmel* means; magic means, spell; possibility; osS *ămat* means, etc. (< Tat. < Arab.). *åm jårtlem oolne oåmel* 'possibility of being with me'. || *ton-mäntel* in the meantime. || *quurmentäyg*, transl. of *quurmet*. || *jes*, 3sg prt of *je-* ~ *ji-* ~ *jäj-* come. || *polet*, npl of *pol*. || *tåtes*, 3sg prt of *tåt-*. || *tåjepoålen*, 2sg imper. || *tååyqel*, (probably) emphatic enclitic (*-l* is instr. ending); cf. the emphatic *tåq*. || *eekwoj* well, now. || *nä-ner*, cf. *när* and *ne*. || *jemti*, 3sg prs of *jemt-*. || *polme*, asg of *pol*. || *weste*, 3sg prt, obj. conj., sg obj., of *we-*. || *tåjeps*, 3sg prt of mom. deriv. of *tåj-* ~ *tee-*. || *tåjepemät*, ptc prt Px3sg. || *uite* at the time of, during . . .: locative. || *ńoåren*, essive (?) of *ńoår*, *ńäär* naked; green; raw; os *ńärəh* fresh, green; hairless; raw, unripe; naked; cf. hu *nyers* raw. || *tuńśi*, 3sg prs of *tuńś-* stand; see FU fi *seiso-*. || *tet*, npl of *te* this. || *ne-ne*, reduplication of the interrogative pronoun *ne*. || *te-ser* such: see *te* and *ser* (above). || *teene*, see *teene-qår* (above). || *polän*, n(sgdu)pl Px2sg(dupl) of *pol*. 'What are such eating-berries of yours?' || *såu* crust, bark; hide, skin; see FU est *suga*. *-m*, Px1sg. *-pel* even. || *läkwelts*, 3sg prt of *läkwelt-* jump; budge; sneak away: mom. deriv. of *läkw-* move (intr.), etc.; see U fi *liikku-*. || *mät qwåśe oåťi* after a (short) while; literally: 'it is not any long'. (Sometimes the indefinite pronoun *mät* is used like an indefinite article.) || *qwås* when. || *johti*, 3sg prs of *joht-*. || *pel* . . . *pel* . . . both . . . and . . . || *śoritähw*, inf. of *śorit-* quarrel. || *pömtes*, 3sg prt of *pömt-*. || *nene*, lative of the interrogative pronoun *ne*. || *toqo* so: (historically) a case form (lative) of **toq-* ~ *ton* that, yonder; see U fi *tuo*. || *woårsen*, 2sg prt of *woår-*, *wäär-* work, make, do; see IE vg *wäär-*. || *äń* now. || *ås* free, without; in vain; bare, naked. || *oolep*, ptc prs of *ool-*. || *såunäm-*, pl. Px2du of *såu*. *-tel*, the ending of the instr. after Px (otherwise: *-l*). || *oolmemen*, ptc Px1du of *ool-*. || *qoml'e* how. || *oolimen*, 1du prs of *ool-*. || *tonäntel* then, henceforth:

instr. with Px of *ton-* ~ *to-*. || *oolmejesge*, 3du prt of inchoative deriv. of *ool-*. || *-a*, 3du prs. || *woretent-*, frequentative (with a complex suffix) of *wor-* wait; hu *vár-*. || *johte*, 3sg imper. of *joht-*. || *eesemtaht-* (refl. deriv.) be ashamed, feel ashamed. *-a*, 3du prs. || *tujthatne*, ptc prs of *tujthat-*, refl. of *tujt-* to hide, conceal; cf. hu *titok* (a) secret. || *keerstesge*, 3du prt of *keerst-* provide (for oneself), make (oneself). || *tuui*, 3sg prs of *tuu-* enter; see U hu *av-*. || *tåtel* empty; os *tälǝh*. || *menesän*, 2du prt of *men-*. || *oåťi-när* none. || *soj* sound; see FU fi *soi-*. || *oåťim* (there) is not: cf. *oåťi*. || *mootentäyg*, transl. of *mootet* second (ordinal number); cf. *mot*. || *nämentel*, instr. Px3du of *näm* name; see U fi *nimi*. || *kiitiliga*, 3sg prs, obj. conj., dual obj., of *kiitil-* ask; call. || *kiitilemä*, ptc Px3sg of *kiitil-*. || *woårs*, 3sg prt of *woår-*. *soj woårs* 'made sound'. || *tet* here: loc. of *te* this. || *tåu* thither: lative of *tå-*. || *måqtesne*, 2du prt of *måqt-* hide oneself, refl. of *måg-* put, thrust (into . . .). || *näyg* thou; os *năy*. || *sämänt*, loc. du. Px2sg of *säm* eye; see U fi *silmä*. || *oåmelämen*, nsg Px2du of *oåmel*. 'There is no possibility for us to be in (before) thine eyes.' || *loåtsem*, 1sg prt of *loåt-*. || *reettäykwän*, 2du imperative pass. of *reett-*. || *reettåusän*, 2du prt pass. *-keepel*, enclitic: *-ke* + *-pel* (see above). || *jäjän*, 2du imper. of *jäj-* come. || *sämne*, lative of *säm*. || *jesge*, 3du prt of *je-* ~ *jäj-*. || *tuńśä*, 3du prs of *tuńś-*. || *kääsän*, lative Px3sg of *kääs* pocket (< Tat.). || *räuts*, 3sg prt of *räut-* mix, muddle, stir; dig. || *kääsänel*, sep. Px3sg. *mot poål kääsä* 'his half pocket': one of his (two) pockets. || *-me*, acc. || *kwärtel*, instr. of *kwärt* shirt. || *råsteste*, 3sg prt, obj. conj., sg obj., of *råst-* throw. (The word denoting the thing that is thrown at somebody, is put in the instructive.) || *-m*, acc. || *jöpkel*, instr. of *jöpke* skirt (R). || *tetenäntel*, instr. pl. Px2du of *tete* (reduplicated) emphatic variant of *te* this. || *oolän*, 2du imper. of *ool-*. || *ääsentelän*, 2du imper., obj. conj., sg obj., of *ääsent-* hope, trust (< Tat.). || *mäsne-qår* garment. *mäsne*, ptc prs of *mäs-* to dress, clothe; cf. hu *meztelen*, *mezítelen* naked (*-telen* means '-less, being without . . .'). || *koåreh*, *kɛräh* (it is) necessary (< Tat.). || *ära* much. || *mässän*, 3du prt of *mäs-*. || *eelem-qols* man (human being). || *-ät*, Px3sg. || *piśel*, instr. of *piś* skill, knowledge, wisdom. || *täulähw*, inf. of *täul-* appear.

OSTYAK

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

The Sherkal dialect of osN and the Synja variant of the Berezov dialect of osN have the following vowels:

u		*i*
o	*ə*	*e*
a		

ə is usually a barely labialized middle-high middle-tongue vowel. It has a front (*ə̇*), a back (*ə̃*), and a low variant.

osE has preserved the rounded front vowels *ö* and *ü*. In addition to that, the easternmost dialects—preferably represented in FUV—have *y* (the unrounded counterpart of *u*), and beside *o* and *ö* there are an open (low) *o* and an open *ö*, which cannot be accounted for as mere phonetic variants.

Diphthongs the second component of which is non-syllabic *i* or *u*, are frequent.

The vowels are etymologically short or etymologically long. The etym. short vowels are phonetically short, but in an open stressed syllable they can be slightly lengthened (half-short). The etym. long vowels are long in the *open* first syllable of words with more than one syllable; otherwise they are usually half-long or half-short.

ə (~ *ə̃*) is etym. short. The other vowel qualities are etym. short and etym. long.

We adhere to prof. Steinitz in marking etym. short vowels (*ă*, etc.) except *ə* (~ *ə̃*) and leaving the etym. long vowels unmarked.

(The long) *a*, *o*, *u* are more open (lower) than their (etym.) short counterparts.

The Uralic vowel harmony is intact in osE, and it has been preserved to a large extent in osS and in the northernmost dialect of osN (Obdorsk).

CONSONANTS

The Sherkal dialect (Text 1) has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae		*p*		*t*								*k*
Fric. (blaesiformes) .												*χ*
Fric. sibilantes . . .				*s*		*š*		*ś*				
Affricatae						*č*		*ć*				
Tremulantes					*r*							
Cryptofricativae . .			*l*	*L*	*l̨*		*l′*		(*L′*)			
Nasales	*m*		*n*		*n̨*		*ń*				*ŋ*	
Vocales asyllabicae .	*u̯*								*i̯*			

The Synja dialect (Text 2) has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae		*p*		*t*		(*t̨*)		*t′*				*k*
Fric. (blaesiformes) .										*J*	*γ*	*χ*
Fric. sibilantes . . .				*s*		*š*		*ś*				
Affricatae						*č*		*ć*				
Tremulantes					*r*	*R*						
Cryptofricativae . .			*l*	*L*	*l̨*	*L̨*	*l′*	*L′*				
Nasales	*m*	(*M*)			*n̨*	*N̨*	*ń*	(*N′*)			*ŋ*	(*H*)
Vocales asyllabice .	*u̯*								*i̯*			

The 'prepalatal' consonants are merely palatalized predorso-gingivals, except *J*, which is, from the point of view of articulation, the voiceless counterpart of the vowel *i*. There is a paradigmatic alternation between *i̯* and *J*, and this is the chief reason why *i̯* and *u̯* count among the consonants here.

p, *t*, *k* are non-aspirate in this idiom, with one exception: according to Steinitz, *k* is aspirate in *taktə* 'without'.

For *n̯* (or *ṇ*) we shall write *ñ*.

The voiceless nasals occur only as glides after their voiced counterparts. We shall note them by a *spiritus asper* (writing *m*ʿ for *m* + *M*, etc.).

For *R* we write *r*ʿ.

For *l̯* (or *l̥*) we write *l*, for the voiceless counterparts of the *l*-sounds, *l*ʿ, *l*ʿ, *l'*ʿ.

The nasals and the *l*-sounds are sometimes syllabic, e.g. after *t* at the end of a word.

For *γ* we write *g*, for *χ*, *h*, for *i̯*, *j*, for antevocalic *u̯*, *w*.

Long consonants and affricates are written double. In genuine words they seem to have come about by agglutination (or composition). Otherwise, the consonants are mostly short.

STRESS

The main stress is usually on the first syllable. Under the influence of sentence rhythm, trisyllables may have the stress on the second syllable.

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

The Px3sg often functions as definite article.

There are three numbers. The dual has the characteristic *-ŋən* (before Px: *-ŋət-*), the plural has *-ət* (*-et*, *-jət*; before Px: *-t-*).

There are three regular cases: nominative, locative and lative. The locative has the ending *-na* (*-ən*, syllabic *-n*), the lative has *-a* (*-ja*, *-ija*).

A few words have a vocative, e.g. *ăŋkija* of *ăŋkə* 'mother'.

The personal pronouns have the *accusative* ending *-ət*, e.g. *mŏŋ* 'we', acc. *mŏŋət*. Otherwise, there is no accusative.

The case endings are put before the Px, except the obsolete lative ending *-aŋ*, e.g. *tŭw uhtaŋət* 'on(to) him' (*uhtə* 'upper part', lat. *uhtija* 'onto').

PARADIGMS

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1. Nom.	*hop* 'boat'	*hopŋən*	*hopət*
2. Loc.	*hopna*	*hopŋənna*	*hopətna*
3. Lat.	*hopa*	*hopŋəna*	*hopəta*

Px

Owner(s)	One obj.	Two obj.	More than two obj.
s 1	*hopem*	*hopŋətam*	*hoptam*
2	*hopen*	*hopŋətan*	*hoptan*
3	*hopət*	*hopŋət*	*hoptat*
d 1	*hopemən*	*hopŋətamən*	*hoptamən*
2	*hopən*	*hopŋətən*	*hoptən*
3	*hopən*	*hopŋətən*	*hoptən*
p 1	*hopew*	*hopŋətəw*	*hoptəw*
2	*hopən*	*hopŋətən*	*hoptən*
3	*hopet*	*hopŋətat*	*hoptat*

Conjugation

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristics of tense, mood, and voice

Tense

There are two tenses: present and preterite. The present tense has the characteristic *t*, the preterite has *s*.

On periphrastic preterite, see Infinite verb forms.

Moods

There are two moods: indicative and imperative. Having no mood characteristic, they are distinguished by their personal endings.

The imperative occurs only in the 2nd person.

Voices

There are two voices: active and passive. The active has no characteristic. The passive has the characteristic *aj* ~ *ij* (3sg *-a* ~ *-ə*), which is added to the tense base.

Personal endings

Introductory remark

As to the function of the *objective* conjugation, see Vogul Grammar. The subjective conjugation is often used when a definite object goes immediately before the verb.

Endings of the subjective conjugation

INDICATIVE

Historically, the endings are more or less identical with the possessive suffixes, as far as the 1st and 2nd persons are concerned. The 3rd person is historically a noun, and the specific ending of 3pl is the regular plural characteristic.

The personal endings (of the 1st and 2nd persons) have *ə* where the Px have *e*.

IMPERATIVE

The endings of the imperative are: *-a* in 2sg, and *-atən* in 2du and 2pl.

Endings of the objective conjugation

INDICATIVE

In the objective conjugation even the third person has a personal ending that is historically identical with the corresponding Px. See the Paradigms.

IMPERATIVE

If the subject is in the dual or the plural, the personal ending is the same as in the subjective conjugation. If the subject is in the singular, the endings are *-e* (object sg) and *-ata* (obj. du. pl.).

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

Verb nouns

The Ostyak language has a cursive *nomen actionis et agentis* (in *-tə*), which functions as present participle, and a terminative one (in *-əm, -m*), functioning as past participle (both active and passive). Both can be combined with Px, and the past participle then forms a periphrastic pluperfect.

Isolated cases of verb nouns

Infinitive

The infinitive has the ending *-ta*. Historically, it is probably a lative case of the verb noun in *-tə*.

Gerundium

The gerund has the ending *-man*. It indicates that the action (state, etc.) denoted by the verb stem is being performed (or has been performed) by the subject at the same time as the action denoted by the predicate verb.

PARADIGMS

Sherkal

Subjective conjugation

PRESENT INDICATIVE

		Act.	*Pass.*
s	1	*tetəm* 'I eat'	*tetijəm*
	2	*tetən*	*tetijən*
	3	*tet*	*tetə*
d	1	*tetmən*	*tetijmən*
	2	*tettən*	*tetijtən*
	3	*tetŋən*	*tetijŋən*
p	1	*tetəw*	*tetijəw*
	2	*tettən*	*tetijtən*
	3	*tetət*	*tetijət*

PRETERITE INDICATIVE

		Act.	*Pass.*
s	1	*tesəm*	*tesijəm*
	2	*tesən*	*tesijən*

		Act.	*Pass.*
	3	*tes*	*tesə*
d	1	*tesmən*	*tesijmən*
	2	*testən*	*tesijtən*
	3	*tesŋən*	*tesijŋən*
p	1	*tesəw*	*tesijəw*
	2	*testən*	*tesijtən*
	3	*tesət*	*tesijət*

IMPERATIVE

s	2	*teja*
d	2	*tejatən*
p	2	*tejatən*

Objective conjugation

		PRESENT INDICATIVE		PRETERITE INDICATIVE	
		Obj. sg	*Obj. du., pl.*	*Obj. sg*	*Obj. du., pl.*
s	1	*tetem*	*tettam*	*tesem*	*testam*
	2	*teten*	*tettan*	*tesen*	*testan*
	3	*tette*	*tette*	*teste*	*teste*
d	1	*tetemən*	*tettamən*	*tesemən*	*testamən*
	2	*tettən*	*tettən*	*testən*	*testən*
	3	*tettən*	*tettən*	*testən*	*testən*
p	1	*tetəw*	*tettəw*	*tesəw*	*testəw*
	2	*tettən*	*tettən*	*testən*	*testən*
	3	*tetet*	*tettat*	*testat*	*testat*

IMPERATIVE

		Obj. sg	*Obj. du., pl.*
s	2	*teje*	*tejata*
d	2	*tejatən*	*tejatən*
p	2	*tejatən*	*tejatən*

TEXTS

1

aśem nŭša huja us. tŭw śĭt păta nŭša huja us: aśet ewət nemətta jăm šĭtja wŏtpəs ăn hĭśəs ĭj aśem śemjajət šeŋk unə us.

tŭw kăt śemja uhtija rupijtəs. jĭg-pŏh tăjəs; jĭg-pŏhət unt woj wetta ăn jăŋhıjtəs. tŭw mŭj păta ăn jăŋhijtəs: tŭw semtə păttə_huja us. tŭw jŏtən hot wer werəs; tăten towna kălat' tat't'əman jăŋhəs.

aśem tŭw utmat mărə jĭŋk hŭt unt woj wetpəstəman utəs. sŭsən towen unt woj kăšman jăŋhəs. tŭŋən šŏras hu hŏśna mĭta rupijtəs.

šŏras hu hŏśna utmatna šŏras johna tusa tăjsa. tŭw ewəttet šŏras joh šeŋk pătsət, tŭw šeŋk jur us.

tŭw utmat hu mărə sŏrma jĭtat unta mĭta rupijtəs. aśem wetpəstəm wetpəs ănt tărməs; śĭt păta: šŏras huna mŏŋ mĭsew wojew ăkətsajət. tăm pŏtər tŭw pŏhətna pŏtərtsa.

My father was a poor man. He was a poor man for this reason: he had not inherited any fortune from his father, and my father's family was very big.

He worked for two families. He had a brother; the brother did not go hunting (game). Why did he not go? He was blind. He did indoor work at home; in the winter he went to drag goods with a horse.

My father did fishing and hunting all his life. In autumn and in spring he went looking for game. In summer he worked for wages at a merchant's.

Being with the merchant he was treated well by the merchants. The merchants feared him much, because he was very strong.

All his married life till he died he worked for wages. The quarry my father got did not suffice, because the merchant grabbed our cows and our horse(s).—This tale was told by his son.

aśem, nsg Px1sg of *aśə* father; see U lp *aǯ'lče*. || *nŭša* poor (< Tat. < R). || *huja*, lative (essive) of *hu* man; married man; se U lpKola *gujj*. || *us*, *utəs*, 3sg prt of *ut-* be, live; see FU fi *ole-*. || *tŭw* he; see FU fi *hän*. || *śĭt* (without principal word), *śĭ* (qualifier) this, that one; see U fi *se*. || *păta* for, because of; (lat. of) *pătə* ground, end. || *aśet*, nsg Px3sg of *aśə*. || *ewət* from, out of; because of. || *nemətta* nothing; *mŏttə* something, someone, some; *mŭj* what, which: see U

fi *mikä*. *ne-*: see U hu *në*. || *jăm* good; hu *jó* ~ *java-*. || *šŭtja* possession (R). || *wotpəs* possession: derived from *wot-* ~ *ut-*, be, live, by a complex suffix. || *ăn*, *ănt* not; see U fi *e-*, 3sg prs *ei*. || *hĭš-* remain, be left; *hĭj-* leave behind; see U fi *kato*. || *ĭj* and; also (R). || *śemjajət*, nsg Px3sg of *śemja* family (R). || *šeŋk* very. || *unə* big, mighty; older; hu *vén* old? || *kăt* two; see U fi *kaksi*. || *uhtija* onto: lat. of *uhtə* upper part, surface. || *rupijt-* work (R). || *jĭg* father. *pŏh* boy, son; see FU fi *poika*. *jĭg-pŏh* brother. || *tăj-* have, possess; hold; treat. || *-ət*, Px3sg. || *unt*, *wont* forest; see FU hu *vad*. || *woj* (furred) animal. || *wet-* kill; hunt, catch; see FU hu *öl-*. *-ta*, inf. || *jăŋhijt-*, iterative of *jăŋh-* go. *-əs*, 3sg prt. || *semtə păttə* blind (literally 'blind-deaf'). *semtə*, *semləh* blind; *sem* eye: see U fi *silmä*. *păttə* deaf; *păt* ear: see FU hu *fül*. || *jŏtən* at home; cf vg *ju-* (the) interior; hu *jonh-* (< **jo-hon-*) interior, that which is inside. || *hot* house, hut, tent; see IE fi *kota*. || *wer* work, job; *wer-* do, make: see IE vg *wäär-*, and FU hu *varr-*. || *tăt* winter; year; see FU fi *talvi*. *tăten* (probably loc.) in the winter. || *towna*, loc., in instrumental function, of *tow* horse; vg *luw* | hu *ló* ~ *lova-*. || *kalaŧ* cargo, load, goods (R). || *taŧ'əman*, gerund of *taŧ'ə-*, iterative of *tat-* drag, draw, pull.

tŭw (here:) his. || *utmat*, nsg Px3sg of *utəm* (ptc [prt] of *ut-*): life. || *mărə* time; at the time of, during. || *jĭŋk* water. || *hŭt* fish; see U fi *kala*. || *wetpəstəman*, gerund of *wetpəst-* hunt, derived from *wetpəs*. || *sŭs* autumn; see FU fi *syksy*. || *tow* spring(-time), see FU fi *touko*. *towən* in the spring. || *kăšman*, gerund of *kănš-* ~ *kăš-* search, seek; catch: see FU ch *kətälä-*. || *tŭŋ* summer; see U fi *suvi*. *tŭŋən* in the summer. || *šŏras* business, trade; *šŏras hu* merchant. || *hŏšna* at, with; cf hu *-hoz* to. || *mĭt* wages. *-a*, lative; here: 'because of, for'. || *utmatna*, loc. Px3sg of *utəm*: 'while he was'. || *joh* (plural of *hu*) men, people, folk; see FU vty *-jos*. *-na*, locative, here used as agent ('by'). || *tusa* well, decently: lat. of *tus* decent, correct, excellent. || *tăjsa*, 3sg prt pass. of *tăj-* treat. || *tŭw ewəttət* him, literally: 'from him' (or: 'because of him'): *ewəttət* = *ewət* + Px3sg. || *păt-* fear, be afraid; see U fi *pelko*. *-sət*, 3pl prt. || *jur* strength; strong. || *šŏrma*, lat. of *šŏrəm* death: FU fi *sure-*. || *jĭtat*, nsg Px3sg of *jĭtə*, verb noun (= ptc prs) of *jĭ-* come, become, begin; hu *jöv-* come | vg

jim-. || *unta* till, until (lat. of *unt* forest?). || *wetpəstəm*, ptc pass. of *wetpəst-*. || *wetpəs* game, quarry. || *tărməs*, 3sg prt of *tărəm-* suffice; see U fi *tyrtty-*. || *mĭsew*, nsg Px1pl of *mĭs* cow (< zr). || *wojew*, nsg Px1pl of *woj* (here:) horse. || *ăkətsajət*, 3pl prt pass. of *ăkət-* collect. || *tăm* this; see U fi *tämä*. || *pŏtər* tale, story. || *tŭw* his. || *pŏhətna*, loc. Px3sg of *pŏh*. || *pŏtərtsa*, 3sg prt pass. of *pŏtərt-* tell, narrate (*pŏtər*).

2

huləm hu jajsaŋkət ullət. śĭti ultel el'ti woj welti ńŏhəs welti pŏraja jĭs.

There were three brothers.[1] As they were living so, the time for hunting animals, sables, came.

ĭ-mol'ti hătla jĭs, unta woj welti măntі nŏməs wer'səst. lŏhlal pŏtsət, śĭ šušməsəst. ua hujən olŋa măntl, kŭtəp hujən kŭtləpən măntl, met aj hujən met jŏl'ta măntl.

There came a day, they made up their mind to go to the forest to hunt animals. They put on their skis, then they went. The oldest man went foremost, the middle one went in the middle, the youngest one went last.

hŭw mătsət, waň mătsət, hŏjən wantəm? śĭti măntel el'ti lŭŋa jŭwəntiti tăhajən lŭŋa jŭwəntijl, tăla juwəntiti tăhajən tăla jŭwəntijl. śĭ mătsət, śĭ mătsət, śĭməs unta jŏhətsət: ńŏl ăt lepl, sem ăt lepl!

Long they went, short they went, who has seen it? As they go so, it becomes summer at the places where summer should come, it becomes winter at the places where winter should come. Now they walked, now they walked, they came to such a forest: the nose cannot find place, the eye(s) cannot find place!

un hujən aj hujŋəlal pela jastəl: 'hujŋən, tăta holməsləw!' un hujən lepəs hot werəs, aj hujŋəlal tŭt jŭh mŭjən sewər'səŋən. jetnaja jĭs, lesət jĭśəst mŭj wer'səst, ĭl ŏl'səst.

The oldest man says to the (two) younger men: 'Men, here we shall pass the night!' The oldest man made a spruce-twig shed, the (two) younger men chopped firewood and (took care of) the rest. Evening came, they ate, drank, did other things, went to bed.

hălewta jĭs, huśl' tup ctəs, lŏhlal pŏtsət; huləm hu huləm juš pela šušməsəst. hŭw jăhsət, waň jăhsət;

The morning came, dawn hardly appeared: they put on their skis; the three men started going along

[1] Literally: 'three men with elder brothers'.

rămkəmtəm kemən ĭn munti hulma mănəm jušela jŏhətsət.

three paths. Long they went, short they went; at dusk they arrived at the path where they had recently gone in three directions.

tŭt hărela etmelən lŭw tŭt hărelən rat kerətman huləm mek ĭki oməslᶜ; kăt hu kŭtən huləm ŏhpi mek ĭki oməslᶜ. tŏhi măntel ĭši arat šuk, jŏhli măntel ĭši arat šuk! met juhət un hujən šušməs. 'mănləw, hujŋən! sŏrəm kĭ, ši sŏrəm!' lŭw jŭpelən aj hujŋəlal šušməstən.

When they came to their camping-place ('fire-place'), there are three (old) wood-spirits sitting at their camping-place, surrounding the fire(place); between two men there is a threeheaded (old) wood-spirit sitting. To go there—just as very bad, to go back—just as very bad! Finally the oldest man went (ahead). 'Let us go, men! If death, then death!' After him the (two) younger men went.

waña jŏhəttel săhat ĭn mek ĭketən hăś lelajət jĭślajət. tŏhi etsət, kerətman lăp ñăpətsajət mek ĭketən.

When they come nearer they are now almost eaten (and) drunk by the wood-spirits. They came there, they were surrounded and assailed by the wood-spirits.

ši kemən huləm ŏhpi mek ĭki ŭwaltəs hănti johlal pela: 'hĭlijet, hĭlijet, roma-šək ulati sa, ma mŏlᶜti numəlməsəm!' huləm ŏhpi mek ĭki hănti johlal pela tăm ĭti jastəs: 'tăm hulmet hătlᶜ aləŋ săhat măti johləw aləŋ nŏh kĭllət, ši johləw nŏh at ullət! mŭŋ kĭ aləŋ kĭlləw, mŭŋ nĭnan jŏhi lelləw; nĭn kĭ aləŋ kĭlləti, nĭn mŭŋew welati!' hănti johlal šĭti kašaśsət.

The threeheaded wood-spirit then shouted to the Ostyak men: 'Grandchildren, grandchildren, just keep cool, I have got an idea!' The threeheaded wood-spirit spoke thus to the Ostyak men: 'Those of us who ('which our people') rise first in the morning of the third day, they ('this our people') shall win ('be on the top')! If we rise first, we shall eat you; if you rise first, (you) kill us!' The Ostyaks agreed to that.

šĭti jel ulməssət. hănti johlal peramajən jŏlən let-ŏt werman hăšililət. oləŋ hătlᶜ aj hujŋəlal mek ĭket pĭlən unta mătsəŋən. kĭmet hătlᶜ met aj hujən un hujən pĭlən mănəs.

So they lived further. The Ostyaks stayed home by turns to prepare food. The first day the (two) younger men went to the forest with the wood-spirits. The second day the youngest one of the men went with the oldest one.

met jŏhi hăšəm hătlᶜ met aj hujən jŏlən hăšəs. johlal ĭsa mănəm jŭpijən

The last day the youngest man stayed home. After the men were

lŏhtəsti opsəs. lajəmlal kešilal som ĭti lŏhətsəli.

rămkəmtəm kemən welpəs joh jŏhi jŏhətsət. hănti johlal ăntəplal wojən ńŏhəsən tel tăhər'mel; mek ĭkilal tal poslal aləmman jŏhətsət.

jetnaja jĭs, lesət jĭśsət, ĭl ŏl'sət. hănti johlal artalələl: huśl' śĭ etl'. nŏh kĭl'sət.

hănti johlalən ĭn som ĭti lŏhtəm lajmətən mek ĭket sapəllal el'ti šŏppi sewərməsajət. huləm ŏhpi mek ĭki huləm ŏhl huləm tăha pela lărisət. hulmet ŏhl jel lăriman pŏtər'l': 'hĭlijet, hĭlijet, nĭn tăŋha nŏh śĭ pĭtsəti!' met aj hujənən aleməsa, kăt pelka sewərməsa.

mek kŭr surət el'ti woləp ńol wer'sət, mek hŏñ luh lŏwət el'ti juhəl wer'sət. ńollal juhəllal wermel jŭpijən lŏhlal pŏtsət, šušməsət mătsət.

śĭ mătsət, śĭ mătsət, huləm hota etsət. huləm hu huləm hot lŏŋla huhsət. jŏhli huləntilət; mek ĭmet śaśililət: 'neŋət, neŋət! ĭkiləw wek śĭ mătsət, ĭkiləw kăštı mănləw!' kĭm etməsət, ĭ kŭr tăjsət. ĭn johən jŭpilal el'ti woləp ńolən kĭtsajət.

ĭl ŏhəl'sət. oləŋ hota lŏksət—hu ńŏhijən ne ńŏhijən tel śujəm. kĭmet hota lŏŋtisət—lumətl'imel arat lumət-

gone, he set down to whet. He ground his axes, his knives, like (to the similarity of) fish-shells.

At dusk the hunters came home. The Ostyaks had their belts hung full with animals, with sables; the wood-spirits came, carrying only their gloves.

The evening came, they ate, drank, went to bed. The Ostyaks think: now dawn is coming. They rose.

Now the Ostyaks with their axes, sharpened like fish-shells, cut off the necks of the wood-spirits. The three heads of the threeheaded wood-spirit rolled in three directions. In rolling forth, the third head speaks: 'Grandchildren, grandchildren, you have won indeed!' The youngest man seized it, split it in two halves.

Of the shinbones of the wood-spirit they made a bone arrow, of the ribs of the wood-spirit they made a bow. After they had made the arrow (and) the bow, they put on their skis, started, went.

Now they went, now they went, they came to three houses. The three men climbed onto the roofs of the three houses. They listen (into the houses); the female wood-spirits are heard: 'Women, women, our husbands have been gone ever so long, let us go and search for our husbands!' Out they came, simultaneously ('they had one foot'). Now the men shot them from behind with the bone arrow.

They (the men) climbed down. They went into the first house—(it was) crammed with men's flesh,

l'ɪəət, lewmel arat leət, jĭśmel arat jĭśśət. hulmet hota lŏkət—wotəm ńŭki ləŋkəm hot oməl'. śăhra jăhsət, huləm hu huləm taś ĭrətsət. śĭtelən jŏhi mătsət. śĭ śŭńel hulelən ĭn ullət.

with women's flesh. They went into the second house—they put on their full measure of clothes, they ate (and) drank their full measure of food (and) drink. They went to the third house—there stands a tent, covered with grey hides. They went to the grazing ground, the three men separated three (reindeer) herds. With this (property) they went home. Now they live so in happiness and wealth.

huləm three; see FU fi *kolme*. || *jaj* elder brother; younger brother of the father; *jajsaŋkət* (some, more than two) brothers together. (*-t* is npl; cf. *jajsaŋən* two brothers together.). || *ullət*, 3pl prs of *ul-*, be, live; see FU fi *ole-*. || *śĭti* so, thus; *śi* this, see U fi *se*. || *ulti*, ptc prs of *ul-*; nsg Px3pl *ultel*. || *el'ti* across, through, along; during; see U fi *ylä-*. || *welti*, ptc prs of *wel-* kill, catch. || *ńŏhəs* sable; see FU est *nugis*. || *pŏraja*, lative of *pŏra* time (R). || *jĭs*, 3sg prt of *jĭ-*, *jə-* become; begin; come; arrive. || *ĭ*, *ĭj* one; hu *ëgy*; *mŏl'ti* what, something; cf. *mŭj*, what, see U fi *mikä*; *ĭ-mŏl'ti* some (or other). || *hătl* day; sun; vg *qotel*. *-a*, lative ending. || *măn-* go; see U fi *mene-*. *-ti*, ptc prs. || *nŏməs* thought, plan; cf. *num-* remember; vg *noms-* think, *nomt* intellect, mind, understanding. || *wer'sət*, 3pl prt of *wer-* make. || *lŏhlal*, nsg (or npl) Px3pl of *lŏh* ski; see U fi *suksi*. || *pŏtsət*, 3pl prt of *pŏn-* put; see U fi *pane-*. || *śĭ* now, then; cf. *śĭ* this. || *šušməsət*, 3pl prt of *šušmə-*, momentaneum of *šuš-* stride, march, walk. || *un*, *unə* big; older, (the oldest). || *hujən*, nsg Px3du of *hu*, man: 'their older, their older brother, the one who was older than the two'. || *olŋa* first, foremost, at the head: lative of *oləŋ* beginning; see FU fi *alka-*. || *-l*, 3sg prs. || *kŭtəp* the middle (one); *kŭt* middle, interval; see FU hu *köz*. || *kŭtləp* (the) middle, centre. *-n*, locative. || *met* . . . of all (zr loan-word). || *aj* young, small. || *jŏl'ta* from behind; behind, after; *jŏlən* at home; *jŏhi* (go) in (into the house); (go) home. || *hŭw* long, wide, distant; long, for a long time; see FU fi *kauka-*. || *mătsət*, 3pl prt of *măn-*. || *waň* short; near. || *hŏjə*, *hŏjnə*, *hŏjən* who (interrogative); see U

fi *kuka*. || *wantəm*, ptc prt of *want-* see; cf. est *vaata-*. || *luŋ* summer. *-a*, lative. || *jŭwəntiti*, ptc prs of *jŭwənti-* become; *jŭw-* = *jĭ-*. || *tăhajən*, loc. sg of *tăha* place. || *jŭwəntijl*, 3sg prs of *jŭwənti-*. || *tăl* winter. || *śĭməś* such; cf. *śĭ*. || *jŏhətsət*, 3pl prt of *jŏhət-* come, arrive; see FU hu *jut-*. || *ńŏl* nose. || *ăt* not; see U fi *e-*, 3sg prs *ei*. || *lepl*, 3sg prs of *lep-* have room (be able to enter). || *hujŋəlal*, nsg Px 3du of *hu*. || *pela* to, toward, onto; cf. *pil* comrade, fellow; husband, wife; see U hu *fél*. || *jastəl*, 3sg prs of *jast-* speak; *jasəŋ* word, speech, language. || *hujŋən*, ndu of *hu*. || *tăta* here (locative of *tăm* this; see U fi *tämä*). || *holməsləw*, 1pl prs of *holməs-* spend the night; *hol-* id.; see FU hu *hál-*. || *lepəs* conifer twig. || *hot* house, hut, tent; see IE fi *kota*. || *lepəs hot* (temporary, primitive) hut (for hunters), made of coniferous twigs, with a fire before the open front. || *werəs*, 3sg prt of *wer-*. || *tŭt*, E *tŏgət* fire; hu *tűz*. || *jŭh* tree; wood; see U vg *jiw*. || *mŭjən*, nsg Px3du of *mŭj* what; something, somebody; the rest, the other things. || *şewərʻsəŋən*, 3du prt of *sewər-* cut, chop. || *jetnaja*, lative of *jetən*, *jetna* evening; in the evening; see U ch *jüt*. || *lesət*, 3pl prt of *le-* eat; see FU fi *syö-*. || *jĭśsət*, 3pl prt of *jĭńś-*, *jańś-* drink. || *werʻsət*, 3pl prt of *wer-*. || *ĭl*, *ĭt* down; *ĭl*, *ĭt* lower, sub-; lower part; see U fi *ala*. || *ŏl-*, *ŏt-* lie, lie down; sleep; see FU hu *alv-*. || *hălewta*, lative of *hălewət* morning; hu *holnap* tomorrow (*nap* day); vg *hol* morning. || *huślʻ*, *huńtl* dawn; see FU fi *koi*. || *tup* only, hardly. || *etəs*, 3sg prt of *et-* come out, appear; see FU fi *itä-*. || *juš* path; see FU fi *juntu*. || *jăhsət*, 3pl prt of *jăŋh-* go. || *răm-kəmtəm*, verb noun of *rămkəmt-* get dark, get dusk; see FU lp *râwˈkâ-*. || *kemən* at the time of, at, about: locative of *kem* ability, possibility, a certain measure, quantity, time, or manner (way) (Turkish loan-word). || *ĭn* now; just now, recently; this (sometimes it has no semantic function); see U fi *e-* (in *että*). || *munt(i)* formerly; recently; *ĭn m.* recently; vg *måntel* since. || *hulma*, lat. of *huləm*. || *mănəm*, verb noun of *măn-*. || *jušela*, lative sg Px3pl of *juš*. || *hăr* place; forest. || *etmelən*, locative Px3pl of *etəm*, verb noun of *et-*. || *luw* = *lij* they (more than two); cf. FU fi *hän*. || *rat* fireplace. || *kerətman*, gerund of *kerət-* surround. || *mek* (*meŋk-*) forest spirit. || *ĭki* man (human male); old man. || *oməs-* sit; sit down; be somewhere; put; build. *-lʻ*, 3sg prs. || *kŭtən* between: locative of *kŭt*. ||

ŏh head; *ŏhpi* -headed; as to the suffix, cf. fi *lihava* fat, plump (*liha* flesh), lv *li'ebi*; hu *háromfejű* three-headed (*három* three, *fő, fej* head), *kétágú*, earlier *keth agow* with two branches (*két* two, *ág* branch). || *tŏh(i)* thither; lp *duokkŏ*; see U fi *tuo*. || *măntel*, ptc prs Px3pl of *măn-*. || *šši* just this, the same; just as . . .: *šj* one + *ši* this. || *arat* (great) quantity; much; *ar* much. || *šuk* sorrow, distress, misery; bad. || *jŏhli* back, retro; home (= to the home); in (into the house); cf. *jŏl'ta*. || *juhət* finally; *met j.* at last, last of all. || *hujŋən*, ndu of *hu*. || *sŏrəm* death, = fi *surma*; see FU fi *sure-*. || *kŏ* if (zr loan-word). || *šŏ* so, then (; this). || *lŭw* he. || *jŭpelən*, locative Px3sg of *jŭpi* hind part, back part; behind; *jŭw* id. || *šušməstən*, 3du prt. || *waña*, lative of *wañ* short; near. || *jŏhəttel*, ptc prs Px3pl of *jŏhət-*. || *săhat* during, at (of time). || *ĭketən*, locative pl. || *hăš* almost. || *-lajət*, 3pl prt pass. || *lăp* (in combination with a subsequent verb:) closed, shut. || *ñăpət-* assail. *lap ñăpət-* surround and assail. *ñăpətsajət*, 3pl prt pass. || *ŭwaltəs*, 3sg prt of *ŭwalt-* shout; *ŭw* cry; cf. hu *üvölt-* shout, scream (onomatopoeic). || *hănti* Ostyak; man, human being. || *johlal*, nsg or npl Px3pl of *joh* men (pl. of *hu*), human beings, people. || *hĭlijet*, npl of *hĭlije*, dim. of *hĭli* grandchild; child of a younger brother or a younger sister. || *roma*, lative (in modal function) of *rom* quiet, calm, tranquil (zr loan-word). || *-šək, -čək*, dim. suffix; (after an adjective:) rather, fairly, moderately. || *ulati*, 2pl imper. of *ul-* be. || *sa* now, come on! || *ma* ~ *man-* I; see U fi *minä*. || *numəlməsəm*, 1sg prt of *numəlmə-* think, intend; *num-* remember. || *tăm* this; see U fi *tämä*. || *-ĭti, -ĭtə* in the way (indicated by the preceding word), as. || *hulmet* third. || *aləŋ*, E *äləŋ* morning; in the morning. || *săhat* along; according to; during, at (of time). || *măti* which, what (among a number of beings or things); see U fi *mikä*. || *johləw*, npl Px1pl. || *nŏh* up; see U vg *nu-*. || *kĭl-* rise; see U fi *kaalaa-*. || *nŏh ul-* prevail, get the better of somebody, vanquish, win. || *at*, indeclinable word with concessive function: let it be that . . .! || *mŭŋ* we (more than two); see U fi *me*. || *nĭnan*, dasg of *nĭn* you (two or more). || *jŏhi le-* devour, eat up. *lelləw*, 1pl prs, obj. conj., plural obj., of *le-*. || *-ləti*, 2pl prs. || *mŭŋew*, dasg of *mŭŋ*. *-səl*, 3pl prt. || *-ati*, 2pl imper. || *kaš* pleasure; *kašaš-* agree. || *jel, jet* front(al), anterior, further; see FU fi *esi-*. || *ulməssət*, 3pl prt of

ulməs-, durative of *ul-*. || *peramajən* alternately, by turns: locative of *perama* alternation, change (R *peremena*). || *let-ŏt* food. *ŏt* thing; thingamy; see FU hu *izé*. || *-man*, gerund. || *hăśililət*, 3pl prs of *hăśili-*, iterative of *hăś-* remain, stay ~ *hĭś-* remain; *hĭj-* leave, let behind; see U fi *kato*. || *oləŋ* (here:) the first. || *hujŋəlal*, ndu Px3pl. || *pĭlən* with: locative of *pĭl* companion; see U hu *fél*. || *mătsəŋən*, 3du prt of *măn-*. || *jŏhi* back, retro. || *hăśəm*, ptc prt. *met jŏhi hăśəm hătl* 'the day that remained most behind': the last day. || *ĭsa* altogether, all (of them). || *jŭpijən* after: locative of *jŭpi* hind part; *jŭw* id. || *lŏhtəsti*, inf. of *lŏhtəs-* sharpen, whet. || *opsəs*, 3sg prt of *oməs-* sit. || *lajəmlal*, npl Px3sg of *lajəm*, *tajəm* axe. || *keši* knife; hu *kés*. || *som* (fish-)scale; see FU fi *suomu*. || *lŏhətsəli*, 3sg prt, objective conj., sg object. || *welpəs* hunting or fishing implement; quarry; hunting; see *wel-* (above). || *jŏhətsət*, 3pl prt of *jŏhət-*. || *ăntəplal*, nsg Px3pl of *ăntəp* belt. || *wojən*, locative. || *tel*, *tet* full; see FU fi *täysi*. || *tăhər'mel*, ptc prt Px3pl of *tăhərt-* hang, hang up; stick (fast); see U fi *takkala*. || *tal*, *tat-* empty. || *poslal*, npl Px3pl of *pos* (leather) glove; see FU ch *pĭž*. || *aləmman*, ger. of *aləm-*, *atəm-* lift, raise; carry; see U vg *älm-*. || *artalələl*, 3pl prs, objective conj., sg obj., of *artal-*, *artat-* try; think, reflect (zr loan-word; see IE fi *arvo*). || *etl'*, 3sg prs. || *kĭl'sət*, 3pl prt. || *lŏhtəm*, ptc prt. || *sapəllal*, npl Px3pl of *sapəl*, *sapət* neck; see FU fi *sepä*. || *šŏppi* off, across; *šup* half, dimidium (of an object that is cut across); piece. || *sewərməsajət*, 3pl prt pass. of *sewərm-*, momentaneum of *sewər-* cut, chop. || *ŏhl*, nsg Px3sg of *ŏh*. || *tăha* place. || *lărisət*, 3pl prt of *lări-* roll (intr.). || *-man*, gerund. || *pŏtərl'*, 3sg prs of *pŏtərt-* tell, relate, speak; *pŏtər* tale, speech. || *tăŋha* really, indeed. || *pĭtsəti*, 2pl prt of *pĭt-* fall; come, get (by chance); begin; become; see FU fi *pitä-*. || *hujənən*, locative Px3du. || *aleməsa*, 3sg prt pass. of *aləm-* seize. || *kăt* two; see U fi *kaksi*. || *pelka*, lative of *peləк* half; see U fi *pieli*. || *sewərməsa*, 3sg prt pass. || *kŭr* foot. || *sur* shaft; hu *szár*. *kŭr sur* shinbone. || *wołəp* bone arrow. || *ńol*, *ńot* arrow; see U fi *nuoli*. || *hŏñ* belly; see FU zr *kynõm*. *luh* bay, creek; see FU fi *lahti*. *hŏñ luh* breast. || *lŭw*, *tŭw* bone; see U fi *luu*. || *el'ti* from, out of. || *juhəl*, *juhət* bow; see U fi *jousi*. || *ńollal*, npl Px3pl. || *wermel*, nsg Px3pl of *werəm*, ptc prt of *wer-*. || *lŏŋla*, lative of *lŏŋəl*, *taŋət* roof. || *huhsət*,

3pl prt of *huŋh-* climb; hu *hág-*. || *jŏhli* in (into the house). || *hulən-tilət*, 3pl prs of *hulənti-*, iterative of *hulənt-* listen; *hul-* hear; see FU fi *kuule-*. || *ĭmet*, npl of *ĭmə* married woman; old woman; etc.; see U lp *ibme*. || *śaśililət*, 3pl prs of *śaśili-*, iterative of *śaś-* be audible. || *neŋət*, npl of *ne* woman; see U hu *nő*. || *ĭkiləw*, npl Px1pl. || *wek* lifetime; forever; long ago (R). || *kăšti*, inf. of *kănš-* search, seek. || *kĭm* (go) out; see FU hu *ki*. || *etməsət*, 3pl prt of *etmə-*, momentaneum of *et-*. || *tăjsət*, 3pl prt of *tăj-* have. *ĭ(j) kŭr tăjsət* 'they had one foot': they came together, at the same time. || *johən*, locative of *joh*. || *jŭpilal*, npl Px3pl of *jŭpi* hind part. || *kĭtsajət*, 3pl prt pass. of *kĭt-* send (here: shoot). || *ŏhəlʻsət*, 3pl prt of *ŏhəl-*, *wŏhət-* descend; see FU fi *valkama*. || *hota*, lative of *hot*. || *lŏksət*, 3pl prt of *lŏŋ-* enter; see U hu *av-*. || *ńŏhijən*, locative of *ńŏhi* flesh. || *śujəm*, ptc prt of *śuj-* put in, thrust in (zr loan-word). || *lŏŋtisət*, 3pl prt of *lŏŋti-* = *lŏŋ-*. || *lumətl'imel*, nsg Px3pl of *lumətl'im*, ptc prt of *lumətl'i-*, iterative of *lumət-*, *tumət-* dress (intr.). || *arat* quantity; *ar* much. || *-sət*, 3pl prt. || *wotəm* grey; *wot-* be tanned by the wind; become grey (of hair); *wot* wind (Indo-Iranian loan-word?). || *ńŭki* reindeer hide without hairs. || *łaŋkəm*, ptc prt of *łaŋk-* cover. || *oməslʻ*, 3sg prs of *oməs-* (here:) stand. || *śăhra*, lative of *śăhər* solidly trampled ground; place where the reindeer graze in the winter; see U lp *čiegâr*. || *jăhsət*, 3pl prt of *jăŋh-* go. || *taś* possession, property; quarry; reindeer herd (samoyed loan-word). || *ĭrətsət*, 3pl prt of *ĭrət-* distribute, separate, sort, pick out. || *śĭtelən*, locative sg Px3pl of *śĭt* this. || *śŭńel*, nsg Px3pl of *śŭń* fortune, opulence. || *hutelən*, locative Px3pl of *hul* wealth.

HUNGARIAN

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

QUALITY

Vowel quality

(Western) Standard Hungarian has the following vowels:

u	*ü* *i*
o	*e* *ö* *ɛ*
å *a*	*ä*

[*a*] (written: *á*) in Standard Hungarian is a very open *a*, like Italian *a* in *caro*. [*å*] (written: *a*) reminds English speakers of *o* in English *hot*, but it is only slightly labialized and is more like the vowel of *tall*, as it is pronounced by Americans. (As to the quantity, vide infra). Long [*e*, *i*, *o*, *ö*, *u*, *ü*] (written: *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ő*, *ú*, *ű*) are pronounced like French *é*, *i*, *au*, *eu*, *ou* and *u* in *élan*, *cire*, *gauche*, *fameuse*, *blouse*, and *ruse* respectively. Short [*i*, *o*, *ö*, *u*, *ü*] are a trifle more open than the corresponding long vowels.

Most of the hu dialects distinguish between (short) *ɛ* (like *e* in English *men*; written *ë* in this book) and (almost always short) *ä* (like *a* in English *man* or a little narrower; written *e* in this book). In two southern areas (including cities as Szeged and Nagy-Kanizsa) *ö* appears instead of *ë*. In a large northeastern area, including Debrecen, Nyiregyháza, Nagyvárad (Oradea Mare) and Kassa (Košice), and in Budapest, the difference between *ë* and *e* has been abolished in favour of the open vowel.

In some instances the difference between *ë* and *e* is distinctive, e.g. *mëntëk* 'you (more than one) go', *mëntek* 'they went', *mentëk* 'I rescue', *mentek* '(they are) free (from . . .)'.

NOTE.—Uralic words with *ë*: *mën-* 'go', *mëny* 'daughter-in-law', *szëm* 'eye'. Uralic words with *e*: *es-* 'to fall', *fej* 'head', *fele-* (nsg *fél*) 'half', *fele-*: *feleség* 'wife', *kel-* 'rise', *kettő* 'two', *ne-* (nsg *nő*) 'woman', *neve-* (nsg *név*) 'name', *nyel-* 'to swallow', *nyele-* (nsg *nyél*) 'shaft, handle', *nyelv* 'tongue, language', *ve-* (nsg *vő*) 'son-in-law', *vezet-* 'to lead'.

Earlier even *é* (long) stood for two different vowel qualities, and this difference has been preserved in the regions of Eger and Losonc, where for instance *fél* 'half', *két* 'two' (as qualifier) and *név* 'name' are pronounced with a more open vowel than *él-* 'live' and *fél-* 'be afraid'. (In a few other dialects the narrow long *e* has developed into long *i*.)

Diphthongs

There are in genuine hu words no other diphthongs than combinations of a (short or long) vowel + non-syllabic *i* (mostly written *j*).

Vowel harmony

The core and essence of ancient Uralic vowel harmony was the alternation *a* ~ *ä* in other syllables than the first, depending on whether the first syllable had a back vowel or a front vowel. This harmony has been preserved in Hungarian. There are in other syllables than the first, the alternations *a* ~ *e*, *o* ~ *ö*, *o* ~ *ë*, *u* ~ *ü*, *á* ~ *é*, *ó* ~ *ő*, (*ú* ~ *ű*); but *i* does not alternate (not considerably, anyway). Of the other front vowels, only *é* can occur if the first syllable has a back vowel, and it does so only if it has come about by monophthongization of a diphthong the syllabic component of which was a back vowel; e.g. *dolgoznék* 'he would work', = *dolgozna* (cf. *dolgozik* 'he works').

From a descriptive point of view it is correct to say that a (short or long) *i* and a (long) *é* can be combined with back vowels as well as with front vowels. But apart from loan-words and compounds, such cases of vowel disharmony originate in a phonetic development by which a back vowel has been replaced by a front vowel. Compare *fia* 'his son' with fi *poika* 'son', *ivó* 'drinking, drinker' with fi *juo-* 'to drink', *nyila* 'his arrow' with fi *nuoli* 'arrow'.

It must be added that there is also an alternation *ë* ~ *ö*; *ö* appears in syllables other than the first instead of *ë* if the first syllable has a rounded front vowel. Together with the palatal vowel harmony, which we have described above, this so-called labial vowel harmony makes for an alternation *o* ~ *ë* ~ *ö*. The word *szër* 'order, succession, etc.', for instance, in combination with cardinal and ordinal numbers has been degraded, as it were, to a suffix, the criterion being that it has been subjected to vowel harmony: *ëgyszër* 'once', *háromszor* 'thrice', *ötször* 'five times'.

Consonant quality

The sounds

Standard Hungarian has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Labiodentales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales		Glottales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae . . .	*b*	*p*			*d*	*t*			*d'*	*t'*			*g*	*k*	ʾ	
Fric. (blaesiformes)			*v*	*f*							(*j*)	*J*				*h*
Fric. sibilantes . .					*z*	*s*	*ž*	*š*		(*ś*)						
Affricatae					(*ʒ*)	*c*	(*ǯ*)			*ć*						
Tremulantes . .							*r*									
Cryptofricativae .					*l*											
Nasales	*m*				*n*						*ń*		*ŋ*			

Glottal stop is in hu an acoustic phenomenon that comes about when a word that begins with a stressed vowel follows immediately after a word that ends in a vowel; e.g. *de ő* 'but he'.

Orthography and pronunciation

b, *d*, *g* and *p*, *t*, *k* are pronounced as in French, but *gy* stands for palatalized *d* [: *d'*], and *ty* for palatalized *t* [: *t'*]. *c* = *ts*. *cs* is pronounced like English *ch* in *chew* [: *t's'*].

ly is pronounced like *j*, i.e., as non-syllabic *i*, but *lyuk* 'hole' is usually pronounced *luk*. The spelling *ly* reflects the earlier pronunciation *l'* (palatalized *l*), which has been preserved in a northwestern region (between the Tisza and the Danube north of a line drawn from Szolnok westward, north of the Danube to the west of its big northern bend, northeast to a line drawn from Tokaj to Rozsnyó [Rožňava]), and partly in the so-called *Csángó* settlements in western Hungary (earlier in Moldavia and Bukovina). The pronunciation [*l*] is prevalent in the greatest part of the region to the west of the Danube (hence the pronunciation of *gulyás* 'cowboy', which has spread to the western countries as the name of a dish, *gullash*). The pronunciation *j* [i̯] is current in the greatest part of the Hungarian-speaking area.

At the end of a word after *p*, *f* and *k*, *j* is voiceless (cf. German *ch* in *ich*).

Otherwise, *j* is usually pronounced as non-syllabic *i*.

ny = [*ń*] (palatalized *n*). *s* = [*ś*] (not palatalized). *zs* = the corresponding voiced sibilant: [*ź*]. *sz* = [*s*].

h is not pronounced at the end of a word or before a consonant, except in the literary word *ihlet* '(source of) inspiration, enthusiasm', where it is pronounced like *ch* in German *ich*.

ng is pronounced [*ŋg*], and *nk*: [*ŋk*].

SANDHI

As a rule, a voiced consonant other than a nasal or *l*, *r*, is not immediately combined with a voiceless consonant. In such cases a regressive assimilation has taken place at the joint of a compound or before a suffix (*internal sandhi*) and when two words meet in a clause (*external sandhi*). E.g. *ëgy korty bor* [*et' kord' bor*] 'a sip of wine', *rozskënyér* [*roškeńeer*] 'ryebread', *vasból* [*vážbool*] '(made) of iron', *háztető* [*haastätöö*] 'house-roof', *mëghívás* [*mekhiivaaš*] 'invitation'; *tudtam* [*tuttâm*] 'I knew (it)'.

d', *t'* have developed into *(t)t* before *s* (written: *sz*) and *š* (written: *s*), and into *(d)d* before *z* and *ž* (written: *zs*); e.g. *ëgyszër* [*ettser* or *eťser*] 'once', *jegyzék* [*jäddzeek*] 'note, list, catalogue'.

s (written: *sz*) and *z* have been assimilated to a following *š* (written: *s*); e.g. *egészség* [*ägeeššeeg*] 'health' (*egész* 'whole, entire'), *igazság* [*igåššaag*] 'truth, justice' (*igaz* 'true').

VOWEL QUANTITY

Vowels have two degrees of quantity in hu, namely, short and long. The long degree is almost always indicated by the acute accent. (Note: *ő*, *ű*.)

[*å*] (written: *a*) is always short in Standard Hungarian. [*ä*] (written: *e*) is likewise short. [*e*] (written: *é*) is always long, and so is [*a*] in all genuine words. The other vowels occur in both degrees; they are a little narrower in the long degree.

The oppositions *o* ~ *ó*, *ö* ~ *ő* and (rarely) *i* ~ *í* may be distinctive, e.g. *kor* 'time', *kór* 'disease', *öröm* 'delight', *őröm* 'my warder'. *Vajjon ivó ön* 'are you a drunkard?' *Vajjon ivó őn* is it a spawning ide (Cyprinus idus)?'

CONSONANT QUANTITY

All consonants are short in initial position and before a consonant. They can all be long in the position between a preceding stressed short vowel and a following vowel, and most of them can be long after any vowel, provided that no consonant follows.

As a rule, short consonants are written simple and long consonants are written double. There are, though, lots of instances of 'etymological' orthography, e. g. *tollba* [*tolbå*], illative of *toll* 'feather, pen'.

The digraph *gy* sometimes stands for long [*d'*], e.g. *ëgy* [*ed'd'*] 'one', *ëgyes* [*ed'd'äš*] 'single, individual, some' (but *ëgyén* [*ed'een*] 'individual, person', *ëgyedül* [*ed'ädül*] 'alone', etc.).

NOTE.—The reason why [*t*] + [*s*] and [*t'*] + [*ś*] are called affricates in word stems, e.g. *kacag-* 'laugh out loud' and *kacsa* 'duck', is that in the quantitative system of Hungarian speech these clusters play

the same role as consonants like *p*, *d*, *m*, and the rest. In 3sg prs *kacag*, the cluster [*ts*] is about half as long as are a final [*t*] and a final [*s*] together, and [*t*] in [*ts*] is about half as long as an intervocalic short [*t*].

STRESS

The main stress is on the first syllable; but to an unbiassed foreign observer it will seem that if a word which has short open first syllable, and a long vowel in the second syllable, is preceded in fluent speech by a stressed syllable, the second syllable may take the stress (not the high pitch). *Ennek ë·gy halá·l nëm ëlég* 'For this fellow one death is not enough'.

NOTE.—In Hungarian versification the length of the metric syllables plays an important role; e.g., *Ki most fejedet kebëlemre tëvéd lë* [⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑̆ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑] 'thou who now hast laid thy head on my bosom'.

PITCH

The pitch (the highest tone within a word) is on the first syllable. In a question that is to be answered by 'yes' or 'no', the clause may rise to a high pitch on the last syllable but one; e. g. *Pestre mész*? ⌐¬⌊ 'Are you going to Budapest?'

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Hungarian has the definite article *a* (before a consonant) ~ *az* (before a vowel), which is historically identical with the demonstrative pronoun *az* 'that (one), that', as qualifier usually *az a* ~ *az az* (where *a* ~ *az* should be regarded as def. art.).

The numeral *ëgy* 'a, one' functions as indefinite article, though less frequently than English *a*; e.g., *ëgy ifjú* 'a young man'; on the other hand: *könyvet írok* 'I am writing a book'.

Hungarian has no dual number. The only trace of the dual is *kettő* 'two', = vg *kitəg*; *két*, used only as qualifier (and first member of compounds), is historically the nsg of this numeral.

CASE SUFFIXES

Hungarian has the following case suffixes (no vowel-harmony variants mentioned here):

-ba, illative	*-kor*, temporal	*-ról*, delative
-ban, inessive	*-lag* (see p. 374)	*-stul*, comitative
-ból, elative	*-n*, superessive	*-t*, accusative
-ért, causal	*-nak*, dative	*-tól*, ablative
-hoz, allative	*-nál*, adessive	*-t(t)*, locative
-ig, terminative	*-nként*, distributive	*-ul*, essive
-ként, *-képp(en)* (see p. 374)	*-nta* (see p. 374)	*-vá*, translative
	-ra, sublative	*-val*, instructive

The following suffixes are not influenced by vowel harmony: *-ért*; *-ig*; *-ként*, *-nként*, *-képp(en)*; *-kor* (= *kor* 'age, epoch, time').

The following suffixes are in themselves case forms of nouns and can be combined with Px:

-ba, *-ban*, *-ból*; *ért*; *-hoz*; *-nak*; *-nál*; *-ról*, *-ra*; *-tól*; *-val*.

With Px1sg: *belém*, *bennem*, *belőlem*; *értem* (earlier: *érettem*); *hozzám*; *nálam*; *nekem*, *nékem*; *rólam*; *r(ë)ám*; *tőlem*; *velem*.

bele 'into', *benn* 'in, inside' and *belől* 'within, inside, on the inside' are historically lative, locative and separative respectively of *bel-* 'internal, interior, *bél* 'intestine'. *érett* is a locative of the obsolete noun *ér* (of unknown signification). *hozzá(-)* (only in combination with Px) is a case form of an otherwise unknown noun. *nál-* is obscure. *neki* is not easy to analyse; the primordial meaning is 'right on, against': *neki mën-* bang against, run into. *ról-* and *rëá* are separative and lative respectively of an obsolete noun, the locative of which appears in *rajtam* '(being) on me', *rajtad* 'on thee', etc. *től-* is historically the separative of *tő* 'stem, base', *-vel* is perhaps the separative of an otherwise unknown noun: see FU fi *väki*.

The following suffixes are combined only with certain kinds of noun stems: *-ként*, *-képp(en)*, *-kor*, *-lag*, *-nta*, *-t(t)*. The same might be said of *-nként*.

-ként and *-képp(en)*, *-képen* are synonyms and may be said to form a modal case of a few pronouns and some qualifiers; e.g. *miképp*, *miként* 'how', *másképp* 'otherwise, in a different way', *más-*

féleképp(en) id., *hasonlóképp(en)* 'similarly'. *kép*, 'image', is a Turkish loan-word.

-kor is chiefly combined with pronouns, with *óra*, 'hour', and with cardinal numbers after which *óra* is omitted by ellipsis; e.g. *mikor* 'when', *háromkor* = *három órakor* 'at three o'clock'. But it may also be combined with a noun stem, and even with a noun stem + Px, e.g. *aratáskor* 'at harvest time', *építésekor* '(at the time) when it was built, a-building'.

-lag ~ *-leg* is combined with qualifiers (adjectives) and a few defective stems like *utó-* 'after-, post'. It means 'bearing upon, from the viewpoint of . . .'. *If* it constitutes a case, this case should be called *spectative*. Note *táviratilag* 'by wire' (*távirati* 'telegraphic').

-nta ~ *-nte* is combined with a few words for periods or spaces of time: *évente* 'yearly, annually', *havonta* 'monthly, per month', *nyaranta* 'every summer'. Historically, it may be = the locative ending *-t* (+ Px3sg?), combined with the superessive ending *-n*.

-tt (after a vowel) ~ *-t* (after a consonant) is combined with a few names of towns, e.g. *Győrött* 'at Győr' (nowadays: *Győrben*), *Kolozsvárt* 'at Kolozsvár (Klausenburg, Cluj)' (nowadays: *Kolozsváron*), and some other stems, chiefly defective, e.g. *oldalt* 'laterally, sideways, from the side' (*oldal* 'side'), *mellett* 'by, beside, by the side of' (*mell* 'breast'), *együtt* 'together' (*egy* 'one'), *mindenütt* 'everywhere' (*minden* 'every'), *itt* 'here', *ott* 'there'. This is an obsolete FU locative (fixative) case.

-nként (*-nkint*) is nowadays not combined with Px or plural ending. It is preferably added to cardinal numbers, names of periods and spaces of time, and designations of groups of individuals; e.g *hármanként* 'three at a time', *naponként* 'per day, daily', *századonként* 'by companies'. It constitutes a *distributive* case.

There are eighteen regular cases; ten of them are local cases.

1. Nominative. 2. Accusative. 3. Dative. 4–13. Local cases. 4–6. Interior local cases. 4. Inessive. 5. Elative. 6. Illative. 7–13. Exterior local cases. 7. Generic exterior local case: terminative ('unto, till'). 8–10. Superpositive exterior local cases. 8. Superessive ('on, upon'). 9. Delative ('[down] from'). 10. Sublative ('[down] on'). 11–13. Juxtapositive exterior local cases. 11. Adessive ('at'). 12.

Ablative ('from'). 13. Allative ('onto'). 14. Essive ('as'). 15. Translative ('[change, be transformed] into'). 16. Instructive ('with, by, by means of'). 17. Comitative ('together with, accompanied by'). 18. Causal ('because of, for the sake of').

1. The *nominative* has no case ending. If the accusative sing. is disyllabic and has a short *a*, *e*, *ë*, *o* or *ö* before the case ending, then the nsg is monosyllabic.

2. The *accusative* has the ending *-t*. If the nsg ends in (short) *a* or *e*, the asg has (long) *á* or *é* respectively before the case ending; e.g. *fa* 'tree, wood', asg *fát*, *epe* 'gall', asg *epét*.

Note the colloquial forms *aztat* (dial. even *aztotat*) = *azt* (*az* 'that one'), *eztet* (dial. even *eztëtet*) = *ezt* (*ez* 'this one'), *őtet* = *őt* (*ő* 'he, she').

The accusative is the case of the direct object; but in combination with Px1sg *-m* and Px2sg *-d* the nominative is often used instead of the accusative. Historically speaking, this includes the accusatives *engëm* = *engëmet* 'me' (*én* 'I'), *tégëd* = *tégëdet* 'thee' (*të* 'thou'), *magam* = *magamat* 'myself', and *magad* = *magadat* 'thyself'.

In rural usage the direct object is sometimes put in the nominative if it is combined with an infinitive that may be rendered by 'in order to . . .'; e.g. *elmëntek széna gyüjteni* 'they went to gather hay'.

3. The *dative* (ending: *-nak* ~ *-nek*) is now and then used in its primordial local function (see above): 'towards, right on'. It is often used as complement of the predicate, e.g. *nëm látszik annyinak* 'she does not look her age' (literally: 'that much'), *jó jelnek vëttem* 'I took it as a good omen'.

An English genitive is rendered in Hungarian by a nominative or a dative, and the Px3sg is added to the principal word (cf. vulgar English *Bill his mark*). On the whole, the nominative is preferred in modern usage, but the dative is compulsory if the determinant (the counterpart of the English genitive) is a pronoun other than personal or is put after the principal word. E.g. *ennek a következménye* 'the consequence of this'. *Mi volt a valódi oka a háborúnak* 'what was the real cause of the war?'

English 'have' in expressions like 'the king had a beautiful daughter' is rendered by *val-*, 'be'; the counterpart of the object functions as subject and the counterpart of the English subject is

put in the dative: *a királynak szép lánya volt* 'the king had a beautiful daughter'. If the subject of such an English clause is a personal pronoun, then the pronoun can be omitted: *szép lánya volt* 'he had a beautiful daughter'.

In constructions with 'must' and the like, the English subject is rendered by a dative, e.g. *ennek mëg këll lënni* 'it must be (done), there is no getting away from it' (*ennek*, dat. of *ez* 'this, this one'). In such constructions even the complement is put in the dative, e.g. *nëm szabad lustának lënni* 'you (one) must not be lazy'.[1]

4. The *inessive* has the ending *-ban* ~ *-ben*.

5. The *elative* has the ending *-ból* ~ *-ből*. Note for instance *tréfából* 'for fun, in jest'.

6. The *illative* has the ending *-ba* ~ *-be*. Note for instance: *nëm fér a bőrébe* 'he cannot contain himself' (literally: 'he does not go, cannot find room in, his skin').

7. The *terminative* has the ending *-ig*. Note *addig* 'as far as that (in space), till then', *eddig* 'up to this point, as far as here, till now, as yet', *meddig* 'how far, till when?' (cf. *az* 'that, that one, *ez* 'this, this one', *mi* 'what').

The ending *-iglan* ~ *-iglen* occurs in a few expressions, e.g. *holtomiglan-holtodiglan* 'till death do us part' (literally, 'up to my death, up to thy death'). The terminative *ideiglen* 'for the time being, ad interim' (*idő* ~ *ide-* 'time') has given birth to the adjective *ideiglenës* 'temporary, provisional, makeshift'.

8. The *superessive* is no doubt historically identical with the Uralic locative (os *-na* ~ *-nä*, and *-n*), but a differentiation has taken place, so that one might distinguish between superessive and *casus statûs*, the latter denoting that something is in the state or amounts to the number indicated by the word stem (cf. the Finnish essive) or that the verb action takes place in the way indicated by the word stem. Now, places are usually denoted by substantives, and a state (condition) is as often as not denoted by an adjective. Further, substantives the nsg of which ends in a consonant, usually have one of the vowels *o*, *ë*, *õ* before certain endings, e.g.

[1] Cf. Latin: *Mediocribus esse poëtis non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.*

the plural ending *-k*, whereas adjectives and numerals (except *öt* 'five' and *hat* 'six') mostly have *a* or *e*. *Havas*, 'snowy', for instance, has by ellipsis got the signification 'snowy mountain', and *havason* means 'on a snow-capped mountain', whilst *havasan* is 'in a snowy state'. This makes for a tendency to use *-an* ~ *-en* in the 'casus statûs', and *-on* ~ *-ën* ~ *-ön* in the superessive (locative) proper. Thus, *öten*, 'to the number of five (amounting to five)' has in this function superseded *ötön*, which is the regular superessive of *öt*. Words in *-ó*, *-ő*, *-ú*, *-ű* have the ending *-an* ~ *-en* in the casus statûs, but *-n* in superessive proper; e.g. *hasonlóan* 'similarly', *ëgyenlően* 'equally, alike', *ëgyértelműen* 'unanimously'; *hajón* 'on the ship', *későn* 'late (= at a late point of time)', *gyapjún* 'on wool', *fésűn* 'on a comb'.

There is, however, no clear-cut boundary between these two cases.

9. The *delative* has the ending *-ról* ~ *-ről*. The local function is 'from being on . . .'. It is to be rendered by 'about' or 'of' in combination with verbs that mean 'talk, witness, inform, inquire, be silent', and the like.

10. The *sublative* has the ending *-ra* ~ *-re*. The local function is 'to being on . . .'. Speaking of a point of time, it means that something is going to happen no later than that time; speaking of a space of time, it means that the result of the verb action is supposed to last that long. Speaking of an activity or the like, it indicates a purpose.

11. The *adessive* has the ending *-nál* ~ *-nél*. Its local function is 'at, with'. In combination with a comparative, the adessive ending may replace *mint* 'than', e.g. *édësebb a méznél* (= *mint a méz*) 'sweeter than honey'.

12. The *ablative* has the ending *-tól* ~ *-től*. The local function is 'from a position at . . .'. Speaking of places, it means 'all the way from'.

13. The *allative* has the ending *-hoz* ~ *-hëz* ~ *-höz*. The local function is 'to a position at . . .'. Note: *nëm értëk a zenéhëz* 'I do not know anything about music'.

14. *Essive*. Ending: *-ul* ~ *-ül*. Speaking of a (temporary) state: *tétlenül áll* 'he remains inactive, does not move a finger'. Speaking

of way or manner: *magyarul beszél, de rosszul* 'he speaks Hungarian, but badly'. Note: *feleségül vëtte* 'he married her' (*feleség* 'wife'); *emlékül* (on a keepsake, etc.) 'as a souvenir, as a token of remembrance'.

15. *Translative.* The ending is *-vá* ~ *-vé* after a vowel or *v*; after another consonant, the *v* of the ending is assimilated, e.g. *vassá* '(in)to iron' (*vas*).

16. *Instructive.* Ending: *-val* ~ *vel.* After a consonant other than *v*, the *v* of the ending is assimilated.

Revolverrel agyonlőtte magát 'he shot himself with a revolver'. *Két fiával jött* 'he came with (his) two sons'. *Karddal a kezében* 'sword in hand'. *Őszinte hálával* 'with sincere thanks'. *Az alkalommal élni këll* 'one must make the best of the opportunity' (*él-* 'live'). *Idővel* 'in the course of time, by and by, in due time'.

17. *Comitative.* The ending *-stul* ~ *-stül* probably contains the ablative ending *-tól* ~ *-től*, added to the same formant *-s* as we find in *családos* 'having a family, with a family' (*család* 'family; children, child') and the like. *Családostul* 'with wife and children, with his entire family'.

This case is of rare occurrence, and it is problematic whether it should be regarded as a regular case.

18. The *causal* case has the ending *-ért*, (colloquially:) *-ér.*

Mëghalt a királyért és a hazáért 'he died for the (his) king and the (his) country'. *Küldjön orvosért* 'send for a doctor!' *Mënnyit fizettél a borért* 'how much did you pay for the wine?'

PLURAL

The plural has two characteristics: 1) *k*, which is used when there is no Px, and 2) *i* (etc.), which is used in combination with Px.

In many instances the singular is used where the English language has the plural. *Körtét nëm ëszëm.* 'I do not eat pears.' Hungarian, like other Uralic languages, uses the singular speaking of (both) eyes, ears, hands, feet, and 'one-eyed' is *félszemű* (literally: 'half-eyed'). And *cipőm, kesztyűm* usually means 'my shoes, my gloves'; 'one glove' is *fél kesztyű.*

The plural characteristics are added to the word stem.

THE PLACE OF THE Px

The Px is placed before the case ending, except in isolated case forms of a few stems, e.g. *mellettëm* 'beside me' (*mellett* 'beside': locative of *mell* 'breast'; cf. the regular superessive Pxlsg of *mell*: *mellemën*; *mellën*, superess., *mellem*, nsg Pxlsg).

POSSESSIVE DERIVATIVE

An English genitive that does not function as attribute (qualifier), may be rendered by the suffix *-é*; e.g. *ez apáé* 'this is father's'. *Kié ez a kalap?—Fiamé.* 'To whom does this hat belong?—To my son' (*ki* 'who', *fiam* 'my son'). *A magadét tartsd mëg, a másét në vëdd el* (or: *el në vëdd*). 'Keep your own, do not take what belongs to other people.'

The possessive derivatives of personal pronouns are always combined with Px, e.g. *tietëk* 'yours', of *ti*, 'you'; see under Pronouns. They have then, of course, the plural characteristic *i*: *tieitëk* '(they are) yours'. But the possessive derivative has this plural characteristic even if *é* is combined with a noun (with or without plural ending, with or without Px); e.g. *apáéi, apáméi, szülőkéi, hugainkéi* 'they belong to father, my father, the parents, our younger sisters'.

There is, though, a group of possessive derivatives that have the plural characteristic *k*, namely, *pluralia tantum* derived from family names, e.g. *Szentesék* 'the Szentes', the Szentes family', speaking of a household (parents and children); *Szentesek* is used when speaking of the *Szentes* 'clan' or of people called *Szentes*, whether they are relations or not.

COMPARISON

The comparative has the ending *-bb*, (*-b*), e.g. *nagyobb* 'bigger'.

The superlative is formed by putting *leg-* at the front of the comparative: *legnagyobb* 'biggest'. The superlative of adjectives in *-só* ~ *-ső* is formed by putting *leg-* before the positive, e.g. *legalsó* 'lowest' (*alsó* 'lower, under, sub-'): these adjectives are by themselves a kind of compáratives.

An emphatic superlative is formed by putting *legës-* before the superlative, e.g. *legëslegnagyobb* 'the very biggest, the biggest of all'.

NOTE.—*java* or *szine-java* 'the very best, the cream, the choicest' (of something; *java*, nsg Px3sg of *jó* 'good'; *szine*, nsg Px3sg of *szín* 'surface'), *legjava* 'the very (very) best', *legeleje* 'the foremost part, the very front' (of something; *elő*[-] 'fore-', *eleje* 'the forepart of something').

Some isolated case forms and stems that occur only as predicate complement can be compared, e.g. *legelől* 'in the very front, first' (in position; *elől* 'in front, ahead'; *elő-* 'fore'), *lëjjeb* 'farther down' (*lë* '[going] down').

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns, sg 1 *én*, 2 *të*, 3 *ő*, pl. 1 *mi*, 2 *ti*, 3 *ők*, have a declension of their own. Accusative: sg 1 *engëm(et)*, 2 *tégëd(et)*, 3 *őt*, pl. 1 *minket*, *bennünket*, 2 *titëket*, *bennetëket*, 3 *őket*.

The other cases (insofar as they occur) are not inflected forms of the stems of these pronouns. Instead, the endings of the respective cases appear in the archaic shape of words (case forms), and the notions 'me, you', etc., are indicated by a possessive suffix: e.g. iness. *bennem* 'in me', all. *hozzád* 'to thee', abl. *tőlünk* 'from us'. See the Paradigms.

'Myself, yourself' etc. is rendered by *mag-* + Px (cf. *mag* 'grain, kernel, pith, gist, core'): *magam*, *magad*, *maga*; *magunk*, *magatok*, *maguk*.

NOTE.—Speaking to one person, 'you' is rendered by *të* in such circumstances as would allow an English-speaking person to call the other by his first name.

'Unthouable' persons are addressed in the third person, preferably without pronoun. Aged persons, if they are 'thouable' or belong to the yeomanry or the lower rural classes, get the title *bácsi*, 'uncle', or *néni*, 'aunt', respectively, added to their first name only (*Balázs-bácsi*, *Rózsi-néni*), when addressed by considerably younger acquaintances, even if these be of high rank. The only current counterpart of 'you', if *të* cannot be used, is *maga* (literally: 'himself, herself'), but this word is preferably used when speaking 'downwards', or by ladies speaking to men. The word *ön* (cf. *önmaga*

'himself, herself') can be used even in speaking (or writing) to superiors and unknown persons, but it is avoided by well-bred people.

An English *possessive* pronoun, if used as attribute (qualifier), is rendered by Px, e.g. *házam* 'my house' (*ház* 'house'). If 'my' ('your', etc.) is stressed, the adequate personal pronoun, preceded by the definite article, is put before the principal word, e.g. *az én házam* 'my house'; but *ők*, 'they', is then replaced by *ő*: *az ő házuk* 'their house'.

The possessive suffixes are: sg 1 *-m*, 2 *-d*, 3 *-(j)a* ~ *-(j)e*; pl. 1 *-nk*, 2 *-tok* ~ *-tëk* ~ *-tök*, 3 *-(j)uk* ~ *-(j)ük*. E.g., *hajóm* 'my ship', *hajód*, *hajója*; *hajónk*, *hajótok*, *hajójuk*.

In combination with Px, the plural base has the characteristic *i*. Words that end in a vowel in nsg (without Px), have lost the Px3sg after *i*, and the Px3pl has been shortened to *-k*: *hajóim*, *hajóid*, *hajói*; *hajóink*, *hajóitok*, *hajóik*. Npl Px3 of words that end in a consonant in nsg, has by analogy got the Px3sg before the plural characteristic: *házai* 'his houses' in analogy to *háza* 'his house', and then the forms with Px3 have influenced the forms with Px of the 1st and 2nd persons, so that they can be described as nsg + Px3sg + plural characteristic + Px: *házaim* 'my houses', *házaid* 'thy houses', *házaink* 'our houses', *házaitok* 'your houses'. In this way, such words as have Px3sg *-ja* ~ *-je*, e.g. *csónak* 'boat', nsg Px3sg *csónakja*, have mostly got the plural characteristic *-jai* ~ *-jei*: Px1sg *csónakjaim* 'my boats', 2sg *csónakjaid* 'thy boats', 3sg *csónakjai*; 1pl *csónakjaink*, 2pl *csónakjaitok*, 3pl *csónakjaik*.

It has already been mentioned that in rendering English genitival constructions the principal word is combined with the possessive suffix of the third person *singular* even if the counterpart of the English genitive is in the plural, e.g. *a lányoknak az apja* 'the father of the girls'.

NOTE.—*Az ő háza* 'his house'; *az ő házuk* 'their house'; *az ő házai* 'his houses'; *az ő házaik* 'their houses'.

Independant possessive pronouns are rendered by possessive stems derived from the personal pronouns, + Px. It is a matter of course that these pronouns have the plural characteristic *i*.

Possession in sg: sg 1 *enyém*, 2 *tied*, 3 *övé*; pl. 1 *mienk*, 2 *tietëk*, 3 *övék*.

Possession in pl.: sg 1 *enyéim*, 2 *tieid*, 3 *övéi*; pl. 1 *mieink*, 2 *tieitëk*, 3 *övéik*.

The *demonstrative* pronouns *az* 'that, that one' (colloquially also: 'he', in vulgar usage even: 'she') and *ez* 'this, this one' are slightly irregular in combination with case endings: see the Paradigms. As attributes they are nowadays replaced (by the bookish forms *azon*, *ezën* or) by *az a*, *ez a*. Before the definite article, *az* and *ez* are put in the same case and number as the principal word, e.g. *ezekért a sértésekért* 'because of these insults (or transgressions)'. This is the only instance of case (and number) agreement in Hungarian.

NOTE.—Semantically isolated case forms determined by a preceding noun (: so-called postpositions) are mostly affixed to a qualifying *az* or *ez* in the same way as case endings; e.g. *ezek után a tapasztalatok után* 'after these experiences'; *eszërint a hír szërint* 'according to this rumour (report)'.

Independent *interrogative* pronouns: *ki*, *kicsoda* 'who', *mi*, *micsoda* 'what'. Attributive: *mëly* 'which', *mëlyik* 'which (of them, etc.)', *micsoda* 'what sort of'.

NOTE.—*Kicsoda* (*csoda*, 'wonder, marvel', is a Slavic loan-word) is decidedly colloquial. *Ők kicsodák* (more politely: *kik ők*) 'who are they?'

To some extent, interrogative pronouns may be combined with Px. E.g.: *Mid vagyok?* 'What am I to you?' (Indignantly, the implication being: 'do you think I am your dog, the way you talk to me', or the like.)

NUMERALS

Non-compound cardinal numbers: 0 *nulla*, *zérus*, 1 *ëgy*, 2 *kettő*, casus statûs *ketten*, (attributive) *két*, 3 *három* ~ *hárma-*, 4 *négy*, 5 *öt*, 6 *hat*, 7 *hét* ~ *hete-*, 8 *nyolc*, 9 *kilenc*, 10 *tíz* ~ *tize-*, 20 *húsz* ~ *husza-*, 30 *harminc*, 40 *nëgyven*, 50 *ötven*, 60 *hatvan*, 70 *hetven*, 80 *nyolcvan*, 90 *kilencven*, 100 *száz*, 1000 *ezër* ~ *ezre-*, 1,000,000 *millió*.

NOTE.—Historically, 30–90 are compounds.

The numbers 11–19 and 21–29 are formed by adding *ëgy* etc. to the superessive, *tizën* and *huszon* respectively: *tizënëgy* etc. The numbers consisting of 30–90 + 1–9 are formed by adding *ëgy* etc. to the nsg of the decade number: *harmincëgy* etc. Multiples of powers of ten are expressed by adding the bigger number to the smaller, e.g. *kétszáz* 200, *kétszázezër* 200,000.

Ordinal numbers (except *első* 'first', *második* 'second') are formed by adding *-dik* (in compounds: *-d-*) to the stem of the cardinal number. Note: *harmadik* 'third', *nëgyedik* 'fourth' (with short vowel in the first syllable). *Harmadosztályú jegy* 'third-class ticket' (*osztály* 'class').

By ellipsis, the derivatives in *-d* function as fractions, e.g. *tized* (= *tizedrész*; *rész* 'part') $^1/_{10}$.

As qualifiers (attributes), cardinal numbers are uninflected, and the principal word is put in the singular; e.g. *kétezër szó* '2000 words', *tíz embërnek az ereje* 'ten men's strength'.

NOTE.—This feature is, on the whole, common to the Uralic (and Altaic) languages.

ALTERNATIONS IN WORD STEMS

If the nsg ends in a long vowel, suffixes are, as a rule, added to nsg, e.g. *hajók*, *hajóm*, etc. Before Px3 and the plural characteristic *i*, some words have (*a* ~) *e* instead of (*ó* ~) *ő*; e.g. nsg Px3sg *ereje*, *ideje*, *veje*, of *erő* 'strength', *idő* 'time', *vő* 'son-in-law'.

Some monosyllabic word stems in *-ó* ~ *-ő*, *-ű* or *-é* end in *-av(a)-*, *(-ov[a]-)*, *-öv(e)-*, *-űv-*, *-üv-*, *-ev-* before certain endings (cf. below); e.g. asg *havat*, *tavat*, *követ*, *lovat*, of *hó* 'snow', *tó* 'lake', *kő* 'stone', *ló* 'horse'; nsg Px3sg *szava*, *füve*, *műve*, *leve*, of *szó* 'word', *fű* 'grass', *mű* 'work', *lé* 'juice'.

If the nsg ends in *a* or *e*, most suffixes are added to a stem form that ends in *á* or *é* respectively, e.g. *órák*, *orám* etc. (*óra* 'hour; clock, watch').

NOTE.—Nsg Px3sg *apja*, *anyja*, *bátyja*, *nénje*, (Px3pl *apjuk* etc.), of *apa* 'father', *anya* 'mother', *bátya* 'elder brother, uncle', *néni* 'elder sister, aunt'.

If the nsg ends in a consonant, the plural characteristic *k*, the endings of the superessive and comitative and the Px of 1sg, 2sg, 2pl are added to a stem form that ends in *a* ~ *e* or *o* ~ *ë* ~ *ö*.

If there is a vowel before the accusative ending, it is the same vowel as before the plural characteristic *k*. We shall call them *a*-stems and *o*-stems respectively.

o-stems are mostly: derived substantives and substantives that are disyllabic in the nsg, with a short vowel in the 2nd syllable; e.g. *öröm* 'joy', nsg Px1sg *örömöm*, *ökör* 'ox', npl *ökrök*.

a-stems are mostly: adjectives; substantives that end in a long consonant in nsg: substantives with quantitative vowel alternation. E.g. *havasak*, npl of *havas* 'snowy' (but *havasok*, pl. of *havas* 'snow-capped mountain'), *vállat*, asg of *váll* 'shoulder', *nyarak*, npl of *nyár* 'summer', *mądarat*, asg of *madár* 'bird'.

Before the Px *-nk*, both *a*- stems and *o*- stems have *u* ~ *ü*, e.g. *házunk* 'our house', *ökrünk* 'our ox'.

PARADIGMS

1. Nom.	*hajó* 'ship'	*ló* 'horse'	*az* 'that (one)'	*én* 'I'
2. Acc.	*hajót*	*lovat*	*azt, aztat*	*engëm(et)*
3. Dat.	*hajónak*	*lónak*	*annak*	*nekëm*
4. Iness.	*hajóban*	*lóban*	*abban*	*bennem*
5. Elat.	*hajóból*	*lóból*	*abból*	*belőlem*
6. Ill.	*hajóba*	*lóba*	*abba*	*belém*
7. Termin.	*hajóig*	*lóig*	*addig* 'till then', etc.	
8. Superess.	*hajón*	*lovon*	*azon*	*rajtam*
9. Delat.	*hajóról*	*lóról*	*arról*	*rólam*
10. Subl.	*hajóra*	*lóra*	*arra*	*r(ë)ám*
11. Adess.	*hajónál*	*lónál*	*annál*	*nálam, nálamnál*
12. Abl.	*hajótól*	*lótól*	*attól*	*tőlem*
13. All.	*hajóhoz*	*lóhoz*	*ahhoz*	*hozzám*
14. Ess.	*hajóul*	*lóul*		
15. Transl.	*hajóvá*	*lóvá*	*azzá*	
16. Instr.	*hajóval*	*lóval*	*avval, azzal*	*velem*
17. Com.	*hajóstul*	*lovastul*		
18. Caus.	*hajóért*	*lóért*	*azért*	*érettem*

Conjugation

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characters of tense, mood and voice

Tense

In colloquial Hungarian there are two non-periphrastic tenses: present and preterite, and a periphrastic future. In the literary language of the nineteenth century there are three other tenses: imperfect, future, and (periphrastic) pluperfect.

PRESENT

The present tense, as a rule, has no tense characteristic. A few verbs, though, have *sz* in the present (finite forms).[1]

1pl prs	ptc prs	1pl prt
hiszünk 'we believe'	*hívő*	*hittünk*
lëszünk 'we become'	*lévő, lëvő*	*lëttünk*
tëszünk 'we do'	*tëvő*	*tëttünk*
vëszünk 'we take'	*vëvő*	*vëttünk*
viszünk 'we bring somewhere'	*vivő*	*vittünk*
ëszünk 'we eat'	*ëvő*	*ëttünk*
iszunk 'we drink'	*ivó*	*ittunk*
alszunk 'we sleep'	*alvó*	*aludtunk*
fekszünk 'we lie (recline)'	*fekvő*	*feküdtünk*
eskü|szünk 'we swear'	*esküvő*	*esküdtünk*
haragszunk 'we are angry'	*haragvó*	*haragudtunk*
meleg|szünk, -ëdünk 'we get warm'	*melegëdő*	*melegëdtünk*

The following verbs have have *-v* in the 1st and 2nd persons of the present indicative:

jövünk 'we come', 3sg *jön*	*jövő*	*jöttünk*
lövünk 'we shoot', 3sg *lő*	*lövő*	*lőttünk*[2]
rovunk 'we carve (engrave)', 3sg *ró*	*rovó*	*róttunk*

[1] In FUV, we have given as stem in the first place the sound-sequence that precedes *-ó* ~ *-ő* in ptc prs, and in the second place the sound-sequence that precedes *-tt* in 3sg prt.

[2] In the same way: *föv-* ~ *fő-* 'boil' (intr.), *növ-* ~ *nő* 'grow' (intr.), *szöv-* ~ *sző-* 'weave'.

The verb *val-* ~ *vol-* 'be' has the base *vagy-* in the first and second persons; *mën-* 'go' has the base *mëgy-* in 3sg, 1pl, 2pl ('thou goest' is *mész* or *mégy*).

PRETERITE

The preterite has the characteristic *tt* (after a vowel), *t* (after a consonant).

Note (in addition to the verbs mentioned in the table above): 3sg prt *ëvëtt* 'ate', *ivott* 'drank', *volt* 'was'.

IMPERFECT

Earlier, the tense which we call preterite here, corresponded to the English perfect preterite, and the obsolete tense which we shall now describe, corresponded to the English imperfect. As we shall see from our first text, this distinction was not preserved in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The imperfect has the characteristic *a* ~ *e* (3sg), *á* ~ *é*. 1sg has (before the personal ending *-k*) *é* even after a stem with back vowel. 1sg *várék* 'I waited', 2sg *várál*, 3sg *váva*; 1pl *váránk*, 2pl *várátok*, 3pl *várának*.

Verbs that have *-ik* in 3sg prs, had *-ék* in 3sg ipf, e.g. *dolgozék* 'he worked' (*dolgozik* 'he works').

PLUPERFECT

The pluperfect was formed by adding 3sg prt or 3sg ipf of *val-* 'be' to the prt, e.g. *vártam volt* or *vártam vala* 'I had waited'.

PERIPHRASTIC FUTURE

Auxiliary: *fog-* (as independent verb: 'seize, catch, etc.'); e.g. *várni* (inf.) *fogok* 'I shall wait, I shall be waiting'.

NON-PERIPHRASTIC FUTURE

The non-periphrastic future has the characteristic *-and* ~ *-end*.

Traces of this formation have been left in the spoken language, e.g. *tëendő* 'task, work (to do), agenda', *lëendő* 'future, prospective, to-be', *halandó* 'mortal'.

ASPECT AND TENSE

Some words (forms) with a lative local function, when preceding a verb, take the main stress from the verb and form a compound with it. Historically, all these so-called 'preverbs' seem to be cases of nouns, and a few of them are so even from a descriptive point of view. The most frequent preverbs are *alá* '(to a place) under, below', *át* 'across, through', *be* 'in (into)', *bele* 'into (inwards)', *el* 'away, off', *elő* 'forward (hither, thither)', *fël*, *föl* 'up', *hátra* 'back, backwards', *ketté* 'in two, asunder', *kì* 'out', *lë* 'down', *össze* 'together', *rá* 'onto', *széjjel* 'asunder, apart'. E.g. (infinitive) *kimënni* 'go out', German 'hinausgehen', but *në mënj ki* (emphatically: *ki në mënj*) 'do not go out', German 'geh nicht hinaus'.

Some scholars think that this phenomenon is due to Slavic and German influence, but it occurs even in Vogul and Ostyak.

Those of the enumerated preverbs which mean 'up, down, in, out, off', when combined with a verb that has in itself a cursive aspect, often give it a terminative aspect.

Cursive	*Terminative*
áll- 'stand'	*beáll-* 'enter, drop in'
hallgat- 'be silent, listen'	*elhallgat-* 'stop speaking'
ül- 'sit, be sitting'	*felül-* 'sit up, get on'
ég- 'burn' (intr.)	*kiég-* 'burn down, burn out, cease burning' (e.g. of a candle)
	lëég- 'burn down, be reduced to ashes' (of a building)

The preverb *mëg*, which is historically more or less identical with *mögé* '(to a place) behind', has usually, but not always, the function of making a terminative verb out of a cursive one.

Cursive	*Terminative*
áll- 'stand'	*mëgáll-* 'come to a stop'
alv- 'sleep'	*mëgalv-* 'curdle, clot, coagulate'
lóg- 'hang down, be an absentee'	*mëglóg-* 'decamp, skip off'
tanulás 'learning (something) = study, preparation'	*mëgtanulás* 'learning (something) = acquisition, mastery'

Some verbs may be cursive or terminative according to the context, e.g. *mën-* 'go'. If such a verb is used in the terminative aspect, the present tense refers to future time, e.g. *mikor mész* 'when do you (sg) leave?' The present tense of exclusively cursive verbs, on the other hand, must refer to a space of time that includes the present moment (the moment of the utterance), or else it only refers to a habitude or the like, e.g. *szivaroz(ik)* 'do you smoke cigars?'; *mikor alszik* 'when do you sleep?'

A future cursive activity or state is expressed by the periphrastic future tense: *meddig fog beszélni* 'how long is he going to speak?' The periphrastic future of a terminative verb will imply that the action is not going to take place immediately; e.g. *mëg foglak verni* 'I am going to thrash you'.

Moods

There are three moods: indicative, conditional, and imperative.

INDICATIVE

The indicative has no mood characteristic.

CONDITIONAL

The conditional has in the subjective conjugation the characteristic *-ná-*, *-na*, ~ *-né-*, *-ne*. 1sg has *-né-*, without regard to vowel harmony. In the objective conjugation the characteristic is *ná* ~ *né* throughout (earlier, 1pl ended in *-nók* ~ *-nők*, not in *-nánk* ~ *-nénk* as nowadays).

Such verbs as end in *-ik* in 3sg prs ind., earlier ended in *-nék* in 3sg prs cond.; e.g. *fázik* 'he feels cold', *fázna* (earlier: *fáznék*) 'he would feel cold'.

The conditional characteristic is added to that shape of the verb stem that is combined with the preterite characteristic (see the table above under 'Present').

Thus, the conditional bases of *alv-* 'sleep', *esküv-* 'swear', *lövshoot'*, *növ-* 'grow, increase', *szövweave'*, *ëv-* 'eat', *hiv-* 'believe', *jövcome'*, *lëv-* 'become', *tëv-* 'do, make', *vëv-* 'take', and *viv-* 'bring somewhere', are *aludná-*, *esküdné-*, *lőné-*, *nőné-*, *szőné-*, *ënné-*, *hinné-*, *jönné-*, *lënné-*, *tënné-*, *vënné-*, and *vinné-* respectively.

The preterite of the conditional is formed by adding to the prt ind. the 3sg cond. of *val-* ~ *vol-* 'be', e.g. *jöttem volna* 'I would have come', *aludtak volna* 'they would have slept'. For the prt ind. of *val-*, the corresponding form of *lëv-* is substituted, e.g. *már régën ott lëttem volna* 'I would have been there long ago'.

The conditional is used in both clauses of a complex hypothetical sentence, especially if the condition is thought of as non-existent (*casus irrealis*).

NOTE.—Sometimes the prs ind. is used instead of the conditional in order to emphasize the irreality of the condition, e.g. *Ha të nëm vagy itt, én nëm élëk* 'if you had not been here, I would no be alive'.

Sometimes the conditional, preceded by *bár*, 'if only, would that', Latin 'utinam', expresses a lively wish, e.g. *bár jönne* 'would that he might come', 'utinam veniat'.

The conditional of verbs derived by *-hat-* ~ *-het-*, 'be able to', sometimes conveys the notion 'ought to', e.g. *jöhetne már* 'I dare say he ought to be here by now' (literally: 'he would be able to come already').

1sg cond. of a few verbs in *-hat-* ~ *-het-* is sometimes combined with Px in clauses like (*olyan*) *sírhatnékom* (*sírhatnékja*) *volt* 'I (she) was in (such a) crying mood, I (she) felt as if I (she) could have a good cry'.

IMPERATIVE

The imperative has the characteristic *j*.

After *k*, *p*, *ƒ* (and *r*), *j* is voiceless at the end of the word if it is not followed in the same clause by a word beginning with a voiced sound; e.g. *në lopj* (pronounce: *lopś*) 'do not steal!'

After a long vowel and after a voiced non-syllabic sound, the combination of *t* and the imperative characteristic has resulted in the affricate *t's'*, which is written *ts* (not *cs*, as usual); e.g. *taníts* 'teach!', *tarts* 'keep!' After a long vowel the affricate is lengthened.

NOTE.—*láss* 'see!', *bocsáss* 'forgive, excuse, let go!' (stems: *lát-*, *bocsát-*).

After a short vowel, the combination of *t* and the imperative characteristic has resulted in long *š*, written *ss*, e.g. *kössz* 'bind!'

After *š* (written *s*), the combination of *t* and the imperative characteristic has resulted in *š*, e.g. *fëss* 'paint!' (stem: *fëst-*).

After the sound *s* (written *sz*!), the combination of *t* and the imperative characteristic has resulted in the sound *s*, e.g. *vessz* 'lose!' (stem: *veszt-*).

The imperative characteristic has been assimilated to a preceding *š* (written *s*), *s* (written *sz*), and *z*, e.g. *moss* wash!' (stem: *mos-*), *ússz* 'swim' (*úsz-*), *hozz* 'bring!' (*hoz-*).

The combination *t* + the sound *s* (written *sz*) + the imperative characteristic has resulted in long *š*, written *ss*, e.g. *mess* 'cut!' (stem: *metsz-*).

The letter sequences *dj*, *gyj*, *lj*, *llj*, *nj*, *nyj* are pronounced in the same way as *ggy* (*gy*), *lly*, *nny* respectively, e.g. *adj* 'give!'. *küldj* 'send!', *hallj* 'hear!', *mënj* 'go!'

The imperative bases of *alv-* 'sleep', *lõv-* 'shoot', *növ-* 'grow, increase', *jõv-* 'come', *ëv-* 'eat', *iv-* 'drink', *viv-* 'bring somewhere', *hiv-* 'believe', *lëv-* 'become', *tëv-* 'do, make', *vëv-* 'take', are *aludj-*, *lõj-*, *nõj-*, *jõjj-*, *ëgy-*, *igy-*, *vígy* ~ *vigy-*, *higgy-*, *légy* (2sg) ~ *lëgy-*, *tégy* ~ *tëgy-*, and *végy* ~ *vëgy-* respectively.

Voices

As to the notion of *passive*, see Finnish Grammar, § 25.

In the literary language of the last century there was a regular passive, of rare occurrence except in laws and ordinances, e.g. *adatik* 'is (being) given', Latin 'datur' (*ad-* 'give'), *vétetik* 'is (being) taken', Latin 'sumitur' (*vëv-* 'take'). To the imperative *dicsértessék* see below, Personal endings, Subjective conjugation, *ik-* verbs, footnote.

NOTE.—Historically speaking, these passives are reflexives of causatives: *adat* 'has given (= orders to be given, causes to be given), supplies', and the like. The Finnish passive has the same origin.

In actual Hungarian there are rudiments of passive (or mediopassive), medium (intransitive), reflexive and reciprocal voice; e.g. *születet-* 'be born' (*szül-* 'bear', Latin 'parĕre'), *látsz-* 'be visible, appear' (*lát-* 'see'), *hallatsz-* 'be heard, be audible, be rumoured, reported' (*hall-* 'hear'), *imádkoz-* 'pray, say one's prayer(s), say grace' (*imád-* 'adore, be very fond of'), *mutatkoz-* 'show oneself, appear,

be visible, be seen' (*mutat-* 'show' [trans.]), *találkoz-* (intr.) 'meet, encounter, coincide, agree, be found, happen' (*talál-* 'find, hit'), *emelkëd-* 'rise' (*emel-* 'raise'), *csókoló(d)z-* 'kiss one another (repeatedly), hug and kiss one another, have sexual intercourse' (*csókol-* 'kiss, give a kiss').

These derivative verbs belong to the *ik-* conjugation (see under Personal endings). There are also a few non-derived verbs that belong to the *ik-* conjugation when used in an intransitive (mediopassive, medial) sense: *hallik* = *hallatszik* 'it is audible, people can hear it' (in this sense, *hall-* occurs only in 3sg prs ind.); *törik* 'breaks' (intr.) ~ *tör* 'breaks' (trans.); *bízik* (combined with the inessive) 'trusts (in somebody), has confidence, relies' ~ *bíz* (*valamit valakire*) 'trusts (somebody with something), commits (something) to the charge of (somebody)' (*valami* 'something', *valaki* 'somebody'), *mëgbízik* (combined with the inessive) 'trusts (in something), relies, believes (in somebody, in something)' ~ *mëgbíz* (*valakit valamivel*) 'trusts (somebody with something), charges, commissions'.

Personal endings

Introductory remarks

In Hungarian there are only rudiments of an objective conjugation. When the direct object is in the first person, the personal ending indicates only the (person and number of the) subject. *Szeret, nëm szeret* 'she loves me, she loves me not'; cf. *szeret tégëd* 'she loves you', *szeret táncolni* 'she is fond of dancing'. There is an ending *-lak* ~ *-lek* to indicate that the subject is in the 1sg and the object in the 2nd person (without distinction between singular and plural), e.g. *szeretlek* 'I love thee' or 'I love you (more than one)'; otherwise, there is no ending to indicate that the object is in the 2nd person. When the object is in the 3rd person there is an ending to mark both the person and the number of the subject and the person (not the number) of the object—even if a few forms, as 1sg prt *szerettem*, are common to both conjugations—but the endings of the objective conjugation are used only to indicate a *definite* object (a proper noun, a noun with definite article or Px or demonstrative

pronoun, or a personal, demonstrative, reflexive or reciprocal pronoun, etc.).

Objective conjugation. Andrást mëgölték. Andrew was killed (they killed A.). *A fiút letartóztatták.* They arrested the boy. *Fiait (két fiát) letartóztatták.* They arrested his sons (his two sons). *Ismerëm (őt).* I known him. *Tudom (azt)* I know (it). *Szeretik ëgymást.* They love each other. *Tudom hogy nëm fog jönni.* I know that he will not come. *Bort mëgissza magyar embër.* Hungarians usually drink (: consume, gulp down) their wine. (The wine is here definite insofar as it is just the concrete quantity that is at hand in a given situation.)

Subjective conjugation. Sok Andrást ismerëk. I know many Andrews. *Két fiút letartóztattak.* They arrested two boys. *Két fiát letartóztattak.* They arrested two of his sons. (The object is indefinite, because we do not know which sons they arrested.) *Mindënt tudok.* I know everything, I know all about it. *Ezt nëm kérëk.* I do not want this kind. (The question is not about a definite or determined quantity, but of the sort or species.)

These rules apply also to finite verbs that are combined with an infinitive, e.g. *mëg fogják* (obj. conj.) *ölni* 'they are going to kill him'.

In the *subjective* conjugation two groups must be distinguished, namely, the so-called *ik*-verbs and the verbs without *-ik* (in 3sg prs ind.). The *ik*-group, which is relatively small, includes most of the reflexive verbs (see above under Voice), and there are hardly any transitive verbs in this group, except *ëv-* 'eat' and *iv-* 'drink' (3sg prs *ëszik*, *iszik*).

NOTE.—As to *ëv-* and *iv-*, there are still traces of an earlier distinction: *ëszik* 'takes a repast' (= *étkëzik*) was intransitive, whereas *ësz* 'eats (something or somebody)' was transitive.

Subjective conjugation

VERBS WITHOUT *-ik*

1sg. The preterite has *-m*, preceded by *a* ~ *e*, the other form groups have *-k* (preceded in prs ind. by *o* ~ *ë* ~ *ö*).

2sg. In prs ind., the ending is *-l*, preceded by *o* ~ *ë* ~ *ö*, if the stem (or the base of the present tense) ends in *s* (pronounced: *š*), *sz* (pronounced: *s*), or *z*, otherwise it is *sz* (pronounced: *s*).

The verbs *mën-* 'go' and *val-* 'be' have 2sg prs ind. *mész* (or *mégy*) and *vagy* respectively.

In the other form groups, except the imperative, the ending is *-l* (in the preterite preceded by *á* ~ *é*).

2sg imper. as a rule has no personal ending; e.g. *várj* 'wait!' The ending *-ál* ~ *-él* may be added, though, to give a touch of politeness to the exhortation: *várjál ëgy kicsit* 'wait a little, please!'

3sg. The imperative has the ending *-n*, preceded by *o* ~ *ë* ~ *ö*. The same ending occurs in the 3sg prs ind. of *val-*: *van* (earlier: *vagyon*) and *jöv-*: *jön*, and in the singular of two defective verbs: *nincsën* = *nincs* 'there is not any', and *sincsën* = *sincs* 'nor is there any'.

1pl. The ending is *-nk*, preceded in all the form groups, except the conditional, by *u* ~ *ü*.

2pl. The ending is *-tok* ~ *-tëk* ~ *-tök* (in the preterite and the imperative preceded by *a* ~ *e*).

3pl. The preterite has the ending *-k* (preceded by *a* ~ *e*); the other form groups have *-nak* ~ *-nek* (in the imperative preceded by *a* ~ *e*).

THE *ik*-VERBS

The following account refers to the literary language as it was at the beginning of this century. In the spoken language of our days there is not much left of the peculiarities of the *ik*-verbs except the *-ik* of the 3sg prs indicative[1]; even the *-m* of the 1sg is giving way to the *-k* which properly belongs to the verbs with-

[1] There are still a few traces of the 3sg imper. in *-ék*: *tessék* 'please!, pray!, by all means' (*tetsz-* 'please, be agreeable'); *tessék-lássék* 'pretence, make-believe, window-dressing, eye-wash' (*látsz-* 'be seen, be visible, appear, seem, look'); *méltóztassék* 'please, pray, be so kind as to . . .' (speaking to a person of high rank; *méltóztat-*, 3sg prs ind. *-ik*, 'deign to, be pleased to'—historically, this verb is passive); *dicsértessék* (*Jézus Krisztus*) 'praised be Our Lord Jesus Christ!' (this is 3sg imper. passive of *dicsér-* 'praise').

out *-ik*. The distinction between *bízik* and *bíz* (see above under Voice) is not strictly upheld.

1sg. The regular ending is *-m*, e.g. *fázom* 'I feel cold'.

2sg. In the present indicative, the ending is *-sz* (pronounced: *s*) if the stem ends in *l*, otherwise it is *-l*. The former ending is preceded by *a* ~ *e*, e.g. *csuklasz* 'you have the hickups' (3sg *csuklik*).

The imperative has *-ál* ~ *-él*.

NOTE.—The rule that the *ik-* verbs have *-ál* ~ *-él* and the verbs without *-ik* have no personal ending, does not hold good nowadays. In both categories of verbs there is a semantic distinction (see above under Verbs without *-ik*); e.g. *aludj* 'sleep!' ~ *aludjál* 'please sleep!' or 'sleep, I don't mind' (3sg prs ind. *alszik*).

3sg. Present indicative *-ik*, conditional *-(é)k*, imperative *-ék*.

The plural endings are identical with the corresponding endings of the verbs without *-ik*.

Objective conjugation

Historically, the personal endings of the 1, 2, 3sg and 2pl are identical with the corresponding possessive suffixes: *várom a párom* 'I wait for my mate', *várod a párod* 'you wait for your mate', *párja várja* 'his mate is waiting for him'. The 3pl (prs ind. *varják*, prt *várták*, cond. *várnák*, imper. *várják*) seems to be the regular plural of the 3sg, just as the 3pl prt *vártak* of the subjective conjugation is the plural of 3sg *várt*.

NOTE.—3sg prt obj. conj. *várta* is = *várt* + Px3sg. To the analogy of sg *várt*: pl. *vártak* (subj. conj.), the plural *várták* was formed on the basis of *várta*. To the analogy of sg *várta*: pl. *várták*, the plurals *várják* and *várnák* were formed on the basis of *várja* and *várná* respectively.

2sg imperative usually has *-d* instead of *-jad* ~ *-jed*. Note: *ëdd*, *hidd*, *idd*, *tëdd*, *vëdd*, *vidd* (of *ëv-*, *hiv-*, *iv-*, *tëv-*, *vëv-*, *viv-*); *hagyd* (of *hagy-* 'leave') is often pronounced *hadd*.

3sg has *-ja* ~ *-i* in the present indicative, e.g. *kéri* of *kér-* 'ask, request'. The 3sg imperative consists of the stem + *-ja* ~ *-je*. Thus, *várja* is both 3sg prs ind. and 3sg imper. of *vár*; but it should be noted that the assimilations mentioned above under Moods, Im-

perative, have not taken place in the prs indicative. 3sg imper. of *lát-*, 'see', is *lássa*, but 3sg prs ind. is *látja* (*lássa* is vulgar, to say the least).

The conditional has no personal ending in the 3sg, but the mood characteristic appears in the shape *-ná* ~ *-né*.

1pl has *-juk* ~ *-jük* in the prs ind. and the imperative. The conditional is nowadays identical with the corresponding form of the subjective conjugation, e.g. *várnánk*, *kérnénk* (earlier: *várnók*, *kérnők*). The preterite has the ending *-uk* ~ *-ük*.

2pl in all the form groups looks as if the Px2pl had been added to the 3sg; e.g. prs ind. *várjátok* (3sg *várja*), *kéritëk* (3sg *kéri*).

Cf. the Paradigms.

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

Nouns derived from the verb stem

PRESENT PARTICIPLE

Suffix: *-ó* ~ *-ő*, e.g. *váró* 'waiting', *nyerő szám* 'winning number'.

The ptc prs of *lëv-*, 'become', is *lévő* or *lëvő*.

When *val-*, 'be', means 'be somewhere' (Latin 'versari'), the ptc prs of *lëv-* is substituted for *való*. *A szobában lévő butor* 'the furniture that is in the room'. The ptc prs *való* (combined only with the elative or with lative cases) means 'fitted, suited, suitable, proper, becoming, true, real', etc., or else it refers to *val-* in its function as predicate nexus (*copula*). *Mire való ez?* 'What is this good for?' *A birodalomnak idegën hatalmakhoz való viszonyáról nem nyilatkozott a király.* 'The king did not make any statement on the relations of the Kingdom to foreign powers.'

The present participles of transitive verbs in *-hat-* ~ *-het-*, with the meaning 'be able to, have an opportunity to', or 'be allowed to' (perform the action expressed by the basic stem), have a passive function: *várható* 'prospective, to be expected', *elérhető* 'obtainable, accessible'.

The present participles as often as not function as nomina agentis or nomina actoris; sometimes they denote an instance of the verb activity or the place where the action usually takes place, or an

implement or the like. E.g. *néző* 'looking; facing; onlooker, spectator, viewer'; *fürdő* 'bathing; bath, (the) bathing, bathing establishment, swimming-pool'; (= *fürdőhely*) 'watering-place, health-resort'; *repülő* 'flying; flyer, aviator'; (= *repülőgép*) 'aeroplane'; *szedő* '(type-)setter, compositor'; *váró* 'expectant, waiter'; (= *várószoba*) 'waiting-room, antechamber'. As first part of a compound the ptc prs may be said to function as *nomen actionis*.

PAST PARTICIPLE

The past participle has the suffix *-tt* (after a vowel) ~ *-t* (after a consonant).

NOTE.—Historically, this suffix is identical with the preterite characteristic.

The ptc prt of transitive verbs has passive function; e.g. *Az elsodort falu* 'the village that was swept (or whirled) away' (the title of a renowned novel by *Szabó Dezső*). The ptc prt of cursive verbs in fact functions as a *present* passive participle, e.g. *tisztelt olvasóim* 'my honoured readers'.

Note expressions like *nőttön-nő-* 'keep growing, grow taller and taller, shoot up' (*nő-* 'grow'; *nőttön*, superessive of ptc prt).

PARTICIPIUM FUTURI ET NECESSITATIS

Suffix: *-(a)ndó* ~ *(e)ndő*. In combination with transitive verb stems this suffix forms words that imply that something or somebody must be or ought to be the direct object of the action expressed by the verb stem, e.g. *fizetendő* 'payable, to be paid, due' (*fizet-* 'pay'). When added to intransitive verb stems, it forms adjectives (qualifiers) that may be regarded as future participles or (if the verb has a cursive aspect) present participles, or else they imply that somebody or something has a tendency to behave in the way expressed by the verb stem; e.g. *halandó* 'mortal', *állandó* 'lasting, constant, continuous, stationary' (*áll-* 'stand'), *hajlandó* 'inclined, willing' (*hajl-* ~ *hajol-* 'incline, tend, show an inclination'), *forgandó* 'unstable, inconstant, fickle' (*forg-* ~ *forog-* 'turn, revolve, go round').

Cf. above, Future tense.

Isolated cases of derivative stems

INFINITIVE

The infinitive has the ending *-ni*. Before this ending the verb stem has the same shape as in the conditional.

The verb *val-* 'be' has the suppletive infinitive *lënni*.

Infinitives can be combined with Px when functioning as subject in clauses the predicate of which is *këll-* 'must, ought to', *ill-* 'behove', *muszáj* 'must', or *szabad* 'allowed' (Latin 'licet').[1]

The infinitive ending + Px: 1sg *-nom* ~ *-nëm* ~ *-nöm*, 2sg *-nod* ~ *-nëd* ~ *-nöd*, 3sg *-nia* ~ *-nie*, 1pl *-nunk* ~ *nünk*, 2pl *-notok* ~ *-nëtëk* ~ *-nötök*, 3pl *-niuk* (*-niok*) ~ *-niük* (*-niök*).

El këll mënnëm = (*nekëm*) *el këll mënni* 'I must go, I have to go'. *Csak szólnod këll* 'you have only to say so, you have only to ask for it'. *Ezt nëm lëtt volna szabad mëgtënnëd* 'you should not have done this'.

In everyday talk the combination of inf. and Px is obsolete. Instead of *csak szólnod këll*, one says *csak szólni këll*, which is elliptic (brachylogic), or *csak szólni këll nekëd*, which is ambiguous (it may mean 'one has only to speak to you').

MODAL GERUND

Ending: *-va* ~ *-ve*. In combination with intransitive verb stems this ending indicates that the action expressed by the stem accompanies the action of the predicate verb or specifies it; e.g. *sietve jött* 'he came in a hurry' (*siet-* 'make haste, hurry up'). When added to transitive verb stems it usually indicates that the subject—if the predicate verb is intransitive—or the direct object of the clause is in the state expressed by the verb stem that precedes the ending of the gerund; e.g. *az ajtó nyitva maradt* (*nyit-* 'to open') 'the door

[1] *këll-* means 'be needed, be desirable, be to the taste of somebody'; it is mostly used in the 3rd person. *Nëm këllëk nekëd* 'am I not good enough for you?' *Ill-* means 'fit, suit'. Both verbs are used in the cond., *këll-* even in the imper. (*këlljën*). The colloquial *muszáj* (German *muss sein*) is a noun (*muszájból* 'under pressure'). The Slav loan-word *szabad*, 'free, allowed', can be combined with the endings of 3sg cond. and imperative in colloquial usage.

remained open (: somebody failed to shut the door)'; *az ajtót nyitva hagyta* 'he left the door open'.

This gerund is equivalent to an English past participle that functions as complement to the copula 'be' (indicating a state), e.g. *a bolt zárva van* 'the shop is closed (= not open)'. If the clause 'the shop is closed at six hours in the evening' means that the act of closing it takes place at that time, it should be rendered by an active construction: *esténkint hat órakor bezárják* (or *becscukják*) *a boltot*. (Cf. Voice.)

NOTE.—Apart from the gerund, the general rule is that the third person of the present indicative of *val-* (sg *van*, pl. *vannak*) does not function as copula; e.g. *üresek a templomok* 'the churches are empty'; *nagy csacsi a Jóska* 'Joe is a big ass'. The indeclinable *tele* 'full' makes an exception because it is historically = *telve*, the gerund of *tel-* 'fill (intr.), become full'; e.g. *tele vannak a fogházak* 'the prisons are full (filled)'.

The stems in *v* have lost their *v* before *-va* ~ *-ve*: *alva*, *fekve*, *jöve*, *lőve*, *nőve*, *téve*, *véve*, etc.

GERUNDIUM TEMPORALE ET CAUSALE

This gerund is lacking in spoken Standard Hungarian, and even in the literary language it is of rare occurrence. Ending: *-ván* ~ *-vén* 'after' or 'because, as'. *Szegény lévén, nëm adhatott sokat.* He could not give much, for he was poor.

PARADIGMS

Verbs without *-ik*

PRESENT INDICATIVE

	Subj. conj.		Obj. conj.	
s 1	*várok*	*kérëk*	*várom*	*kérëm*
2	*vársz*	*kérsz*	*várod*	*kérëd*
3	*vár*	*kér*	*várja*	*kéri*
p 1	*várunk*	*kérünk*	*várjuk*	*kérjük*
2	*vártok*	*kértëk*	*várjátok*	*kéritëk*
3	*várnak*	*kérnek*	*várják*	*kérik*

PRETERITE (PERFECT)

	Subj. conj.		Obj. conj.	
s 1	*vártam*	*kértem*	*vártam*	*kértem*
2	*vártál*	*kértél*	*vártad*	*kérted*
3	*várt*	*kért*	*várta*	*kérte*
p 1	*vártunk*	*kértünk*	*vártuk*	*kértük*
2	*vártatok*	*kértetek*	*vártátok*	*kértétek*
3	*vártak*	*kértek*	*várták*	*kérték*

IMPERFECT

	Subj. conj.		Obj. conj.	
s 1	*várék*	*kérék*	*várám*	*kérém*
2	*várál*	*kérél*	*várád*	*kéréd*
3	*vára*	*kére*	*várá*	*kéré*
p 1	*váránk*	*kérénk*	*várók*	*kérők*
2	*várátok*	*kérétek*	*várátok*	*kérétek*
3	*várának*	*kérének*	*várák*	*kérék*

CONDITIONAL

	Subj. conj.		Obj. conj.	
s 1	*várnék*	*kérnék*	*várnám*	*kérném*
2	*várnál*	*kérnél*	*várnád*	*kérnéd*
3	*várna*	*kérne*	*várná*	*kérné*
p 1	*várnánk*	*kérnénk*	*[várnók]*	*[kérnők]*
2	*várnátok*	*kérnétek*	*várnátok*	*kérnétek*
3	*várnának*	*kérnének*	*várnák*	*kérnék*

IMPERATIVE

	Subj. conj.		Obj. conj.	
s 1	*várjak*	*kérjek*	*várjam*	*kérjem*
2	*várj, várjál*	*kérj, kérjél*	*várd*	*kérd*
3	*várjon*	*kérjën*	*várja*	*kérje*
p 1	*várjunk*	*kérjünk*	*várjuk*	*kérjük*
2	*várjatok*	*kérjetek*	*várjátok*	*kérjétek*
3	*várjanak*	*kérjenek*	*várják*	*kérjék*

Verbs with *-ik*

lak- 'reside, dwell'

	Prs ind.	Prt	Cond.	Imper.
s 1	*lakom*	*laktam*	*laknám*	*lakjam*
2	*lakol*	*laktál*	*laknál*	*lakjál*
3	*lakik*	*lakott*	*laknék*	*lakjék*

TEXTS

1

Szeptember végén[1]

At the end of September

Még nyílnak a völgyben a kerti virágok,	Still blossom in the valley the garden flowers,
még zöldel a nyárfa az ablak előtt,	the aspen (aspens) is (are) still green in front of the window,
de látod amottan a téli világot?	but do you see the wintry world yonder?
Már hó takará el a bérci tetőt.	Snow has already covered the top of the hill.
Még ifjú szivemben a lángsugarú nyár	In my young heart is still the summer with its flame-rays
s még benne virít az egész kikelet,	and within it blossoms still the entire spring,
de íme sötét hajam őszbe vegyül már,	but look!—my dark hair is already mixed with grey,
a tél dere már megüté fejemet.	the hoar-frost of the winter has already hit my head.
Elhull a virág, eliramlik az élet . . .	The flowers fall, life runs forth . . .
Ülj, hitvesem, ülj az ölembe ide!	Sit down, my spouse, sit here on my lap!
Ki most fejedet kebelemre tevéd le,	You who now have laid your head on my bosom,
holnap nem omolsz-e sirom fölibe?	will you not lean over my grave tomorrow?
Oh mondd: ha előbb halok el, tetemimre	Oh, tell me: if I die first,
könnyezve borítasz-e szemfödelet?	will you weep as you spread the pall on my corpse?
S rá bírhat-e majdan egy ifjú szerelme,	And will a young man's love prevail upon you
hogy elhagyod érte az én nevemet?	to quit my name for his sake?

[1] In the texts, no distinction is made between *e* and *ë*.

Ha eldobod egykor az özvegyi fátyolt,	When you throw away once the widow's veil,
fejfámra sötét lobogóul akaszd,	put it as a dark flag on my memorial cross;
én feljövök érte a síri világból	I shall come up for it from the sepulchral world
az éj közepén, s oda leviszem azt,	at midnight, and I shall take it down thither
letörleni véle könyűimet érted,	to wipe off with it my tears because of you,
ki könnyeden elfeledéd hivedet,	who lightly forgot your faithful lover,
s e szív sebeit bekötözni, ki téged	and dress the wounds of this heart,
még akkor is, ott is, örökre szeret!	which even then, even there, will love you for ever!

Alexander Petőfi (1823–1849).

vég end; see U fi *viime*. *szeptembër vége* the end of September; *-e* is Px3sg, and the construction is 'September its-end'. *-n*, the ending of the superessive case (U locative). || *még* still; historically identical with *më̈g* 'and', earlier mige, mege and, on the other hand, again, more or less identical with *mögé*, *më̈gé* to a place behind; see FU fi *myötä*. || *nyílnak*, 3pl prs of *nyíl-* open (intr.), burst, blossom out. || *a*, (before a vowel) *az*, the definite article, historically identical with the demonstrative pronoun *az* "that"; *-z* < FU **t* followed by a vowel, whereas *a-* seems to be identical with the *o-* of *ott* "there", *oda* "thither" etc.; see FU hu *az*. || *völgy* valley, glen. || *-ben* ~ *-ban*, ending of the inessive; *-ben*, which in the earliest hu had not conformed to vowel harmony, is the superessive (U: locative) of *bél*, *bel-*, ~ *bele-* the interior, intestine, gut. || *kert* garden; *-i*, adjective derivative. || *virágok*, npl of *virág* flower; cf. *virít-* to bloom, blossom. || *zöldel*, 3sg prs of *zöldel-* be green; *zöld* green. || *nyárfa*, *nyár* aspen (U). *fa* tree; see U fi *puu*. || *ablak* window (Slav). || *előtt* before, in front of; *elő-* the foremost, first: derivative from *(*)el-*: see FU fi *esi-*. *-tt*, (after a consonant) *-t*, loc. ending of rare occurrence: vg *-t(e)*, ? os *-te*, md *-t*, fi *-ttä*. || *de* but. || *lát-* see (U ?). *-d*, 2sg prs, objective conjugation (= Px2sg, < **-nti*). || *amottan* there, yonder, over there; may be a 'contamination' of

ama, amaz that, yonder (= *ám* indeed, to be sure + the demonstrative pronoun *az* ?) and *ottan* 'there', which has been formed by adding the superessive ending *-n* to *ott* 'there', consisting of *o-* (see sub *a, az*) and the locative ending *-tt*. || *téli* wintry, winter . . .; *tél* ~ *tele-* winter; see FU fi *talvi*. || *világ* ~ *világo-* light, lumen; world (Slav *svět* has both meanings); see FU fi *valkea*. || *már* already. || *hó* ~ *hava-* snow (U). || *takará*, 3sg imperfect, objective conjugation, of *takar-* cover. || *el* away, forth; earlier (also) *elé*, a lative case of (*)*el-* foremost, first: see sub *előtt*. *el* often gives a terminative aspect to the verb. || *bérci*, adjective, derived from *bérc* rock, hill. || *tető* roof, top; originally ptc prs of the obsolete verb *tet-*, be seen, be visible; cf. *tetsz-*, appear, please. *-t*, asg. || *ifjú* young; young man; as to *i-*, cf. U ch *igə*; *fiú* boy, son, derivative from *fi*, id.; see FU fi *poika*. || *szív* ~ *szive-* heart; see U fi *sydän*. *-m*, Px1sg. || *láng* flame. *sugarú*, adjective, derived from *sugár* ray, earlier 'long, straight and slender'; perhaps of descriptive origin. || *nyár* ~ *nyara-* summer; see U. || *s*, (usually) *és* and; identical with *is* 'also, -que'; vg *oos* | os *os*. || *benne, benn* in, within (= *-ben*) + Px3sg. || *egész* whole. || *kikelet* spring, springtime; *kikel-* come forth, germinate, shoot forth. *ki* (go) out (FU ?). *kel-* arise, ascend, etc.; see U fi *kaalaa-*. || *íme* look! || *sötét* ~ *sötéte-* dark; cf. vg *sätem* twilight. || *haj* ~ *haja-* hair; vg *håå̈j*. *-m*, Px1sg. || *ősz* grey, white, of hair. || *-be*, illative; = *belé* into, in: lative case of *bél, bel-*. || *vegyül-* mix, blend (intr.); *vegyít-* mix, blend (trans.). || *dér* ~ *dere-* hoar-frost, rime; *dere*, nsg Px3sg. || *mëg, mëg-* gives the verb a terminative aspect; earlier 'back, behind': see sub *még*. || *üté*, 3sg imperfect, obj. conjugation, of *üt-* beat, hit (FU). || *fej* head; see U fi *pää*. *-m*, Px1sg. *-t*, asg. || *hull-* to fall. || *iraml-* to haste (*iram*, [the] run, speed, is a neologism); cf. zr *yrmaś-* to haste. || *élet* life; *él-* live; see U fi *elä-*. || *ülj*, 2sg imperative of *ül-* sit; vg *unl-*. || *hitves* spouse; *hit* belief; oath; *hiv-* believe. || *öl* lap, arms; fathom; see FU fi *syli*. || *ide* hither; seems to be a lative case of an obsolete stem *id-* = *ez* this; see U fi *e-* (in *että*). || *ki* who, relative and interrogative; see U fi *ken*. || *most* now; cf. *ma*, today. || *fejedet*, asg Px2sg. || *kebël* bosom; vg *keepel* the bosom of a garment. || *-ra* ~ *-re*, sublative ending; identical with *reá, rá* on (of a movement), onto, to, in

addition; with Px: *reám*, *rám* on me, *reád*, *rád* on thee, etc.; with the locative ending *-t*, this stem forms *rajtam*, on me (of a position), *rajtad*, on thee, *rajta*, on him, etc.; *raj-* may be related to *rokon*, (a) relative; near: see U fi *rakas*. || *tëvéd*, 2sg imperfect, obj. conjugation, of *tëv-* do, make; see FU fi *teke-*. || *lë*, earlier *leve*, down (of a movement); see U. || *holnap* tomorrow; cf. obsolete *holval* morning, vg *hol* | osN *hola* sunrise (east ?); cf. yr *huu*, *huuwy* morning | tv *kidü-* wake up (intr.); *kidüatu* morning | ynH *kururuo*, B *kiduduo* morning | sk *kar* | km D *koroḍon* id.; the day tomorrow, C kari tjalan tomorrow (*ṭala* day). (The sam words are all derivatives.) *nap* day. || *nëm*, *në* not; see U hu *në*, *nëm*. Like vg *neem-*, os *nem*, and zr *nõm*, hu *nëm* may be a deverbative noun in **-ma* ~ **-mä*, derived from the negative verb represented by yr *ni-*, tv *ńi-*, yn *ńe-*. || *omolsz*, 2sg prs of *om(o)l-* sink down, collapse. *-e*, interrogative particle; vg *-ä* | os *-a*. || *sír* ~ *síro-* tomb, grave. || *fölibe*, *fölébe* over (of a movement), secondary illative of *fölé*, id., which is a lative case of *föl*, *fël*, up; the topmost layer of something; this may or may not be a derivative from *fő*, *fé*, *fej* head. || *mondd*, 2sg imperative, obj. conjugation, of *mond-* say; see U fi *manaa-*. || *ha* if; see U fi *kuka* ~ *ku-*. || *előbb* before, earlier, comparative of *elő-*, see sub *előtt*; *-bb* = fi *-mpi*, lp *-b*, *-bᵻbo* (perhaps Uralic). || *halok*, 1sg prs of *hal-* ~ *hol-* die; see U fi *kuole-*. *el* gives the verb a terminative aspect; in ordinary usage, *hal-* is combined with *më̈g* rather than with *el*. || *tetemimre*, *tetemeimre*, sublative plural Px1sg of *tetem* corpse; earlier 'bone' (FU). || *könynyezve*, modal gerund of *könnyez-* weep, cry; *könny* tear; see U fi *kyynel*. || *borítasz*, 2sg prs of *borít-* cover, spread (Turk.). || *szëmfödél* pall; earlier: dead man's napkin; *szëm* eye; see U fi *silmä*; *födél* ~ *födele-*, *fëdél* ~ *fëdele-* cover; vg *päntil*; hu *fëd-* to cover (FU). || *rábír-* induce, prevail upon; *rá*, see sub *-ra* ~ *re*; *bír-* possess, be able, endure. *-hat*, 3sg prs of *-hat-* ~ *-het-* be able to = *hat-* to influence, work; cf. vg *hat-* go ahead | os *kät-* to move, advance. || *majdan*, *majd* later on, sometime in the future; to the etymology, see under Text 4. || *ëgy* one, a, an; os *əj*. || *szerelëm* ~ *szerelme-* love; *szeret-* to love. *-e*, Px3sg. || *hogy* that (conjunction); how; fi *konsa* when | ch *kõce* | vty *kyźy* | zr *kyźy*, *kuź*; see fi *kuka*. ||

hagyod, 2sg prs, obj. conjugation, of *hagy-* leave, abandon, quit, let; see U fi *kato*. || *ért-*, *érett-*, *-ért* for the sake of, because of, for: locative of an obsolete noun *ér-*, perhaps = vg *jer*, *jeer*, *jor* direction, region (*am jorəmt* instead of me) | os *jir*, *ir* side, border, region (< Turk. ?). *-e*, Px3sg. || *én* I; vg *äm*, acc. *ämänmi*, see also U fi *minä*. || *nevemet*, asg Px1sg of *név* ~ *neve-* name; see U fi *nimi*. || *dobod*, 2sg prs, obj. conj., of *dob-*, earlier also *tob-*, throw; cf. vg *tååmp-* shoot. || *el*, see sub *előtt*. || *egykor* once; *kor* time (< Turk.). || *özvegyi*, adj., derived from *özvegy* widow. || *fátyol* veil (Italian *fazzuolo*, *fazol* kerchief). || *fejfámra*, sublative Px1sg of *fejfa* wooden memorial cross ('head-pole'). || *lobogó* flag; *lobog-* to flap, stream (onomatopoeic). *-ul*, essive. The poet is thinking of the black flag, *fekete zászló* (*fekete* black; vg *piti* | os *pəgtə*; *zászló*, earlier also: *zásztó* flag, banner, standard [Slav]). || *akaszd*, 2sg imperative, obj. conj., of *akaszt-* hang (trans.); *akad-* stick, be hanging. || *feljövök*, 1sg prs of *feljöv-* come up: *jöv-* come; vg *jäj-* | os *jə-*. || *síri*, adj., derived from *sír*. || *-ból* ~ *-ből*, elative ending; identical with *belől-*: *belőlem* out of me, *belőled* out of thee, etc., a separative case (containing the U separative ending) of *bél*, *bel-*. || *éj* night; see FU fi *yö*. || *közepén*, superess. Px3sg of *közép* ~ *közepe-* middle, mid-: comparative of *köz* inter-space; cf. os *kŏt*. || *oda* thither; see sub *amottan* and *ide*. || *leviszëm*, 1sg prs, obj. conj., of *leviv-* take down (something) somewhere; *viv-* take, carry, convey, lead somewhere; see IE fi *vie-*. || *azt*, asg of *az* that, it: see sub *a*. || *lëtörleni*, *lëtörölni*, inf. of *lëtöröl-* (terminative aspect) = *töröl-* ~ *törl-* wipe, dry. || *véle*, *vele* with it; *vél-*, *vel-*, (instructive ending) *-vel* ~ *-val* 'with'; cf. vg *waagl* with force, instrumental-comitative of *waag* force, power; see FU fi *väki*. *-e*, Px3sg. || *könyűimet*, apl Px1sg of *könyű*, poetical variant of *könny*. || *-d*, Px2sg. || *könnyeden*, superessive, in modal function, of *könnyed* easygoing; *könnyű* light, easy; vg *kinna* | os *kŏñəh*. || *elfeledéd*, 2sg imperfect, obj. conjugation, of *elfeled-* = *feled-* forget. || *hivedet*, asg Px2sg of *hű* ~ *hive-* faithful. || *e* (before a consonant) ~ *ez* this; see U fi *e-* (in *että*). Nowadays this pronoun is mostly combined with the definite article if it functions as attribute (qualifier), and then it is put in the same case and number as the principal word, nay, it is even accompanied by the same 'postposition' as the principal

word; e.g. *ennek a szívnek a sebeit bekötözni* to dress the wounds of this heart; *ezëk után a balesetëk után* after these misadventures. Along the same lines *a* ~ *az*, that, yonder, he, has developed; nowadays, *a* functions only as definite article (before a consonant), whereas the uninflected *az* functions as def. art. (before a vowel), and the inflected *az* as demonstrative pronoun: *a nap* the day, the sun; *azon a napon* on that day (*aznap* [on] the same day). || *sebeit*, apl Px3sg of *seb* wound. || *bekötözni*, inf. of *bekötöz-* to bandage, dress; *kötöz-* tie up; *köt-* tie; see FU fi *kytke-*. *be-*, see sub *őszbe*. || *téged*, acc. of *të* thou; see U fi *sinä* || *akkor* then = at that time, < *a*, *az* + *kor*. || *is* also, see sub *s*. || *örökre* for ever: sublative of *örök* eternal (Turk. ?).

2

Miatyánk

The Lord's prayer

Mi Atyánk, ki a mennyekben vagy: szenteltessék meg a te neved; jöjjön el a te országod; legyen meg a te akaratod, mint a mennyben, úgy a földön is.

A mi mindennapi kenyerünket add meg nekünk ma.

És bocsásd meg a mi vétkeinket, miképen mi is megbocsátunk azoknak, akik ellenünk vétkeztek.

És ne vígy minket kísértésbe, de szabadíts meg a gonosztól! Mert tied az ország és a hatalom és a dicsőség mindörökké.

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread.

And forgive us our offences, as we forgive those who have offended against us.

And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever.

mi we; our; see U fi *me*. || *atyánk*, nsg Px1pl of *atya* father (historically, a 'nursery' word; nowadays it is a solemn word, *apa* being the colloquial synonym). || *mënnyëkben*, iness. pl. (ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, in caelis) of *mënny* heaven (FU). || *vagy*, 2sg prs of *val-* be; see FU fi *ole-*. || *szentëltessék*, 3sg imper. pass. of *szentël-* consecrate, dedicate, hallow; *szent* holy, sacred (Slav.). || *më̈g* conveys a

terminative aspect to the verb (not conspicuous in this context, though). || *-d*, Px2sg. || *jöjjön*, 3sg imper. of *jöv-*. *eljöv-* come, arrive. || *ország* country, state, kingdom; cf. *úr* lord: see FU fi *uros*. || *lëgyën*, 3sg prs of *lëv-* become (and *val-*). *mëglëv-* exist, come into existence, etc. || *akarat* will; *akar-* to will, to wish. || *mint* as; (in combination with a comparative:) than: case form of the interrogative and relative pronoun *mi*, what, which; see U fi *mikä*. || *mënnyben*, iness. sg (ἐν οὐρανῷ, in caelo). || *úgy* so, in that way; to *-gy*, cf. *hogy* how. || *földön*, superessive of *föld* earth; soil; cf. *fël*, *föl* up, *-föl* surface? || *mindënnapi* daily. *mindën* every, all, everything: probably superess. of *mind* all, every, each. || *nap* sun; day. || *kënyerünket*, asg Px1pl of *kënyér* bread (FU?). || *add*, 2sg imper., obj. conj., of *ad-* give; see FU fi *anta-*. || *nekünk*, dative of *mi* we; see FU hu *nẹk-*. *-ünk*, Px1pl. || *ma* today; nowadays (sometimes combined with a case ending, e.g. *mától fogva* from this day forth): perhaps ellipsis for *manap* (cf. *manapság* nowadays). On the assumption that *manap* from the beginning was used preferably in the night and in the morning, it may have denoted 'the next day' or 'the sun that is going to rise next', and then *ma* may be the basic stem of *más*, other (see FU fi *muu*); cf. *másnap* next day, the next day. || *bocsásd*, 2sg imper., obj. conj., of *bocsát-* let go (Turk.); *mëgbocsát-* forgive, pardon, remit. || *vétkeinket*, apl Px1sg of *vétëk* sin, fault, offence; *vét-* do wrong, offend, trespass. || *mikép(en)*, *mikként* (here:) as: modal case of *mi* what. *kép* form, shape, figure; picture; face (Turk.). || *azoknak*, dpl of *az* that, yonder, he (FU?). || *akik*, npl of *aki* who (rel.): *a* = *az*, + *ki*. || *ellenünk* against us. *ellen* against; cf. *elő-* fore- (see FU fi *esi-*). *-ünk*, Px1pl. || *vétkëz-* offend. || *-tek*, 3pl prt. || *në* not (U?). || *vigy*, 2sg imper. of *viv-* lead, bring somewhere. || *minket*, acc. of *me* we. || *kísértés* temptation; *kísért-* tempt; haunt (earlier also: accompany); *kísér-* accompany, escort. *-be*, illative. || *de* but, yet, however. || *szabadíts*, 2sg imper. of *szabadít-* to free, liberate; *szabad* free (Slav). || *gonosz* evil (Slav). *-tól*, ablative. || *mert* for, because; = *mér(t)*, *miért* why: causal case of *mi* what. || *tied*, *tiéd* thine. || *hatalom* power, might, domination; *hat-* impress, effect, influence. || *dicsőség* glory, honour; *dicső* glorious, illustrious. || *mindörökké* for ever. *mind*, see above. *-ké* translative.

3

Lukács evangéliuma, VIII, 22–25

The Gospel of St. Luke, VIII, 22–25

Történt egy napon, hogy Jézus tanítványaival hajóra szállt és azt mondá nekik: Menjünk át a tó túlsó partjára. És elindultak.

Now it came to pass on a certain day, that Jesus went into a ship with his disciples, and he said to them: Let us go over unto the other side of the lake. And they launched forth.

Azok eveztek, ő pedig elszenderedett. És hirtelen szélvihar csapott le a tóra, úgyhogy a hullámok már-már elborították és veszedelembe sodorták a hajót.

But as they sailed he fell asleep; and there came down a storm of wind on the lake, and the ship was filled (with water), and they were in jeopardy.

Akkor odamentek hozzá es felkeltették őt, mondván: Mester, mester, elveszünk! És ő fölkelvén, megdorgálta a szelet és a hullámokat, és azok lecsillapodtak, és csendesség lett.

Then they came to him, and awoke him, saying: Master, master, we perish. And he arose, and rebuked the wind and the waves; and they ceased, and there was a calm.

És ő mondá nekik: Hol a ti hitetek? Azok pedig ijedten csodálkoztak, egymásnak mondogatva: Kicsoda ez, hogy a szeleknek és a víznek is parancsol, és azok engedelmeskednek neki?

And he said unto them: Where is your faith? And they being afraid wondered, saying one to another: What manner of man is this! For he commandeth even the winds and water, and they obey him.

evangélium evangel, gospel (< Latin < Greek). *-a*, Px3sg (construction: 'Luke his gospel'). || *történ-* (3sg prs *-ik*) happen, occur, come to pass. *-t*, 3sg prt. || *napon*, superess. of *nap*. || *tanítványaival*, instr. pl. Px3sg of *tanítvány* disciple; *tanít-* teach, *tanul-* learn (*tan*, doctrine, is a neologism); see U fi *tottu-* and UA 46. || *hajó* ship. *-ra*. sublative. || *száll-* go on board; mount (a horse); rise (into the air), soar; land; etc. *-t*, 3sg prt. || *mondá*, 3sg imperfect, obj. conj., of *mond-* say. || *nekik*, dative of *ők*, pl. of *ő* he, she; see FU fi *hän*. || *mënjünk*, 1pl imper. of *mën-* go; see U fi *mene-*. || *át* across, over, through; *átal*, *által* through, per, by way of, by means of; cf. vg *ultə* (loc.), *ultä* (lat.) across | osTremjugan *upti*, N Obdorsk *wəldi*,

uldi. || *tó* ~ *tava-* lake (U). || *túlsó* opposite, of the other side; *túl* beyond, on the further side, on the other side of, on the far shore of; see U fi *tuo*. || *partjára*, sublative Px3sg of *part* shore, coast, bank (Romance loan-word?). || *(el)indul-* start, depart; *(el)indít-* start set off (trans.); cf. vg *jom-* go. *-tak*, 3sg prt.

evez- to row; *ev-* may be, the front vowel notwithstanding, more or less identical with vg *toop*, oar, derived from vg *tow-* row: see U fi *souta-*. *-tek*, 3pl prt. || *pedig* but, however, yet. || *(el)szëndërëd-* (3sg prs *-ik*), *(el)szëndërül-* doze off, fall into a slumber, fall asleep; *szëndërëg-* to doze, nap, slumber (the noun *szëndër*, nap, slumber, is a neologism). || *hirtelen* suddenly; sudden; unexpected: caritive adjective, derived from *hír* report, rumour, news, information (< Turk. < Arab.?). || *szélvihar* wind-storm, gale. *szél* ~ *szele-* wind (Turk.). *vihar* storm, tempest, hurricane (Slav). || *csapott*, 3sg prt of *csap-* to strike, hit, beat; probably onomatopoeic; cf. veps *ćapa-* cut; beat, thresh; break, bruise (flax or hemp); lp *čuopʲpâ-* chop, cut, cut up; md *ćapa-* clap one's hands; Turkish *čap-* cut, etc.; Chuvash *śap-* beat, hit; kill; Mongol *čabči-* (*-či-* is a frequentative suffix), Kalmuck *čapč-* cut, strike, beat; Engl. *chop*. || *-ra*, sublative. || *úgy-hogy* = *úgy hogy* so that. || *hullám* wave; cf. *hull-* fall. *-k*, npl. || *már-már* almost, (be) on the verge of . . . || *elborít-* cover; overrun; inundate, flood, etc. *-ták*, 3pl prt, obj. conj. || *veszëdelëm* danger, peril, jeopardy; *vesz-* (3sg prs *vesz*, *vész* or *veszik*) get lost, perish, be destroyed, be wretched; *vész* plague, pestilence; tempest, thunderstorm; disaster, catastrophe (FU?). *-be*, illative. || *sodor-* whirl along (subject: storm, wind), carry along (subject: flood, etc.); plunge, involve (in danger); *sodor* current; wake (of a ship). *-ták*, 3pl prt, obj. conj. || *-t*, asg.

hozzá to him: translative (?) of *hoz-*, = the allative ending *-hoz* ~ *-hëz* ~ *-hõz*; cf. os *kuťəŋ* vicinity, side; near; N *hośi* to, onto. || *(fël)kelt-* wake up (trans.), arouse; *(fël)kel-* arise, etc.; see U fi *kaalaa-*. *-tték*, 3pl prt, obj. conj. || *mondván*, gerundium temporale of *mond-*. || *mestër* master. || *elveszünk*, 1pl prs of *elvesz-* perish. || *föl-* = *fël-*. || *(më̈g)dorgál-* rebuke, scold; see U fi *tora*. *-ta*, 3sg prt, obj. conj. || *-t*, asg. || *-kat*, apl. || *(lë)csillapod-* (3sg prs *-ik*) become quiet, calm down; refl. of momentaneous derivative of **csill-*; cf. zr *ćõl*

quiet, calm, silent. || *csëndesség* (a) calm; *csëndes* still, quiet, peaceful (*csënd*, silence, stillness, quiet, calm, is a neologism). || *lett*, 3sg prt of *lëv-* become. || *hol* where; see U fi *kuka*. || *ti* you (more than one); your; see U fi *te*. || *hit* (here:) faith. *-tëk*, Px2pl. || *ijed-* get scared. *-t*, ptc prt. *-n*, superessive. || *csodálkoz-* (3sg prt *-ik*) wonder, be surprised; *csodál-* admire, wonder at . . .; *csoda*, *csuda* wonder, marvel, miracle (Slav). *-tak*, 3pl prt. || *ëgymás* each other, one another. *más* other; see FU fi *muu*. *-nak*, dative. || *mondogat-* iterative-continuative (or perhaps rather 'pluralitative' here) of *mond-*. *-va*, modal gerund. || *kicsoda* who(ever), who on earth (see *csoda*); nowadays, *kicsoda* is colloquial. || *hogy* (here:) as, seeing that, since. || *szeleknek*, dpl. || *víz* water; see U fi *vesi*. || *parancsol-* command, order, bid (*parancs*, command, order, edict, precept, instruction, is a neologism) (Slav). || *engedelmeskëd-* (3sg prs *-ik*) obey, comply, submit (intr.); *engedelëm* permission, leave; *enged-* allow, permit, grant, consent; yield, give way. *-nek*, 3pl prs. || *neki*, dative of *ő*.

4

A róka, a medve és a szegény ember

The fox, the bear and the poor man

Egyszer volt, hol nem volt, volt egyszer egy szegény ember. Ez a szegény ember egy reggel két tehenével kiindult szántani.

Amint az erdő mellett megy, egyszercsak hall valami bömbölést és makogást. Bemegy az erdőbe megnézni: vajon mi lehet az? Hát látja, hogy egy nagy medve verekedik egy kis nyúllal.

No még ilyent se láttam életemben, mondja a szegény ember és olyan jó ízűen kacagott rajta, hogy majd kipukkadt.

Ejnye, hogy mersz te rajtam ka-

Once upon a time there was somewhere a poor man. This poor man one morning went to plough with his two cows.

As he goes along the edge of the forest, suddenly a roaring and squeaking sound is heard. He goes into the forest to have a look: what can this be? Well, he sees that a big bear is fighting with a little hare.

Well, such a thing I have not seen in all my life, said the poor man, and he laughed at it so heartily that he was well-nigh bursting.

Dammit, how do you dare to

cagni? — rivallt rá a medve. No ezért meglakolsz; tehenestül együtt megeszlek!

A szegény ember bezzeg mostmár nem kacagott s nagyon kérte a medvét, hogy ne egye meg, vagy hamár minden áron meg akarja enni, legalább estig hagyja életben, ameddig felszántja földjét, hogy szegény házanépe ne maradjon kenyér nélkül.

Nohát estig nem bántalak, de akkor megeszlek!

Azzal a medve-elment dolgára, a szegény ember pedig búsan szántogatott s akármennyit gondolkozott, nem tudta elgondolni, mivel lehetne megengesztelni a medvét. Dél felé odavetődött egy róka; észrevette, hogy a szegény ember búsul, kérdezte tőle, mi baja? talán segíthetne rajta.

A szegény ember elmondta, hogy járt a medvével.

Ha csak ennyi a baj, azon könnyen tudok én segíteni. Kutya bajod se lesz, magad is megmaradsz, a tehened is, s még a medve bőre is a tied lesz. De mit fizetsz, ha megsegítlek?

A szegény ember nem tudta, mit ígérjen, mert nemigen volt miből, s a róka is sokat kért.

Végre kilenc tyúkban s egy kakasban egyeztek meg. Nehezen ígérte meg a szegény ember, mert nem tudta,

laugh at me, the bear shouted to him. Well, you will smart for it; I'll devour you together with your cows.

Now forsooth the poor man did not laugh any more, and he urgently beseeched the bear not do devour him, or if he he was absolutely determined to eat him, could he not at least let him live till he had tilled his field, so that his poor family should not be without bread.

Well then, I'll not do you any harm until the evening, but then I'll eat you.

At that the bear went about his business, but the poor man was sad as he went ploughing and however much he meditated, he could not find out how to propitiate the bear. Towards noon a fox happened to come there; he noticed that the poor man was dejected and asked him: What's the trouble? Perhaps I can help you?

The poor man related what had happened to him with the bear.

If this is all that worries you, I can easily put it right. You will not have the slightest trouble, you will be saved, and so will your cows, and even the bear's hide will be yours. But what do you pay me if I help you?

The poor man did not know what he should promise, for he had scarcely anything to spare, and on the other hand, the fox asked a great deal.

At last they agreed upon nine hens and a cock. The poor man was loath to promise that much,

honnan teremti elő; de mégis megígérte.

No mostmár, szegény ember, hallgass reám! Mikor a medve este felé ide jön, én megbúvok a bokorban s kürtölök, ahogy a vadászok szoktak. Akkor a medve azt kérdi: mi az? Te azt mondod: vadászok jönnek. Erre a medve megijed s kér, hogy bujtasd el. Te bebujtatod abba a zsákba s megmondod neki, hogy meg ne mozduljon. Én akkor kijövök a bokorból s kérdem: mi van abban a zsákban? Te azt mondod: szenes tőke. Én nem akarom elhinni s azt mondom: vágd bele a fejszédet! Te fejszét fogsz s úgy bele vágod a fejszédet, hogy a medve mindjárt szörnyet hal.

A szegény ember megörvendett a jó tanácsnak s követte is. Minden úgy történt, ahogy a róka mondta; a medve pórul járt, s a szegény ember megszabadult tehenestül.

Nem megmondtam, hogy így lesz? — mondta a róka. Tanuld meg ebből, szegény ember, hogy többet ésszel, mint erővel. De nekem most dolgom van, haza sietek; holnap elmegyek hozzád a kilenc tyúkért s egy kakasért. Jó kövérek legyenek! Otthon légy, mert különben megkeserülöd!

A szegény ember szekerére vetette a medvét, vígan tért haza, otthon jó vacsorát csapott, jól aludt rája s nem sokat félt a rókától, mert megtanulta tőle: többet ésszel, mint erővel.

for he did not know where to get it; but nevertheless he gave his word.

Well, now listen to me, poor man! When the bear comes here in the afternoon, I'll hide in the bush and I'll bugle as hunters used. Then the bear will ask: What is this? You say: hunters are coming. Then the bear will get frightened and he will ask you to hide him. You put him into that sack and tell him not to budge. Then I'll come out from the bush, asking: what is in the sack? You say: a scorched stump. I do not believe it and I say: drive your axe into it! You take your axe and you drive the axe into it with such pep that the bear is killed outright.

The poor man rejoiced at this good advice and he acted on it, too. Everything came to pass just as the fox had told him: the bear got the worst of it and the poor man was saved, and so were his cows.

Did I not tell you that this would be the end of it? Learn from this, you poor man, that one achieves more by wit than by force. But now I am busy, I am hurrying home. Tomorrow I'll come to you for the nine hens and the cock. They must be fat, and no mistake. Be at home, or else you will regret it bitterly.

The poor man threw the bear on his cart and returned home in high spirits. At home he arranged a good supper, and after that he had a good sleep, and he was not much afraid of the fox, for he had learned from him that one can achieve more by wit than by force.

Reggel alig nyitotta ki a szemét, már kopogtatott az ajtón a róka s kérte a kilenc tyúkot s az egy kakast.

Mindjárt, komám, mindjárt, csak felöltözöm — mondta a szegény ember. Hamar felöltözött, de nem nyitotta ki az ajtót, hanem megállott a ház közepén s elkezdett csaholni a szájával.

Te szegény ember! mi tesz úgy? talán csak nem kopó?

Bizony, komám, kopó az, mégpedig két kopó. Itt aludtak az ágy alatt, ördög tudja, honnan kerültek ide. Megérezték a szagodat, ki akarnak rohanni, alig tudom már tartani őket!

Csak addig tartsd, amíg elfutok. Nem bánom, maradjon inkább neked a tyúk is, a kakas is.

Mire a szegény ember kinyitotta az ajtót, a róka már túl volt ungonberken. Nagyot kacagott rajta s még talán most is kacag, ha meg nem halt.

In the morning he had scarcely opened his eyes, when there was a knock at the door and the fox asked for the nine hens and the cock.

Just a minute, pal, I have got to get dressed, said the poor man. He put on his clothes in a hurry. He did not open the door, though, but he placed himself in the middle of the house and started barking (like a dog).

You poor man, who is doing that? Not a hound, I hope?

Sure, pal, a hound it is, and two at that. They have been sleeping here under my bed, and the devil knows where they have come from. They have noticed your smell, and they are bent on rushing out — I can hardly hold on to them!

Please keep hold of them till I have run off! I don't care, you can keep the hens and the cock, if you want to.

By the time the poor man opened the door, the fox was already far away. The man laughed heartily (at this, or: at the fox), and maybe he is still laughing, if he has not died.

róka fox; see FU hu *ravasz*. || *medve* bear (Slav). || *szëgény* poor. || *embër* man, human being. || *volt*, 3sg prt of *val-* be. || *ëgyszër* once. *ëgy* one, a (functions also as indefinite article). *szër* appliance, apparatus; remedy; material, means; order, succession (IE). || The first word of this sentence may be due to syntactic confusion ('contamination') — more often, folk tales begin in this way: *Hol volt, hol nëm volt, volt ëgyszër* . . . 'Where it was, where it was not (: I do not know, or it does not matter), once upon a time there was . . .' || *rëggel* morning; in the morning: instructive of (earlier) *rëg* (cf. *éjjel* = *éj*

night: see FU fi *yö*); historically, identical with *rég* = (superess.) *régën* long ago, in days of yore (from the semantic point of view› cf. U fi *aamu*, and ONorse *ár* [in] the beginning, in times of yore, early in the morning). || *két* two; see U fi *kaksi*. || *tehenével*, instr. Px3sg of *tehén* cow. The expression leaves it open whether these two cows were the only cows he had. || *kiindul-* start, set out, go out. *-t*, 3sg prt. || *szántani*, inf. of *szánt-*, earlier *számt-* plough, till (the soil). || *amint* as (soon as), while, when (: *a* = *az*, + *mint*). || *erdő* forest, wood; historically, (= *eredő*:) ptc prs of *ered-* have its source (somewhere), rise, spring (from: of a river, etc.), issue, take its origin, derive (intr.), originate, start, run (away); cf. *ereszt-* let go, let pass, dismiss, furlough, etc. (earlier *heresztt-*, in place-names); see FU hu *ér* (*ered-* from *ér* ~ *ere-*, as *árad-*, rise, swell, flood, from *ár* flood, inundation). || *mellett* by, beside, by the side of: locative of *mell* breast (FU). || *mëgy*, 3sg prs of *mën-* go. || *ëgyszërcsak* suddenly; *csak* only, just. || *hall*, 3sg prs of *hall-* hear; see U fi **kunne*. || *valami* something, some; a form of *val-*, be, (3sg ipf?) + *mi* what, which (see U fi *mikä*). || *bömbölés*, nomen actionis of *bömböl-* bellow, roar, howl (of bear, lion etc.); onomatopoeic. *-t*, asg. || *makogás*, nomen actionis of *makog-* mumble, mutter; squeal, squeak (of hare); onomatopoeic. || *be* in. || *mëgnéz-* (have a) look at, regard, examine; *néz-* look, regard, behold; see FU fi *näke-*. *-ni*, infinitive. || *vaj(j)on* whether, if, Latin '-ne'; earlier *vallyon*: perhaps 3sg imper. of *val-*. || *lëhet*, 3sg prs of *lëhet-* be possible, may be, may. *lë(v)-* become; be, shall be, will be; see U fi *lie-*. *-hat-* ~ *-het-* be able to, = *hat-* impress, be effective, influence. || *hát* well, then, to be sure; what, what about . . .; perhaps loc. of the interrogative stem *ha-* ~ *ho-* (see U fi *kuka*); cf. *ha*, when, if, *hány*, how many. || *látja*, 3sg prs, obj. conj., of *lát-* see (U?). || *hogy* how; that (conjunction). || *nagy* big, great. || *verëkëdik*, 3sg prs of *verëkëd-* fight, exchange blows, brawl; *ver-* beat, strike, hit. || *kis* (attributive) little, small; cf. *kicsi(ny)* id. (both are Turkish loan-words). || *nyúllal*, instr. of *nyúl* hare (U).

no well, indeed. || *még* yet; still; even. || *ilyen* such (as this); see U fi *e-* (in *että*). *-t*, asg. || *së*, *sëm* neither, nor; < *és*, and, or *is*, too, + *në* and *nëm* respectively. || *-tam*, 1sg prt. || *életëmben*, iness. Px1sg

of *élet* life. || *së* belongs to *é.*: 'not in all my life'. || *mondja*, 3sg prs, obj. conj. of *mond-*. || *olyan* so (in that way); such (as that): superess. of *oly* id. (see FU hu *az*). || *jó*, nsg Px3sg *java* good; vg *jomas* | os *jəm*. || *jó izüen* = *jóizüen* with relish; heartily: superess. of *jóizű* tasty, savourous, delicious; amusing, splendid. *íz* taste, flavour, relish, bouquet, savour, aroma (U). || *kacag-* laugh, laugh out loud; onomatopoeic. *-tt*, 3sg prt. || *rajta* (here:) at it (more unemphatic than *ezën*, superess. of *ez*); *-a*, Px3sg. || *majd*, *majdan* some time (in the future), then, later on, soon, before long; cf. *majdnëm* almost, all but, wellnigh, practically, as good as; < *ma* + **id* = *idő* time (Turk.), cf. *hajdan* formerly, in days of old: *ha-* (see above under *hát*) + superess. of **id*. || *kipukkad-* burst, split, burst out; *pukkad-* crack, split, snap, explode, burst asunder; onomatopoeic. *-t*, 3sg prt.

ejnye what a-pity, what a shame!; by golly; (here:) dash it! || *mersz*, 2sg prs of *mer-* dare. || *-ni*, inf. || *rivall-* shout, yell, bawl; *ri-* weep, cry, whine, pule; earlier: shout, roar; onomatopoeic. || *rá* to him, = *rája*, *rëája*. || *ezért*, causal of *ez*. || *(më̈g)lakol-* (combined with the causal case) expiate, atone, smart, pay the penalty of . . .; this may be a derivative of an earlier *lak*, sin, but it may as well be derived from *lak-* (3sg prs *-ik*) eat, take one's meal(s)—in the literary language only *jóllak-* eat one's fill, have enough, become satisfied; *jól* well: essive of *jó* good—cf. German *das wirst du mir fressen*, Swedish *det skall du få äta upp* you will smart for it. *-sz*, 2sg prs. || *tehenestül*, com. of *tehén* (historically: *tehenes*, possessing a cow, etc., + the ablative ending *-tól* ~ *-től*). || *ëgyütt* together (*ëgy* one, *-tt*, locative ending). || *mëgëszlek*, 1sg, obj. 2sg, of *mëgëv-* eat (up); *ëv-* eat; see FU fi *syö-*. || *bezzëg* to be sure, indeed, truly. || *mostmár* = *most már*; *m. nëm* no longer. || *nagyon* very; very much: superess. of *nagy*. || *kérte*, 3sg prt, obj. conj., of *kér-* ask, beg; see FU fi *kerjää-*; *nagyon kér-* beseech, implore. || *ëgye*, 2sg imper., obj. conj., of *ëv-*. || *vagy* or; historically perhaps = 2sg imper. of *vágy-* desire, wish (see FU fi *vaati-*), and then it may be identical with fi *vai* or (in interrogative clauses); as to the change of meaning, cf. *akár* even, as well, if you like it, *akár . . . akár* whether . . . or ~ *akar-* want, wish, will, and Latin *vel* 'or': historically, 2sg imper. of *vel-*, inf. *velle* want, will; on the other hand, *vagy* may be =

vagyon, van, 3sg prs of *val-* be (cf. above sub *vajon*). || *hamár = ha már* if . . . absolutely. || *mindën áron* at all cost; by all means; *áron*: superess. of *ár* price; see IE fi *arvo*. || *më̈g* belongs to *ënni*. || *akarja,* 3sg prs, obj. conj., of *akar-*. || *legalább* at least: superlative of *alá* down, lative of *al* underpart; see U fi *ala*. || *estig,* terminative of *este* (*est,* earlier *estve, estvel*) evening: *es-* (3sg prs *-ik*) fall; go down (U). || *hagyja,* 3sg imper., obj. conj., of *hagy-*. || *-ben,* inessive. || *amed-dig,* terminative of the rel. pronoun *ami,* which (cf. *meddig* how long, till when, how far: terminative of *mi* what, which). || *(fël)-szánt-* plough, break up. *-ja,* 3sg prs, obj. cond. || *-jét,* asg Px3sg. || *hogy* so that. || *házanépe* his family: nsg Px3sg of *háznép* household, family (the first Px refers to the 'owner': 'his', the second refers to the first member of the compound; *a ház népe* the members of the household, the house-folk). *ház* house; see IE fi *kota*. *nép* people. || *marad-* remain. *-jon,* 3sg imperative. || *nélkül* without. (*këny̆ér n.* is historically = the adessive *këny̆érnél* + *-kül* = *kül-,* exterior, = *kívül* from without; see FU hu *ki*).

nohát well: *no hát!* || *bántalak,* 1sg prs, obj. 2sg, of *bánt-* hurt, harm, trouble, annoy, vex.te; *bán-* (3sg prs *-ik*; combined with the instructive) treat, deal (with), manipulate, handle; *bán-* (3sg prs [obj. conj.] *bánja*) regret, repent; *mit bánom én* what do I care? || *azzal* with that, therewith, after that: instr. of *az*. || *elmën-* go away, leave. *-t,* 3sg prt. || *dolgára,* sublative Px3sg of *dolog* work, task, business (Slav). || *búsan,* superess. of *bús* sad, gloomy, dejected; *bú* sorrow, grief, distress (Turk.?). || *-gat-,* frequentative-continuative. *-tt,* 3sg prt. || *akármennyi* however much. *akár,* see above under *vagy*. *mennyi* how much; *mi* what. *-t,* asg. || *gondolkoz-* (3sg prs *-ik*) think, reflect, meditate; *gondol-* think, consider, believe; *gond* care, attention, concern, trouble. || *tudta,* 3sg prt of *tud-* know (something), be aware (of something: *valamiről*); be able; see U fi *tunte-*. || *elgondol-* imagine, fancy, think out. || *mivel,* instr. of *mi* what. || *-ne,* 3sg conditional. || *(më̈g)engesztel-* conciliate, appease, propitiate; *(më̈g-)enged-* allow, permit, consent, admit. || *dél* noon, midday (*délben* at twelve o'clock); south (*délën* in the south). || *felé* towards (also of time): lative of *fél* half; (one) side (of two); see U fi *pieli*. || *odavetőd-* (3sg prs *-ik*) pop in, turn up; *odavet-* throw, fling, etc. *oda* thither;

see FU hu *az. vet-* throw, etc. || *észrevëtte*, 3sg prt, obj. conj., of *észrevëv-* observe, perceive, notice. *észre*, sublative of *ész* reason, intelligence, wit (Turk.). *vëv-* take, receive, etc.; cf. vg *wyg-*, os *wə-*. || *búsul-* grieve, be dejected, depressed (*bús*). || *kérdëz-* ask (a question, questions); derived from *kér-*. || *tôle*, abl. of *ő* he. || *baj* trouble, bother, misfortune, misery; earlier: duel (Slav). *-a*, Px3sg. *Mi* (*a*) *baj* what is the trouble? || *talán* perhaps; earlier also *talám*, probably < *találom*, 1sg prs, obj. conj., of *talál-* find, hit; consider, deem, etc.; cf. fi *tule-* come (U?) — to the change of meaning, cf. *rájöv-* come upon, find out, Latin *invenire* come upon, find, invent. || *segít-* (combined with superessive) help (FU?). *-hetne*, see under *lëhetne*.

elmond- tell, narrate, relate. *-ta*, 3sg prt, obj. conj. || *hogy* how. || *jár-* go, walk, move; fare (ill or well), come off. *-t*, 3sg prt. || *-vel*, instructive. || *ha* if. || *ennyi* so much, this much (*ez*). || *azon*, superessive. || *könnyen* easily: superess. of *könnyű*. || *-k*, 1sg prs. || *-ni*, inf. || *kutya* dog; originally perhaps a call to dogs; cf. vg *kuťu* small dog, zrS *kuti* dog, mdE *kuťka* small dog, cub, M *kuťu*, est *kuts* small dog, lv *kuťš* dog (abusive word; < Balt.?); similar words in Latvian and in Slav, Iranian, Turkish and Caucasian languages. || *-d*, Px2sg. *Kutya bajod së lësz* you will not have the least trouble. Cf. *Ha azt nëm csináltad volna, a kutyánk së lëtt volna sánta* if you had not done that, not even our dog would have been (or: become) lame (: nothing would have happened to us). || *lësz*, 3sg prs of *lëv-*. || *magad* thyself: nsg Px2sg of *mag-*, etymologically = *mag* ~ *mago-* kernel, grain (FU). || *mëgmarad-* be left, remain; survive. *-sz*, 2sg prs. || *-d*, Px2sg. The noun is in the singular, notwithstanding that there are two cows. || *bőr* skin, hide; cf. vg *-poár* birch-bark | os *pər* reddish membrane on the inside of the bark of a birch | yr *pir* bark | koibal *pere*. *-e*, Px3sg. || *mi* what. *-t*, asg. || *fizet-* pay (cf. Ossete *fid-*). || *më̈g* gives a terminative aspect to the verb. *-lek*, 1sg, obj. 2sg. || *igér-* promise; *ige* word (in modern usage: 'verb'; Mongol *üge* word). *-jën*, 3sg imperative. || *nëmigën* hardly, = *nëm igën*. *igën* very, greatly; yes; *igaz* true, genuine, real; straight, sincere; *igazít-* correct, put right; see FU fi *hyvä* and fi *oikea* (it may be that both *igën* and *igaz* belong to fi *oikea*). || *miből*, elative of *mi* (here used as rel. pronoun). || *sokat*, acc. of *sok* much (FU). || *végre* at last, finally:

sublative of *vég* end; see U fi *viime*. || *kilenc* nine. || *tyúkban*, iness. of *tyúk* hen (Turk.). || *kakas* cock (Slav?). || *mëgëgyez-* (3sg *-ik*; combined with *inessivus rei*) agree, come to terms, arrive at an agreement, strike a bargain; *ëgyez-* (combined with the instr.) agree, be in agreement, fit in (with) (*ëgy*). *-tek*, 3pl prt. || *nehéz* ~ *neheze-* heavy; difficult; *-n* (superessive) with difficulty, reluctantly; cf. *nehezemre* (subl. Pxlsg) *esik* I am loath to . . ., it pains me. || *-te*, 3sg prt, obj. conj. (The object is expressed in the preceding sentence.) || *honnan* from where; see U fi *kuka*. || *előterëmt-* procure, produce, hunt up; raise (money). *terëmt-* produce, create, bring forth, originate; *terëm-* ~ *term-* be produced, be grown, grow (intr.); bear, yield; appear suddenly, turn up. || *mégis* (= *még is*) yet, after all, notwithstanding, nevertheless.

hallgass, 2sg imper. of *hallgat-* be silent; listen (*valakire* to somebody); *hall-* hear. || *rëám*, *rám*, subl. of *én* I. || *mikor* when (interrog. and rel.). *mi* what, which. *kor* time. || *ide* hither; see U fi *e-* (in *että*). || *jön*, 3sg prs of *jöv-* come. || *búvok*, 1sg prs of *búv-*, *búj-* (3sg prs *-ik*) hide, conceal oneself; dive; *bebúj-* creep in, slip in, ground, disappear (in a hole etc.); *belebúj-* creep, slink into . . .; get into (one's clothes); step into (one's trousers), put on (one's jacket); *mëgbúj-* hide, take cover, etc.; cf. fi *puke-* dress, clothe; put on (a dress); est *puge-* creep, slip, slide; lv *pugu-* creep, hide, slink off. || *bokor* ~ *bokro-* bush, shrub. || *kürtöl-* sound a horn, toot; *kürt* horn, bugle. || *ahogy* as. || *vadász* hunter; *vad* wild; waste; game (FU). *-k*, npl. || *szok-* (3sg prs *-ik*) get used to (something), get into the habit of, become familiarized with; *szokott* (prt) is wont to, has the habit of . . . *szoktak*, 3pl prt. || *kérd-* = *kérdëz-*. *-i*, 3sg prs, obj. conj. || *-d*, 2sg prs. obj. conj. || *jönnek*, 3pl prs of *jöv-*. || *erre* (long *ä* in the first syllable), subl. of *ez*. || (*mëg*)*ijed-* get frightened. || *hogy* that (conjunction). || (*el*)*bujtasd*, 2sg imper., obj. conj., of (*el*)*bujtat-* hide, conceal (*búj-*). || *abba*, illsg of *az*. || *zsák* sack (German). || *mëgmozdul-* move, stir, make a motion; *mozdul-* move (intr.). *-jon*, 3sg imperative. || *-ból*, elative. || *abban*, iness. of *az*. || *szenes*, adj. derived from *szén* ~ *szene-* coal (FU). || *tőke* chunk of wood, stump, block; vinestock; funds, capital: dim. of *tő* stem, base, lower part; see FU fi *tyvi*. *szenes tőke* a scorched stump. || *-m*, 1sg prs. obj. conj. || *elhiv-*

believe (to be true), give credit to. || *vágd*, 2sg imper., obj. conj., of *vág-* cut; vg *wåyg-* strike, hit | os *wak-* ~ *wah-*, S *waŋg-* ~ *waŋh-* carve, cut, whittle; *belevág-* plunge, stick, cut (a knife, an axe) into . . . || *fejszédet*, asg Px2sg of *fejsze* axe. || *-t*, asg. || *fogsz*, 2sg prs of *fog-* seize; vg *puw-*. || *mindjárt* immediately, instantly, at once (earlier also *mindjárást* id.); *jár-* go. || *szörnyet*, asg (?) of *szörnyű* monstrous, horrible, cf. the superess. *szörnyen* horribly (*szörny*, monster, is a neologism), used only in the combination *szörnyethal-* die on the spot, be killed outright.

mëgörvend- be delighted, become pleased; *örvend-* (= *örül-*) be glad, be pleased, rejoice; *öröm* joy, pleasure, delight; lp *ârvuk* gay, lively, spirited, in good spirits; Lule *(h)ârvuk*, Forest dialect *ɛrvuk* lively in the morning, wonted to rise early; S Lindahl & Öhrling *arvos*, *arves* 'jucundus, laetus'. || *tanács* (piece of) advice, counsel; (earlier:) adviser, counsellor; cf. *tanul-*, *tanít-*. *-nak*, dsg. || *követ-* follow. || *pórul*, essive of *pór* peasant, rustic; feudal serf (German). *pórul jár-* come off badly, be unfortunate, fare ill. || *mëgszabadul-* be liberated, be delivered, be saved, escape; *szabad* free (Slav). || *-d*, 2sg imper., obj. conj. || *több* more: comparative of *tő*, stem, the thicker end. *-t*, acc. || *ésszel*, instr. of *ész* mind, reason, wit, intelligence, brain. || *erővel*, instr. of *erő* power, strength (Turk.). The clause is elliptic: supply *el lëhet érni*, can be achieved, or the like. 'More brain than brawn.' || *dolgom*, nsg Px1sg of *dolog*. || *haza* (to the) home: lative of *ház* house. || *siet-* hurry, haste, make haste (FU?). *-k*, 1sg prs. || *elmën-* go (from a place, or to a place or to somebody). || *hozzád* to you, to your dwelling; see above sub *hozzá*. || *-ért*, causal case. || *jó* (here:) quite, very, adequately, fairly, rather. || *kövér* fat. *-k*, npl. || *lëgyenek*, 3pl imper. of *val-* (and *lëv-*). || *otthon* (there) at home—cf. *itthon* (here) at home. *-hon* is historically superessive (locative from a FU point of view) of *ház*, cf. fi *kotona*, at home. || *légy*, 2sg imper. of *val-* and *lëv-*. || *különben* besides, moreover; (here:) otherwise, else: iness. of *külön* separately, apart; especially, particularly; separate, different, distinct: superessive of *kül-* external. || *mëgkeserül-* repent, regret. *keserű* bitter. *-d*, 2sg prs, obj. conj. || *szekerére*, subl. Px3sg of *szekér* (farm-)waggon, cart. || *vetette*, 3sg prt, obj. conj., of *vet-*. || *vígan*, superess. of *víg* cheerful, merry, gay. || *tér-* turn (intr.); go

(Turk.?). || *vacsora* supper (Slav.). || *csap-* (here:) arrange (sumptuously). || *jól* well: essive of *jó*. || *aludt*, 3sg prt of *alv-* sleep (FU). || *rája* = *rá* + Px3sg, upon it (after it). || *félt*, 3sg of *fél-* (combined with the abl.) be afraid; see U fi *pelko*. || *-tól*, abl. || *tőle*, abl. of *ő*.

alig hardly, scarcely; *alig vagyok* I am in bad shape, I am down —terminative of *al* underpart. || *(ki)nyit-* open (trans.); *nyíl-* (3sg prs *-ik*) open (intr.). || *szemét*, asg Px3sg of *szem* eye; see U fi *silmä*. || *kopogtat-* knock, rap, tap; *kopog-* id.; onomatopoeic. || *ajtó* door; see FU fi *uksi*. *-n*, superessive. || *koma* godfather, sponsor (of one's child); in rustic usage, father or mother of a child whose sponsor one is; a person who is the sponsor of the same child as oneself; also used with a jocose connotation as term of address to a more or less casual acquaintance; *róka koma* (approximately:) master fox, Brer Fox. (Slav.) *-m*, Px1sg. || *(föl)öltöz-* (3sg prs *-ik*) dress, put on one's clothes; *ölt-* stitch, make stitches; put on (a dress); etc.; (Turk.). *-m*, 1sg prs. || *hamar* soon, fast, quickly. || *hanem* but (*ha*, if + *nëm*, *nem*). || *mëgáll-* stop, make a stop; *áll-* stand (FU). || *(el)kezd-* begin, start. || *csahol-* bark, bay (esp. of a hunting-dog that notices the smell of the game); onomatopoeic. || *szájával*, instr. Px3sg of *száj* (earlier: *sza*; *száj* has been abstracted from nsg Px3sg *szája*) mouth; see U fi *suu*.

tësz, 3sg prs of *tëv-*. || *talán csak nëm* I hope . . . not (but I fear). || *kopó* foxhound. || *bizony* certainly, to be sure; *bíz-* trust. || *mégpedig* (*még*, *pedig*) namely; even. || *-tak*, 3pl prt. || *ágy* bed (FU). || *alatt* under: loc. of *al*. || *ördög*, earlier *ördöng* devil. || *-ja*, 3sg prs, obj. conj. || *kerül-* make a detour; avoid; get somewhere, arrive somewhere; *kerek* round; *kerék* wheel; *kering-* revolve (intr.), circle, circulate; *kerget-* chase, pursue; *kerít-* fence, enclose, ring around; surround, encircle; cf. *körül*, earlier *környül* around, *köré* (gather etc.) round (*kör*, circle, ring, etc., is a neologism); cf. FU fi *kierä*. These words may be of descriptive origin: cf. lp *gârˈve-* make a detour to get past, etc.; Latin *circus* circle; circus; *circum* around; Greek κίρκος ring; Latin *curvus* curved; Avestan *skarəna-* round; OBulgarian *krągŭ* circle, *krąglŭ* round, ONorse *hringr*, OE *hring* ring; ONorse *kring* round, around, *kringja* encircle, surround, outflank; go round; *kringla* disk, circle, orb. || *mëgérëz-* feel, become conscious; scent, smell, nose;

érëz- feel, be conscious; scent, smell; *ér-* get to, arrive at, attain (Turk.?). *-ték*, 3pl prt, obj. conj. || *szagodat*, asg Px3sg of *szag* smell. || *rohan-* rush, hurry, run along; probably of descriptive origin. || *tart-* hold, keep.

addig till then: terminative of *az*. || *-sd*, 2sg imper., obj. conj. || *amíg* until: terminative of *ami*. || *elfut-* run away, escape; *fut-* run; flee (U). || *inkább*, earlier *jonkább* rather, sooner, preferably; cf. *jó*. || *mire* by the time: subl. of (rel.) *mi*. || *berkën*, superess. of *berëk* grove, copse. *ungon-berkën túl* far away, out of sight.

YURAK

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

Tundra Yurak, as described by Prokof'ev (and by Lehtisalo), has the following vowels:

y	*u*~*u̯*		*ü*	*i*
	o~*o̯*	*õ*	*œ*	*e*
a~*a̯*				*æ*

a̯, *o̯*, *u̯* are variants, occurring before *i* (syllabic or non-syllabic), *j* or a palatalized consonant. We write *a*, *o*, *u* instead.

In final position a short *a* is slightly labialized.

æ, *œ*,[1] *ü*[1] are intermediary between *a* and (Finnish) *ä*, *o* and (Finnish, German) *ö*, *u* and (German) *ü* respectively. In the following, we shall regard them as front vowels. They occur after *j* (*i̯*) or a palatalized consonant.

õ is slightly labialized.

There are diphthongs ending in non-syllabic *i*: *aj*, *ej*, *oj*, *uj*, etc. They are of no frequent occurrence (less frequent in the first than in the second syllable).

NOTE.—Some dialects have *æɛ*, *æɛi* or *ai* where the idiom of our text (the dialect of Bolshaya Zemlya) has *õ*, e.g. *ŋæɛwa*, *ŋæɛiwa*, *ŋaiwa* = *ŋõwa* head. We shall render this diphthong by *ae*. In the second syllable some dialects have *eæ*, *əæ* for *æ*, and *aõ* for *a*.

Some dialects have *ie* for *i* or *e*, and *yõ* for *y* or *õ*.

[1] Not acknowledged by Prokof'ev.

All the vowels can be short or long (or half-long), and this difference has an etymological value; e.g. *wada* '(fish-)hook', *waada* 'word'; *han* 'sledge', *haan* 'immolated reindeer'. Vowel-length is not marked in the text.

VOWEL HARMONY

On the whole, Yurak has preserved the PU distinction between *a*-stems and *ä*-stems: if the first syllable has *e* or *i*, the second syllable has not *a* (except if *i* has developed from *aj*, e.g. *siiwa* 'shovel' = tv *kajbu*); if the first syllable has another vowel than *e* or *i*, the second syllable has not *æ* or *e*, except if the vowel of the second syllable is preceded by a dental or by *ťś* or *j*: *waada* 'word', *pooŋga* 'net', *wõõwa* 'bad', *nææda* 'reindeer lichen', *jüna* 'horse'; *neebæ* 'mother', *limbæ* 'eagle'; *haalæ* 'fish', *ŋoodæ* 'berry', *nœœjæ* 'burbot'.

After *h* there is *total* (or almost total) assimilation: the separatives of *pææ* 'head', *nee* 'woman', *pii* 'night', *too* 'lake', *huu* 'morning', and *tyy* 'reindeer', are *pæəhad*, *neehõd*, *piihid*, *toohod*, *huuhud* and *tyyhyd* respectively.

CONSONANTS

Standard Yurak has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales		Glottales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae	*b*	*p*	*d*	*t*			*ď*	*ť*			*g*	*k*		*ʾ*
Fric. blaesiformes	*β*		(*δ*)				(*δ'*)		*j*		(*γ*)	(*χ*)		*h*
Fric. sibilantes			(*z*)	*s*			(*ź*)	*ś*						
Affricatae			(*ʒ*)	*c*			(*ʤ*)	*ć*						
Tremulantes					*r*		*ŕ*							
Cryptofricativae			*l*				*ľ*							
Nasales	*m*		*n*				*ń*				*ŋ*			

We have put in brackets those consonants that are to be regarded as phonetic variants (allophones). All the palatalized consonants (indicated by a straight apostrophe), except the affricates *ć* and *ʒ́*, are variants (of the corresponding non-palatalized consonants) in the position before a vowel, at least in the idiom described by Prokof'ev. We may put it this way: all the consonants (even the labials) are palatalized immediately before one of the vowels *è*, *i*, *æ*, *œ*, *ü*; before the other vowels, they are not palatalized. Therefore, we shall indicate palatalization only before consonants and in final position.

NOTE.—According to Lehtisalo, the palatalization is often lacking before *e* and *i*. To indicate this, it would be practical to write *ë* instead of *e*, and *ï* instead of *i*. Both Donner and Lehtisalo sometimes have noted palatalization before a back vowel; but it may be that they have then written *o* for *œ*, and *a* for *æ*.

The letters *b*, *d*, *ď*, *g*, stand for *lenes*, whereas *p*, *t*, *ť*, *k* stand for *fortes*. The lenes are half-voiced (or voiceless) before a voiceless consonant, and they may be half-voiced in the position after a voiced consonant; *g* may be pronounced as a fricative (*γ*) after *ŋ*. Between vowels, *b* is voiced or half-voiced, *d* is more or less fricative, *g* is usually fricative. *b* sometimes alternates with the bilabial fricative (*β*, written *w* here), as in *teeb*, *teew* 'wedge'. It may be characterized as one-sided (irreversible), for there are words which always and everywhere in Tundra yr have *w*, e.g. *ŋõwa* 'head'.

j often seems to stand for a fricative even after a vowel. When we write *ai*, *ui*, etc., this will mean that *i* is non-syllabic, but half-long, e.g. *sanüi* 'wet' (Lehtisalo *-ùùì*).

h in initial position seems to be a palatovelar fricative with faint friction sound (Lehtisalo: *x̯*). Between vowels it can be a more or less voiced glottal fricative, as in Finnish (and Czech). Before *k*, *p*, *t* it is pronounced (in Forest yr) as an unvoiced vowel, according to Lehtisalo.

z and *ʒ* (with their palatalized counterparts) are half-voiced; they occur after a voiced consonant.

l is pronounced with raised back-tongue (as in fiW and English), with few exceptions (before *c* ?). In the dialects of the Kanin peninsula and Malaya Zemlya, no word begins with *ŋ*; they have, for

instance, *ano*, 'boat', instead of *ŋano*. In the other dialects genuine sam words do not begin with a vowel. (There are a few exceptions.)

Between a preceding vowel or *r* and a subsequent vowel, all the consonants except *b* (?), *d*, *ď*, *g* and the glottals are usually lengthened (according to Lehtisalo's notations). We shall not indicate this feature.

Otherwise, all consonants may be regarded as short.

NOTE.—Taking into account that the tenues are non-aspirate and the oral lenes may be half-voiced stops, one might say that the opposition *d* ~ *t* in cases like (PT) npl Px3sg *wõnekuda* 'his dogs' ~ gpl Px3sg *wõnekuta* is a quantitative opposition.

STRESS

The accentuation of disyllables depends on quantity. If one syllable is short and the other is long, the stress is on the long syllable. If both are long, they have about the same stress; e.g. *haadyy* 'spruce'. If both are short no rule can be given: some words have the stress on the first syllable, other words on the second syllable. (Prokof'ev.)

NOTE.—According to Lehtisalo, the first syllable can always have the stress if the word is spoken isolated.

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Px3sg may function as a kind of definite article. *ŋoob'* 'one' is used as a kind of indefinite article, e.g. *ŋoob' taadebæ* 'a shaman'.

In Yurak, the stem of a noun may be defined as the sound-sequence that precedes the ending *-m* of the asg. There are several types of stems:

Monosyllables ending in a vowel, e.g. (nsg) *huu* 'morning', *jææ* 'land', *jææ* 'flour, meal', *lyy* 'bone', *nee* 'woman', *nii* 'belt', *nææ* 'brother, fellow', *nœœ* 'door', *ŋõõ* 'foot', *pææ* 'tree, wood', *põõ* 'stone', *pii* 'night', *poo* 'year', *sii* 'hole, opening', *too* 'lake', *tuu* 'fire', *tyy* 'reindeer'.

Monosyllables ending in a consonant, e.g. *har* 'knife', *maal* 'end'.

Disyllables ending in a vowel e.g. *habi* 'man, etc.', *hado* 'pasture, grazing ground', *hoora* 'male (of animal), wild reindeer', *suujü* 'calf, fawn'.

NOTE.—Stems in *-æ* are often pronounced with *e* instead of *æ*, e.g. *nise* 'father' = *nisæ* (fi *isä*). In FUV, we have written them with *e*.

Disyllables ending in a consonant, e.g. *nœhol'* 'dirt', *peencer'* 'magic drum'.

Trisyllables ending in a vowel, e.g. *lõmbara* 'breast', *taadebæ* 'shaman'.

Trisyllables ending in a consonant, e.g. *jæhamboj* 'small river'.

CASE AND NUMBER

There are seven ordinary cases, namely, nominative, genitive, accusative, locative, separative, lative(-dative), and prolative.

There are three numbers: singular, dual and plural.

NOTE.—The dialects of the Kanin peninsula and Malaya Zemlya have lost the dual both in the declension of nouns and in the conjugation.

The *nominative* singular has no ending. It often differs from the stem because of the changes which the final consonant has undergone. In words like *niir'*, 'handle, shaft', = lp *nâđđâ*, the consonant has come into final position through the loss of a final vowel which was the counterpart of fi *e*, lp *â*. Final *t* has developed into glottal stop in Tundra Yurak, e.g. *ji'* (Forest Yurak *wit*), asg *jidm*, 'water', = fi *vesi* ~ *vete-* (U). The same has happened to *-n* and *-ŋ*, e.g. *my'*, asg *mynm* 'stomach'. *-s* has always changed into glottal stop, e.g. *hade'* 'tar', asg *hadesm*, and sometimes the preceding vowel has disappeared, e.g. *man'* 'bush', asg *manasm*. After *m*, and sometimes after *r*, the lost final vowel has been replaced by a glottal stop, e.g. *nim'* 'name' = fi *nimi*.

The *genitive* singular has the ending ['] (sometimes *-n*, *-d*, or *-ŋ*).

The *accusative* singular ends in *-m*.

NOTE.—In Forest Yurak, nouns have no accusative singular. In Tundra Yurak, the direct object (in all the numbers), if it is not a

personal pronoun, is put in nominative in combination with the 2nd person of the imperative and the precative; and the object may be put in the nominative if it is a compound noun or a noun preceded by an attribute.

The *dual* has in nom., gen. and acc. the characteristic *-h-* + vowel + *-['] (after a vowel, and after a voiced oral consonant that terminates the first syllable), *-g'* (after a nasal consonant) or *-k'* (in combination with stems ending in a voiceless oral consonant or in a voiced oral consonant that does not terminate the first syllable). The genitive and the accusative of the dual are identical with the nominative, having no case ending. Examples: *ŋanoho'* (*ŋano* 'boat'), *ŋudaha'* (*ŋuda* 'hand'), *harha'* (*har* 'knife'), *jæmg'* (*jæm'* 'sea'), *nææŋg'* (*nææ'* 'mouth'), *mææk'* (*mææ'* 'tent'), *manak'* (*man'*, stem *manas-*, 'bush').

NOTE.—The designations of two persons or things that are correlated or else belong together, may be put in the dual when they are combined to a copulative asyndeton. (The same is the case in vg and os; md has the plural in such expressions.) E.g. *wõõsookoho' puhućaha'* 'an old man and an old woman' (vg *eekwäyg ååjkäyg* 'an old woman and an old man', os *imeŋən ikeŋən*; md *aťat babat* 'an old man and an old woman').

The nominative *plural* has the ending ['], added to the nominative singular. The genitive plural has the same ending[1]; but if the stem ends in *a* (or *æ*), the gpl is differentiated from the npl in one of the following ways:

The vowel has been dropped before the ending of the gpl; e.g. *haamba* 'wave', npl *haamba'*, gpl *haamb'*; *labæ* 'oar', npl *labæ'*, gpl *law'*.

The *genitive* plural has *i* (or even *y*) instead of *a* (*æ*); e.g. *ŋuda* 'hand', npl *ŋuda'*, gpl *ŋudi'*; *pææ* 'tree', npl *pææ'*, gpl *pii'*.

Some disyllabic *o*-stems have *u* instead of *o* in the gpl, e.g. *jæbto* 'goose', gpl *jæbtu'*.

NOTE.—*noho* 'polar fox' has gpl *nosi'*; but in this word the *o*

[1] Historically, they are different; to all probability, npl has ['] < *-*t*, whereas gpl has ['] < *-*n*.

of the second syllable may have developed from *-*a* by vowel assimilation (: *noho* < **noka*).

Some *o*-stems and *e*-stems have dropped the final vowel of the stem in the npl, but not in the gpl; e.g. *har* 'knife', npl *har'*, gpl *haro'*.

noho ~ *nosi'* is an example of consonant alternations caused by a change that has taken place before *i* (in this case, **k* > *s*; generally, **k* has developed into *h* between vowels). Another instance is *tubka* 'axe' ~ gpl *tubci'*.

In some words, *i* has had an assimilating influence on the vowel of the preceding syllable, e.g. *jæha* 'river' ~ gpl *jesi'*; *haasawa* 'man, human male' ~ gpl *haasewi'* or *haasew'*.

NOTE.—Palatalized consonants do not occur at the end of the word in Tundra Yurak; thus, for instance, *jæælæ* 'day' ~ gpl *jææl'*.

The *accusative* plural differs from the genitive plural only insofar as it has no glottal stop at the end.

The *locative* has the ending *-h-* + vowel + *-na*, or *-gana*, or *-kana*.

NOTE.—The original consonant is **k*. *d* and *s* have disappeared before *k*, e.g. loc. *markana* of *mar'* (stem: *mard-*) 'town', *hadekana* of *hade'* (stem: *hades-*) 'tar'. After a nasal consonant, *k* has developed into *g*, e.g. *jæmgana* of *jæm'* 'sea', *myŋgana* (with assimilation: *n* > *ŋ*) of *my'* (stem: *myn-*) 'stomach'. In intervocalic position **k* has developed into *h*, e.g. loc. *ŋudahana* of *ŋuda* 'hand', *warŋehena* of *warŋe* 'crow', *ŋanohona* of *ŋano* 'boat'. The *h* appears also after monosyllabic stems in *-l* and *-r* (which may have been disyllabic at the time when the change **k* > *h* took place), e.g. *maalhaná* of *maal* 'end', *harhana* of *har* 'knife'. After disyllabic stems in *-l* and *-r* the ending begins with *k*, e.g. *nõholkana* of *nõhol'* 'dirt', *peencerkana* of *peencer'* 'magic drum'.

h occasionally disappears in intervocalic position, e.g. *ŋudaana* = *ŋudahana*.

Note the locative *jikne* of *ji'* (*jid-*) 'water' (vowel harmony!).

The ending of the *separative* one gets by substituting *-d* for the *-na* of the locative, e.g. *ŋudahad* of *ŋuda*.

The locative and separative of the *dual* are formed by means of *-hań* etc. + *-ææna* and *-ææd* respectively, e.g. *ŋudahanææna*, *ŋudahanææd*, *myŋganææna*, *myŋganææd*, *peencerkanææna*, *peencerkanææd*.

The locative and separative *plural* end in *-h-* + vowel + *-'na* (*-ga'na*, *-ka'na*) and *-h-* + vowel + *-t* (*-gat*, *-kat*) respectively, e.g. *ŋudaha'na*, *ŋudahat*, *peencerka'na*, *peencerkat*.

NOTE.—Historically, the element *ŋudaha-* of *ŋudahana* and *ŋudahad* is a derivative (denoting the place of the hand). The plural cases *ŋudaha'na* and *ŋudahat* consist of the plural of *ŋudaha-*, + *-na* and *-d* respectively, which are the primordial endings of the locative and the separative.

The locative sometimes has an instrumental function, e.g. *jiikamta harhana madaada* 'he cut his (: another person's) neck with the knife'.

The *lative* has the ending *-n* (after a vocalic sound, including *j*), *-d* (after a nasal consonant, and after a voiced oral consonant in monosyllables), or *-t*; e.g. *ŋudan*, *saarmikan*, *jæhambojn* (or *jœhambon* or *jæhambojæn*), *harn*, *jæmd*, *mynd*, *peencert*, *hadet*, of *ŋuda* 'hand', *saarmik* 'wolf', *jæhamboj* 'small river', *har* 'knife', *jæm'* 'sea', *my'* 'stomach', *peencer'* 'magic drum', and *hade'* (*hades-*) 'tar' respectively.

The lative *dual* has the case ending *-ææ*, added to the longer dual characteristic, e.g. *ŋudahanææ*.

The lative *plural* is identical with the nominative dual. (Historically, they are different.)

The *prolative* singular has the ending *-wna*, *-una* (after stems ending in a vowel, or monosyllabic stems ending in *l* or *r*), *-mna* (after stems ending in a nasal consonant, which is dropped before the ending), or *-mana* (with loss of a final *d* and *s* of the stem); e.g. *ŋudawna*, *saarmikuna*, *haruna*, *mymna*, *peencermana*, *hademana*.

The prolative *dual* is formed by means of the longer dual characteristic + *-æmna*, e.g. *ŋudahanæmna*.

The prolative *plural* has the ending *-mana* or *-amna* (*-omna*), preferably added to the genitive plural, e.g. *mæædo'mana* of *mææ'* (*mææd-*) 'tent'.

Note the prolative sg *siwne* of *sii* 'hole, opening'.

The *essive-translative* has the ending *-ŋõ* (dialectal: *-ŋae*). It signifies that someone or something functions as, or is transformed into, or is intended to serve as that which is expressed by the word stem, or the like. Sometimes the ending *-ŋõ* can be rendered by 'with'. *ŋoobăŋõ huńćer' haantan* 'why are you going alone?' *nüümi ŋaarka*

haasawaŋõ haanta 'my son will become a tall man'. *haadaŋõ laadaada* 'he fought (with) the snow-drift'.

NOTE.—'Have' = 'possess' may be rendered in Yurak by *tanæ-*, 'be, be present, be at hand, exist', combined with the genitive or the essive of the word that corresponds to the subject of the English construction; e.g. *tiky taadebæræŋae ŋoob' luuca jürüüda tanewyy* 'this shaman had a Russian friend'. (*jürüüda* is nsg Px3sg of *jürü* 'friend'.)

A *comitative* case is formed by adding *-nææ'* or *-nææ* (*-næ*) to the genitive, which is then always combined with Px; e.g. *mań nisæninæ hantam* 'I'll go with (my) father'. This ending is identical with (a case form of) *nææ* 'fellow'.

CONSONANT ALTERNATIONS IN WORD STEMS

Stems ending in *m* have *w* instead of *m* in npl and in gen., acc. and prolative singular and plural, e.g. gsg *jæw'*, gpl *jæwo'* of *jæm'*. (Gradation?)

Stems ending in *ŋ* have lost their *ŋ* in nsg, gsg, asg and prolative sing., and npl; in words with front vowel in the first syllable, *ŋ* has developed into *j* in gpl and apl. See the paradigms *nææ'* and *sii'*.

ADJECTIVES

The normal function of an adjective is to indicate that somebody else or something else has the quality expressed by the adjective. This can be indicated by putting the adjective as predicate (e.g. *I am glad*), or by putting it as attribute (qualifier: e.g. *the merry wives*); in the latter case, the adjective can be regarded as an implicit or stored-up predicate (equivalent, somehow, to a subordinate clause: 'those wives of whom everybody knows that they are merry'). In English the adjectives are uninflected whether they are used in predicative or attributive function, and this is a distinctive feature, although even a few substantives (as *sheep*) are uninflected.

If an adjective is used without indication of anything that has the quality expressed by the adjective, it is usually regarded as a substantive, e.g. *evil* in expressions like *it bodes evil.*

Another distinctive feature is that adjectives have grades of com-

parison, although *maximal, minimal, eternal, mutual, relative, comparative*, and many other adjectives seem to lack this feature.

There are a few derivative endings that can characterize a word as an adjective, e.g. *-ical* in *nonsensical.*

In Yurak there are a few suffixes that can be said to form adjectives from substantives; e.g. *wõnekoraha* 'dog-like' (*wõneko* 'dog'), *warcawõj* 'dirty' (*war'* 'dirt'), *wõnekosi* 'dog-less', *warći* 'clean' ('dirt-less'), *hõwhy* 'lateral' (*hõw* 'side'), *mæækу* 'belonging to the tent, being in the tent' (*mææ'* 'tent').

NOTE.—The last-mentioned suffix is to all probability identical (more or less) with the element *-ha-* ~ *-ga-* ~ *-ka-* of the locative and the separative.

Those non-derivatives that may be regarded as adjectives, are not numerous. Some of them may function as a complete sentence, e.g. *tiici* 'it is cold'.

Yurak distinguishes between a predicative form and an attributive form insofar as the adjective is combined with Px3sg (used as a kind of definite article) when it functions as attribute: according to Castrén, *tiićida jææle* means 'the cold day', whereas *jææleda tiići* means 'the day is cold'.

Comparison

The English comparative is rendered by putting the inferior member of the comparison in the separative, e.g. *tyy wõnekohod ŋaarka* 'the reindeer is bigger than the dog'; *hoo ŋaarka, haadyy tikõhõd ŋaarka* 'the birch is big, the spruce is bigger' (literally: 'bigger than this').

The English superlative is rendered by putting the designation of the kind of persons or things compared in the separative plural; e.g. *pææhat ŋaarka* 'the biggest of the trees'; *sæmæn tõõhõt sawa* 'the (very) best reindeer' (literally: 'the good of all the reindeer'); *sæmænhat ŋaarka* 'the biggest' (literally: 'the big of all'). Note: *nüüde nææedu'* 'their young brother' = 'the youngest brother'.

There are, though, rudiments of comparison expressed by suffixes; e.g. *nææbijum'* 'the other (or one) of two' (*nææbi* 'another'), *ŋaarkajum'* 'the bigger of two'; *ŋaarkamboj* 'fairly, moderately big'; *sawarka* 'very, rather good'; *ŋaarka'ja* 'uncommonly, excessively big'.

Agreement

There is no agreement in attributive adjectives. Cf. sub Cardinal numbers.

NUMERALS

Cardinal numbers

The cardinal numbers 1—7 are: *ŋoob'*, *ŋopoj* 1, *sidæ* 2, *næ̈har'* 3, *teet* 4, *samlæ̈æŋg* 5, *mat'* 6, *si'iw* 7.

8 is *sidnteet* ('twice four'), 10 is *jüü'* (*jüüd-*), *jü'* (C also: *luuca-jüü'*; *luuca* 'Russian'). 9 is *haasajüü'*, *haasawajüü'* (*haasawa* 'Samoyed').

The numbers 11—19 are formed by means of *jæ̈ŋganæ*, ptc prs of *jæ̈ŋga-* 'be outside': *ŋoob' jæ̈ŋganæ* 11, etc.

The tens from 20 to 80 are formed by juxtaposition; *sidæ jüü'* 20, etc.

100 is *jür*, acc. *jüüram* (Turkish loan-word). 90 is *haasujür'*, *haasawajür'*.

In combination with a cardinal number, the designation of the things counted is usually put in the singular in the case form required by the context; the accusative, though, is sometimes replaced by the nominative. The cardinal number is usually uninflected in this position. Examples: *side harm mõõ* 'he took two knives'; *side neencaadim haadadamć* 'I killed two sterile female reindeer'; *næ̈har' jeese haalem manõõ* 'he saw three iron fishes'; *tikyy teet sõõr' haabtam maal' haadajda* 'she killed all these four white reindeer oxen'; *mat' neekaw* 'my six elder brothers'; *siw haanam* (object) 'seven sacrifices'; *mată neenećæ̈æn* (gsg) *side mæ̈ætoo'* 'six men have two tents'; *jüüdam piiribtem taawyy* 'he brought ten girls'; *jüüda'* (gsg) *piiribtænda* (gsg Px3sg) *jüriidu' piirimbi* 'she boiled the fat of the ten girls'; *side jæ̈æn hajeeha'* 'they went to two places'.

Sometimes the substantive is put in the dual after *sidæ*, and in the plural after the higher numerals, and this seems to occur more frequently if the substantive has another qualifier too. E.g. *mat' neekyyda* 'his six elder brothers'; *side jürœ̈sahaan tanewahõõ'* 'there were two friends'; *side warka nüükăćæ̈haa' tibeeriidii'* 'the teeth (tusks) of two bear's cubs'; *si'iw peebæ̈æsă haasawa' tanewyy'* '(there) were seven brothers' (literally: 'seven brothers with younger brothers').

Ordinal numbers

nürtej, C *neribtej* 'first' (*nür-*, *ner-* 'fore . . , front . . , anterior'), *næ̈bimdej* 'second' (*næ̈bi* 'another'), *næ̈haromdə̑j* 'third', *teetemdej* 'fourth', *samlæńzimdej* 'fifth', *matadomdej* 'sixth', *sibimdej* 'seventh'; etc.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Yurak has, broadly speaking, the same Px as Finnish. If we take the singular Px, the first person has *-mi*, which is also found in fiS, the second person has *-r* etc., = fi *-si* (earlier also: *-ti*), and the third person has *-da*, which corresponds to fi *-sa* ~ *-sä*.

In some Mordvin dialects, the Px are preceded by *n* in all forms except the nominative singular. The same 'co-affix' is found in Finnish and in some Lappish dialects. In Yurak the *n* occurs in all the singular cases except nsg and asg. After *n*, certain assimilations have taken place, and to some extent the initial consonant of the Px has developed in a different way after *n* than after a vowel. In enumerating the Px, we take into account only the shape they have after vowel-stems, and if the Px is preceded by a consonant, we shall give that consonant together with the Px.

Nsg

1sg *-mi* or *-w*. 2sg *-r*. 3sg *-da*. 1du *-mi'*. 2du *-ri'*. 3du *-di'*. 1pl *-wa'*. 2pl *-ra'*. 3pl *-do'*, *-du'*.

Asg

1sg *-mi* or *-w*. 2sg *-md*. 3sg *-mda*. 1du *-mi'*. 2du *-mdi'*. 3du *-mdi'*. 1pl *-wa'*. 2pl *-mda'*. 3pl *-mdo'*, *-mdu'*.

The other singular cases

Before the Px, the separative has *-da-* instead of *-d*. The lative has the element *-h-* + vowel in common with the locative and the separative.

1sg *-n(i)*. 2sg *-nd*. 3sg *-nda*. 1du *-ni'*. 2du *-ndi'*. 3du *-ndi'*. 1pl *-na'*. 2pl *-nda'*. 3pl *-ndo'*, *-ndu'*.

Npl, apl

The nominative plural has been replaced by the accusative plural.

1sg *-n(i)*. 2sg *-d*. 3sg *-da*. 1du *-ni'*. 2du *-di'*. 3du *-di'*. 1pl *-na'*. 2pl *-da'*. 3pl *-do'*, *-du'*.

Gpl, lat. pl.

1sg *-'n(i)*. 2sg *-t*. 3sg *-ta*. 1du *-'ni'*. 2du *-ti'*. 3du *-ti'*. 1pl *-'na'*. 2pl *-ta'*. 3pl *-to'*, *-tu'*.

The other plural cases

Before the Px, the separative has *-ta-* instead of *-t*.

1sg *-n(i)*. 2sg *-t*. 3sg *-ta*. 1du *-ni'*. 2du *-ti'*. 3du *-ti'*. 1pl *-na'*. 2pl *-ta'*. 3pl *-to'*, *-tu'*.

Ndu, adu

Before the Px, the dual characteristic has the shape *-h-* + vowel + *-jü-* (in all the cases).

Ndu and adu have the same Px as napl.

Gdu

The genitive dual has the same Px as gpl.

The other dual cases

The locative, the separative, the lative and the prolative dual consist of the gdu (+ Px) + the 'postpositions' *næ̈na*, *næ̈d*, *næ̈'*, and *næmna* respectively. The first-mentioned three enclitics are regular case forms of *næ̈* 'fellow'. E.g. loc. du. Px1pl *wõnekohojü-na'næ̈na* of *wõneko* 'dog'.

DATIVE SUFFIXES

The dative suffixes (Dx) indicate the person and number of the indirect object of the verb action, the person to whom something is given or for whom something is intended, etc. The Dx consists of corresponding Px, preceded by the element *-da-* ~ (before the

Px1sg *-w*) *-du-*, which may well be, historically, identical with the Px3sg. If we regard the word stem + *-da* as a derivative noun, used only in combination with Px, we may say that it occurs in three case forms, namely, nominative, accusative and genitive. The nom. functions as subject, e.g. *ŋanodara' too* 'there has come a boat for you'; the acc. functions as direct object, e.g. *hardamd taatam* 'I'll give him a knife'. The genitive (which may be, historically, a lative case without the element *-ha-*) indicates that somebody or something is regarded as, or is intended to be, that which is expressed by the word stem, e.g. *nisædand ŋõŋgum* 'I'll be a father for you'.

PARADIGMS

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1. Nom.	*pææ* 'tree'	*pææha'*	*pææ'*
2. Gen.	*pææ'*	*pææha'*	*pii'*
3. Acc.	*pææm*	*pææha'*	*pii*
4. Loc.	*pææhana*	*pææhanææna*	*pæha'na*
5. Sep.	*pææhad*	*pææhanææd*	*pææhat*
6. Lat.	*pææn*	*pææhanææ'*	*pææha'*
7. Prol.	*pææwna*	*pææhanæmna*	*pææ'amna*

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1. Nom.	*tyy*	*tõõhõ'*	*tyy'*
2. Gen.	*tyy'*	*tõõhõ'*	*tyy'*
3. Acc.	*tyym*	*tõõhõ'*	*tyy*
4. Loc.	*tõõhõna*	*tõõhõnææna*	*tõõhõ'na*
5. Sep.	*tõõhõd*	*tõõhõnææd*	*tõõhõt*
6. Lat.	*tõõn*	*tõõhõnææ'*	*tõõhõ'*
7. Prol.	*tõõwna*	*tõõhõnæmna*	*tõõ'õmna*

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1. Nom.	*ŋuda* 'hand'	*ŋudaha'*	*ŋuda'*
2. Gen.	*ŋuda'*	*ŋudaha'*	*ŋudi'*
3. Acc.	*ŋudam*	*ŋudaha'*	*ŋudi*
4. Loc.	*ŋudahana*	*ŋudahanææna*	*ŋudaha'na*
5. Sep.	*ŋudahad*	*ŋudahanææd*	*ŋudahat*
6. Lat.	*ŋudan*	*ŋudahanææ'*	*ŋudaha'*
7. Prol.	*ŋudawna*	*ŋudahanæmna*	*ŋudi'mana*

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1. Nom.	*jæm'* 'sea'	*jæmg'*	*jæw'*
2. Gen.	*jæw'*	*jæmg'*	*jæwo'*
3. Acc.	*jæwm*	*jæmg'*	*jæwo*
4. Loc.	*jæmgana*	*jæmganæna*	*jæmga'na*
5. Sep.	*jæmgad*	*jæmganæd*	*jæmgat*
6. Lat.	*jæmd*	*jæmganæ'*	*jæmg'*
7. Prol.	*jæwmna*	*jæmganæmna*	*jæwo'mana*

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1. Nom.	*tõõ'* 'sinew'	*tõõŋg'*	*tõõn'*
2. Gen.	*tõõn'*	*tõõŋg'*	*tõõno'*
3. Acc.	*tõõ(n)m*	*tõõŋg'*	*tõõno*
4. Loc.	*tõõŋgana*	*tõõŋganæna*	*tõõŋga'na*
5. Sep.	*tõõŋgad*	*tõõŋganæd*	*tõõŋgat*
6. Lat.	*tõõnd*	*tõõŋganæ'*	*tõõŋg'*
7. Prol.	*tõõmna*	*tõõŋganæmna*	*tõõno'mana*

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1. Nom.	*næ'* 'mouth'	*næŋg'*	*næ'*
2. Gen.	*næ'*	*næŋg'*	*næŋo'*
3. Acc.	*næm*	*næŋg'*	*næŋo*
4. Loc.	*næŋgana*	*næŋganæna*	*næŋa'na*
5. Sep.	*næŋgad*	*næŋganæd*	*næŋgat*
6. Lat.	*næ'nd*	*næŋganæ'*	*næŋg'*
7. Prol.	*næmna*	*næŋganæmna*	*næŋo'mana*

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1. Nom.	*sii'* 'cover'	*siiŋg'*	*sii'*
2. Gen.	*sii'*	*siiŋg'*	*siiji'*
3. Acc.	*siim*	*siiŋg'*	*siiji*
4. Loc.	*siiŋgana*	*siiŋganæna*	*siiŋga'na*
5. Sep.	*siiŋgad*	*siiŋganæd*	*siiŋgat*
6. Lat.	*siind*	*siiŋganæ'*	*siiŋg'*
7. Prol.	*siimna*	*siiŋganæmna*	*siiji'mana*

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1. Nom.	*peencer'* 'magic drum'	*peencerk'*	*peencer'*
2. Gen.	*peencer'*	*peencerk'*	*peencero'*
3. Acc.	*peencerm*	*peencerk'*	*peencero*
4. Loc.	*peencerkana*	*peencerk(a)næna*	*peencerka'na*
5. Sep.	*peencerkad*	*peencerk(a)næd*	*peencerkat*
6. Lat.	*peencert*	*peencerk(a)næ'*	*peencerk'*
7. Prol.	*peencermana*	*peencerkanæmna*	*peencero'omna*

Conjugation

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The boundary between nouns and verbs is not so clearcut as it is in the Fenno-Ugric languages (with the exception of Mordvin). First, a noun functioning as predicate in a sentence of the type *iwan jürak* 'Ivan is a Yurak', *pyda sawa* 'he is good', can assume a preterite ending, e.g. *pyda sawaś* 'he was good'. Second, in sentences corresponding to English sentences of the type 'I am a Yurak', 'you are good' (with a subject in the 1st or 2nd person), the predicate noun can assume both a personal ending, referring to the subject, and the preterite ending, e.g. *sawawa'* 'we are good', *sawawać* 'we were good'. The chief distinction between noun stems and verb stems is that noun stems cannot be combined with the characteristics of moods, as potential or imperative. Third, the stems and bases of transitive verbs assume *possessive suffixes* instead of the specific personal endings if the direct object is a definite one—corresponding to an English substantive with the definite article, and the like—or is in the dual or the plural.

In the last-mentioned kind of inflection—the so-called *objective* conjugation—the dual and the plural number of the object are indicated by suffixes which are put after the verb stem. E.g. *madaw* 'I (did) cut' (the bread, or the like), *madaŋahajün* 'I cut' (two things), *madajn* 'I cut' (more than two things); cf. *lambaw* 'my ski', *lambahajün* 'my skis' (two), *lambin* 'my skis' (more than two).

In the *subjective* conjugation the personal endings are different from the possessive suffixes, e.g. *jiilem* 'I live', *madam* 'I cut'.

There is also a *reflexive* conjugation with specific personal endings, e.g. *madaju(w)* 'I cut myself'. Some intransitive verbs are inflected in the same way.

The reflexive conjugation has the characteristic *-j-* or (with elision of the preceding vowel) *-y-*. Between *-j-* and the personal ending of 1sg (*-w'*), *-u-* is inserted. In combination with a verb stem ending in a vowel there may be, and in combination with a stem ending in a consonant there must be, in all the other forms except 3sg, a vowel (usually *a*) between *-j-* and the personal ending. Cf. the Paradigms.

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristics of tense and moods

Tense

There are three tenses, namely, present, preterite, and future.

PRESENT TENSE

The present tense has no characteristic. If the verb stem has a durative mode of action and a non-terminative aspect, the present tense conveys the notion that the action is going on. If the verb stem has a momentaneous mode of action or—if durative—has a terminative aspect, the present tense conveys the notion that the action has taken place newly or been completed just now. E.g., *jiilem* 'I live'; *mań toom* 'I came', or 'I have arrived'.

PRETERITE

The preterite tense has the characteristic *-ś* (after a nasal consonant: *-ź*, in combination with a verb form ending in an oral consonant: *-ć*); the characteristic is put at the end of the verb form.

The preterite conveys the notion that the action was going on, or was completed, earlier. E.g., *iwan manzaraś* 'Ivan worked'; *neboj poo jiĭ' haabtm haadamź* 'last year I killed ten reindeer oxen.'

FUTURE

The Yurak language has a future tense, formed by adding the suffix *-ŋgu* to the stem. (With the suffix of the preterite added to them, such verb forms function as a kind of conditional.) *hanm sertaŋgum.* 'I shall make a sledge'. *hanm sertabaŋgum.* 'I shall be making a sledge.'

The stems *hõõ-* ~ *haań-* ~ *haan-*, 'go (somewhere)', *ta-*, 'give', and *too-* ~ *tuu-*, 'come, arrive', have the suffix *-ta*; e.g., *haantam* 'I shall go'.

Aspect and mode of action

Verb stems denote either a state or a change; in an affirmative clause, the predicate verb indicates—if we disregard, in this context, the categories of tense and mood—that the subject of the clause *is* so-and-so, or *becomes* such-and-such. To *sleep* means 'to *be* asleep', to *die* means 'to *turn* dead', to *age* means 'to *grow* old(er)'.

A state which lasts for an exceedingly brief time is called *momentaneous*. We would say, for instance, that a flash of lightning or a gun shot takes no time. As a matter of fact, such a state implies two changes: the appearance and the disappearance. The *appearance* or start of the lightning makes an especially vivid impression, and therefore it is natural to think of this when we say 'It lightened', meaning 'There came (or was) a flash of lightning'.

Lighten, then, is a *momentaneous* verb, whilst *sleep* and *live* are *durative* verbs.

The terms 'momentaneous' and 'durative' are usually subsumed under the category of *mode of action* (Aktionsart). One can also speak of other modes of action. The *ticking* of a watch is *iterative*. If we symbolize the momentaneous mode of action by a dot, and the durative mode by a straight line, we can symbolize the iterative mode by a line of dots: . . . . . An *intermittent* action can be symbolized by a series of dashes: – – – – –.

Speaking of a durative action, e.g. *going*, we can emphasize the moment when the action comes to an end because it has achieved its aim, or for some other reason. We can also emphasize the very start of the action. In both cases we combine in one expression the notion of a state (or the notion of a change that is going on) with the notion of a momentaneous change. Here we have to do with the category of *aspect*. In the expressions *I went and went, I was going, I climbed, I was climbing*, we have the *cursive* aspect, whereas in the expressions *I went home, At last I climbed* (or *ascended*) *the top of the hill*, we have the *perfective* aspect.

In the expression *Let's go*, the verb *go* is taken in the *ingressive* aspect.

We may symbolize the perfective aspect by a straight line with a dot at its right end, and the ingressive aspect by a line with a dot at its left end.

The perfective and the ingressive aspect can both be subsumed under the *terminative* aspect, which is the opposite of the cursive aspect. The terminative aspect can be symbolized by a straight line with a dot in brackets at each end.

Most of the basic verb stems in the Yurak language denote an

action that is momentaneous or can be regarded as such. Besides that, there are suffixes which give the verb an ingressive function when they are added to a durative verb stem. Now, in Yurak only the cursive durative verbs have a present tense in the real sense of the term. In all the other verbs, the so-called present tense refers to the (near) *past*. Thus, for instance, *toom* means 'I have come' or 'I came', not 'I am coming'; and *iwan pææm madaa* means 'Ivan (did) cut (or has cut) wood'.

A momentaneous verb gets a durative function if the suffix *-(m)bi(-)* ~ *mba(-)* is added; e.g., *iwan pææm madabi* 'Ivan cuts (is cutting) wood'; *iwan pææm madabiś* 'Ivan (did) cut (or was cutting) wood.'

Iterative verbs have the suffix *-r-* ~ *-rŋa-*; e.g. *tuurŋam* 'I come, I am coming' (repeatedly; *toom* 'I came').

NOTE.—*Consuetudinal* verbs have the suffix *-sety-* (in combination with the negative auxiliary verb *ni-*: *-setu'*). This suffix does not alter the aspect of the verb. E.g. *turcetym* 'I am in the habit of coming'; *namdasetyw* 'I used to listen to it, I usually listened to it' (*namdaw* 'I listened to it').

A durative verb can be given an ingressive function by adding the suffix *-l-*. Such ingressive verbs belong to the reflexive conjugation. E.g. *jiileljüw'* 'I revived (intr.)', *põda jiilelj'* 'he revived'.

Moods

There are ten moods: indicative, narrative, potential, auditive, subjunctive, imperative, optative, precative, obligative, and interrogative.

INDICATIVE

The indicative has no characteristic.

NARRATIVE

The narrative mood implies that the action is reported to have taken place, or that one infers or remembers (more or less vaguely) that it has taken place. It has the characteristic *-wy* ~ *-wõ-* (*-my* ~ *-mõ-*). E.g. *iwan toowy* '(it is obvious, or they say that) Ivan has come.'

POTENTIAL

The potential expresses a high degree of likelihood. The mood characteristic consists of *-ky* ~ *-kõ-*, added to *-na-* (suffix of ptc prs) or *-wõ-* (= the characteristic of the narrative mood).

AUDITIVE

The auditive mood is, historically speaking, no doubt a noun, being combined with regular possessive suffixes. Suffix: *-won(o)-*, *mon(o)-*. Function: 'I (we) have heard that . . .'.

SUBJUNCTIVE

The subjunctive has a conditional or imperative (hortative) function. It has the characteristic *-ji-* or *-ńi-*.

IMPERATIVE

The imperative does not occur in the 1st person singular. In the 1st person dual and plural it has a hortative function.

The 2nd person singular of the imperative ends in *spiritus lenis*. In 1du, 1pl, 2du, and 2pl, the mood characteristic consists of *-h-*, followed by a vowel of the same quality as the preceding vowel; e.g. *madahawa'* 'let us cut, secemus!' The third person has the characteristic *-ja*, e.g. *madaja* 'he shall cut, secet, secato'.

OPTATIVE

The optative has the characteristic *-rawa* (after a stem ending in a vowel), *-lawa* (in combination with a stem ending in a consonant).

PRECATIVE

The precative has the characteristic *-h-* + vowel + *r*, or *-gar*, or *-kar*. E.g. *madahar'* 'please cut!'

OBLIGATIVE

The obligative implies that somebody ought to do something. It has the characteristic *-bcu* or (in combination with a stem ending in a consonant) *-su*. E.g. *madabcum* 'I have got to (I ought to) cut'.

The combination of the characteristic of the precative mood with *-cu* conveys the meaning '(I) have got to, please, may (I)'.

INTERROGATIVE

The interrogative mood refers to the past. It has the characteristic *-sa, -ca.* E.g. *hanææna jiilesan* 'where did you live?'

Personal endings

Subjective conjugation

Strictly speaking, only the 1st person and the 2nd person have personal endings. Even the 3pl has no personal ending; it is distinguished from the 3sg only by the plural ending [']. The imperative has no personal ending in the 2sg. (In 2du and 2pl, it has a personal ending, but no mood characteristic.)

The personal endings are—apart from the imperative—1sg *-(d)m*, 2sg *-n*, 1du *-mi'*, 2du *-di'*, 1pl *-wa'*, 2pl *-da'*. 3du *-ŋaha'* contains the dual (ndu) ending *-ha'*.

Reflexive conjugation

In the second person, this conjugation has the same personal endings as the subjective conjugation.

3du has the noun-ending *-h-* + vowel + [']. The other endings are: 1sg *-w'*, 3sg ['], 1du *-ni'*, 1pl *-na'*, 3pl *-d'*.

Objective conjugation

The personal endings are identical with the corresponding possessive suffixes as they appear in combination with the nominative of stems ending in vowel. (The Px1sg is asyllabic in verb forms: *-w*, not *-mi*, and *-n*, not *-ni*.)

In the dual, the dual ending—indicating the object—is *-hajü-*, preceded by *-ŋa-*; e.g. *madaŋahajün* 'I cut' (two trees).

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

Verb nouns

NOMEN ACTIONIS

Suffix *-wa, -ma,* e.g. *hõwa,* Forest *kaema* 'the action of going away, departure' (*hõ-* 'go'); *nuumaw jææw* 'the place where I was standing'

(*nuu-* 'to stand', *jææ* 'place'); *mań tyy tõmdamaw neenõte* 'the man I bought the reindeer from' (*tõmda-* 'buy').

NOMEN AGENTIS, PARTICIPLE (ACTIVE AND PASSIVE)

Suffix: *-da, -ta*. E.g. *yaamdææda* 'sitting (sedens), sitter; prisoner'; *maanta* 'saying (dicens), sayer'; *haadabada yuli'* *jæygu* 'there is nothing to kill'; *mań haadabadin ni' ya'* 'they have not been killed by me'.

PRESENT PARTICIPLE

Suffix: *-na* (after a stem ending in a vowel), *-da*. E.g. *jiilena* 'living (vivens, vivus)'.

PAST PARTICIPLE

Suffix: *-wy, -my* (also *-maj* etc.). E.g. *jiilewy* 'having lived'; *yadamy* 'having torn; torn'. See above, Narrative mood.

FUTURE PARTICIPLE

Suffix: *-wanda, -manda*. E.g. *sertawanda* 'he who will do (it); that which will be done' (stem: *serta-*); *poodeermanda* 'he who is going to harness; the one that shall be harnessed'.

NOMEN CARITIVUM

Suffix: *-wadawõj, -madawõj*; e.g. *sertawadawõj* 'he who has not done (it); undone'; *poodeermadawõj* 'he who has not harnessed; unharnessed'.

Isolated forms

INFINITIVE

The infinitive is formed with the ending *-ś* (*-ź, -ć*), or by lengthening the final vowel of the verb stem; e.g. *madaś* or *madaa* 'to cut'.

GERUNDIUM TEMPORALE

Ending *-b'*, e.g. *põwsümb'* 'when it darkened, at dusk' (*põwsüm-* 'get dark').

GERUNDIUM CONDITIONALE

Whilst the *gerundium temporale*, from an historical point of view, seems to be a gsg, the *gerundium conditionale* has prevailingly the case ending *-na*, which may be identical with the ancient locative

ending *-na* ~ *-ne* preserved in *nine* 'on', *tææhana* 'behind, there', etc. The subject is indicated by a possessive suffix. The *derivative* suffix of the gerund is *-b-* after a vowel, and *-ba-* after a consonant. Thus, the ending is (the derivative suffix included): 1sg *-b(a)nan(i)*, 2sg *-b(a)nand*, 3sg *-b(a)nanda*, 1du *-b(a)nani'*, etc.

This gerund may have a conditional function, e.g. *põdar toobnand mań mækani haantam* 'if (or when) thou comest ('in the case of thy coming'), I shall go to my tent'. But often it functions as an infinitive, e.g. *hunææna iwan hõbnanda taaraa* 'tomorrow Ivan must depart (drive away)'.

PARADIGMS

Subjective conjugation

Indicative

PRESENT TENSE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*madam* 'I cut'	*madani'*	*madawa'*
2	*madan*	*madadi'*	*madada'*
3	*mada*	*madaŋaha'*	*mada'*

PRETERITE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*madamź*	*madaninź*	*madawać*
2	*madanaś*	*madadinź*	*madadać*
3	*madaś*	*madaŋahanź*	*madać*

IMPERATIVE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1		*madahani'*	*madahawa'*
2	*mada'*	*madadi'*	*madada'*
3	*madaja*	*madajaha'*	*madaja'*

Objective conjugation

Indicative

PRESENT TENSE

Subject	Object		
	Sg	Du.	Pl.
s 1	*madaw*	*madaŋahajün*	*madajn*
2	*madar*	*madaŋahajüd*	*madajd*
3	*madada*	*madaŋahajüda*	*madajda*
d 1	*madami'*	*madaŋahajüni'*	*madajni'*
2	*madari'*	*madaŋahajüdi'*	*madajdi'*
3	*madadi'*	*madaŋahajüdi'*	*madajdi'*
p 1	*madawa'*	*madaŋahajüna'*	*madajna'*
2	*madara'*	*madaŋahajüda'*	*madajda'*
3	*madado'*	*madaŋahajüdo'*	*madajdo'*

PRETERITE

Subject	Object		
	Sg	Du.	Pl.
s 1	*madawaś*	*madaŋahajünaś*	*madajnaś, -jænaś*
2	*madaraś*	*madaŋahajüdaś*	*madajdaś, -jædaś*
3	*madadaś*	*madaŋahajüdaś*	*madajdaś, -jædaś*
d 1	*madaminź*	*madaŋahajüninź*	*madajninź, -jæninź*
2	*madarinź*	*madaŋahajüdinź*	*madajdinź, -jædinź*
3	*madadinź*	*madaŋahajüdinź*	*madajdinź, -jædinź*
p 1	*madawać*	*madaŋahajünać*	*madajnaś, -jænaś*
2	*madarać*	*madaŋahajüdać*	*madajdaś, -jædaś*
3	*madadonź*	*madaŋahajüdonź*	*madajdonź, -jædonź*

Reflexive conjugation

Indicative

PRESENT TENSE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*madajüw'*	*madajni'*	*madajna'*
2	*madajn*	*madajdi'*	*madajda'*
3	*madaj'*	*madajha'*	*madajd'*

PRETERITE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*madawać*	*madaninź*	*madanać*
2	*madanać*	*madadinź*	*madadać*
3	*madać*	*madahanź*	*madadać*

TEXT

sidæ habi. tõdiˀ nærharˀ jüˀ. ŋarka habi pyda tarem ma:

'tedaˀ hane tara, hor hadabnanaˀ tara. tarem pæbnana nærharˀ jüˀ tõwaˀ malˀ ŋamdynaˀ.'

hunæna ŋarka habi tarem ma:

'hõś tara.'

numda põwsümæ. pi seŋgaˀ. hunæna jürkydˀ. ŋarka habi mæta hawda. nüdæ habi mækananda tõhõnata haji ne nændanæ.

hunæna nüdæ habi ŋobtarem hajæ samlæŋg jæŋganæ tõhõna. siˀiw müse. tad tikahad põdaran tõwyˀ: horaˀ hajürŋaˀ ŋopojlad.

pyda tarem ma:

'tükumi tænœ, tamna hõś tara.'

hunæna ŋobtarem jæmdajˀ.

tad tikahad ŋaniˀ siˀiw müse. sidæ pæd salæ ŋadimæ. sidæ pæd salæ pond ta ŋõsy.

tad tikahad pi seŋgaˀ.

hunæna tyda tanajda. tad tikahad ŋõdalajˀ.

tüku jælæ jüdm hada. mækanda hajæ, honajˀ. hunæna jürkyˀ, ŋaworŋa, pin tarpyˀ. tyda tanajda, poderjæda, tad tikahad ŋõdalajˀ.

Two men. They have thirty reindeer. The older man said (thus):

'Now we must hunt, we must kill wild reindeer. If we go on like this, we shall (have to) eat all our thirty reindeer.'

In the morning the old man said (thus):

'We must go.'

The sky darkened. They passed the night (where they were). In the morning they got up. The old man pulled down his tent. The younger man stayed in his tent together with his younger sister.

In the morning the young man also went with his fifteen reindeer. He wandered for seven (days). Then he came to a forest: there were single wild reindeer lingering about.

He said (thus):

'These are too few for me; I have to go on.'

In the morning he started wandering as before. Then he wandered again for seven days. Two forest heads became visible. He camped between the two forest heads.

Then he stayed the night.

In the morning he collected his reindeer. Then he drove on.

That day he killed ten (wild reindeer). He went to his tent, and he fell asleep. In the morning he got up, ate and went out. He collected his reindeer, harnessed them and drove on.

jælæ jæmban syŋgaræda jæŋgu.

ŋani' jüdm hada. põwsümb' mækanda tõwy'.

ne næhanda tarem ma:
'tüku pi tyn jebnani ni tara'.'

honajha'.hunænajürkjæha'.nüdæ habi:

'jedm pire', ne næw!'
pin tarpy', nimdæ særada tõhõta hajæ. hadon tõwy' — tyda jæŋgu'. tyda püre hajæ. ty ŋut tõwy': tyda sarmik hanawyda. si'iw jæda. si'iw jælæ tyta ŋudo'mana jæda. ŋuli' amgõhõrt ni ŋadü'. ŋani' si'iw jæda. mal'ćada mal' sane. hadhana si'iw jælæ jæda. hanæ' jædawamda jõhõrada.

tarem jædamahananda wydara. sæny ŋõbta had wajera. tad tikahad syrŋa — tenewana jæ ŋuli' jæŋgu.

tad tikahad ŋani' si'iw jæda. nerndanæna ŋopoj mæ' ŋadimæ. mæt tõwy'. wõneko madly'. mækad ŋopoj ne pin tarpy'. tad tikahad ne mertæwna ŋani' mæt tü. nüdæ habi mæt tü. mækana sidæ ne, hasawa jæŋgowy. ne wõwa wadada jæŋgu, sawa wadada jæŋgu. nüdæ habi ma:

'ne jænõdœw! jedadami ninækõn pireŋgu'?'

During the day there was no news of him.

He killed ten (wild reindeer) again. When it darkened, he came to his tent.

He said (thus) to his sister:

'This night I'll not have to watch my reindeer.'

They (both) fell asleep. In the morning they got up. The young man (said):

'Heat the kettle, sister!'

He went out, put on his belt and went to his reindeer. He went to the pasture—his reindeer where not there! He went to search for his reindeer. He came to a reindeer track: the wolves had driven away his reindeer. For seven days he goes. For seven days he follows the track of his reindeer. Nothing at all is visible. He goes for seven days again. His fur-coat got all wet. In the whirling snow he went for seven days. He did not know where he was going.

Going thus, he got exhausted. Meanwhile, the snow-storm ceased. Then he looked—there was no known land at all.

Then he went for seven days again. A tent was seen standing in front of him. He went to the tent. A dog started barking. A woman came out from the tent. Then the woman went into the tent again hurriedly. The young man went into the tent. Two women were in the tent, but no man. The woman had neither bad nor good words. The young man said:

'Sister-in-law! Don't you heat the kettle for me?'

ne tarem ma:
'nenõćami tobnanda puna manda: jehõrana hibærim mædolabta pæwõn.'
jedm ne pire'.
numda põwsümæ. pon niś ŋa'. wõn' madlyd'. pihid ŋõ mu' næ sin to. südbæ mando ŋõwy. wa'awanda ni' ŋamdy'. ne jedamda tædada. næbi hydæm pelejkonæh moda. südbæ mando ma:

'ŋawor'!'
tad tikahad pyda ma:
'hanæd ton?'-
nüdæ habi ma:
'sarmik' tyni hanać. tyni pumna jædõrmahanani wydaram. jepada tudami pürŋam.'

mando ma:
'mań nænani tym jerana tara. nænani jile'!'

The woman said:
'When my husband comes, then he'll say: I see you have taken to entertain unknown people.'
She did not heat the kettle.
It darkened. A little later, the dogs started barking. From outside the sound of footsteps came through the door. The giant Mando appeared. He sat down on the master's place. The woman removed the kettle (from the fire). She threw a cup on the place to the right of the entrance. The giant Mando said:
'Eat!'
Then he said:
'From where have you come?'
The young man said:
'The wolves drove my reindeer away. Going for my reindeer, I got tired. I seek a warm fire for myself.'
Mando said:
'I need a (reindeer) herdsman. Live with me!'

sidæ two; see U fi *kaksi*. || *habi* man, human being, esp. foreigner, e.g. Selkup, Vogul, Ostyak (C Ostyak; man-servant). || *ty*, L *tyy* reindeer; see U fi *teva*. *-di'* Px3du. || *næhar'* (*ææ*) three (PSam). || *jü'* ~ *jüd-* (*üü*) ten; see U fi *viisi*. || *ŋarka*, *ŋaarka* big, great; older, elder (PSam). || *pyda*, C *puda* he, she; *pyd* body. || *tarem* so, ita; cf. U fi *tuo*. || *ma*, 3sg prs ind. of *man-*, *maan-* say; see U fi *manaa-*. || *teda'* (*ee*) now; cf. U fi *tämä*. || *hane*, inf. of *hane-* catch (game), hunt; see U fi **kunne*. || *tara*, 3sg prs ind. of *tara-*, *taara-* be necessary. || *hor*, apl of *hora*, *hoora* the male, particularly of the reindeer; wild reindeer; see U fi *koira* (under lpKola *gujj*). || *hadabnana'*, gsg Px1pl of conditional gerund of *hada-*, *haada-* kill: causative of *haa-* die; see U fi *kuole-*. || *pæbnana*, gsg Px1pl of cond. gerund of *pæ-* begin, go ahead; cf. U fi *pää*. || *tõwa'*, nsg (= *ty*) Px1pl. || *mal* (*aa*) end; height; *mal'* whole, all. || *ŋamdyna'*, 1pl prs, plural obj., of *ŋamda-* eat; *ŋama-*

id. (PSam). || *hunæna, huunææna* in the morning; *hu*, C *huuwy, huwii* morning; cf. tv *kidü-* wake up (intr.); *kidüatu* morning | ynH *kururuo*, B *kiduduo* morning | sk *kar* | km D *korod'on* morning; the day tomorrow; C *kari t'alan* tomorrow (*t'ala* day) | vg *hol* morning; *holi* east | osN *hola* sunrise | hu *holnap* tomorrow. || *hõś*, inf. of *hõ-, hań-* (*aa*), *haje-* go (from a place or to a place); start; see U yr *haje-*. || *numda*, nsg Px3sg of *num* sky, heaven; see U vg *nu-*. || *põwsümæ*, 3sg prs of *põwsüm-* get dark; *põwi, põbi, põwdæ* dark; see U fi *pimeä*. || *pi* (*ii*) night (PSam). || *seŋga'*, 3pl prs of *seŋga-* (*ee*) pass the night, be the night (somewhere); *seŋga* black, dark brown. || *jürkyd'*, 3pl prs, reflexive conj., of *jürka-* rise. || *mæta*, nsg (used as direct object) Px3sg of *mæ'* ~ *mæd-* (*ææ*) tent. || *hawda*, 3sg prs of *hawda-, hawada-* overturn, knock over, pull down; *hawa-* fall over, fall down; see U fi *kumo*. || *nüdæ* little, small; younger; yn *urea, judea*; km *üdügä*. || *mækananda*, loc. sg Px3sg of *mæ'*. || *tõhõnata*, loc. pl. Px3sg of *ty*. || *haji*, 3sg prs (?) of *hajœ-, haajœ-* remain behind, stay; *haje-* (*aa*) abandon; see U fi *kato*. || *ne, nee* woman; see U hu *nő*. || *nændanæ*, comitative Px3sg of *næ, nææ* brother, fellow, comrade; tv *ńaa*; sk *ńee*; *ne næ* (younger) sister. || *ŋobtarem* (*oo*) also, too, likewise, = *ŋob'* one + *tarem*. || *hajæ*, 3sg prs of *hań-* ~ *hõ-*. || *samlæŋg* (*ææ*) five (PSam). *jæŋganæ*, ptc of *jæŋga-* be outside. *samlæŋg jæŋganæ* fifteen. || *tõhõna*, loc. sg of *ty*. || *si'iw* seven; tv *šaibua*; yn *se'o*; km *sej'bü* (sk *seelde, heelž*); cf. fi *seitsemän* (*seitsemä-, seitsen-*) | lp *čiežâ* | md *sisem* | ch *šišim* | vty, zr *śiźim*. || *müse*, 3sg prs of *müse-* (*üü*) migrate, move; *mü, müü* journey, trip with the caravan from one tent-place to another. || *tad*, gsg (?) of the demonstrative pronoun *ta*, that; *tikahad*, separative of *tiky*, that, yonder; *tad tikahad* then, after that. || *põdaran*, lat. of *põdara* forest. || *tõwy'*, 3sg prs, refl. conj., of *tõwa-* (*õõ*) arrive, reach; see U fi *saa-*. || *hora'*, npl of *hora*. || *hajürŋa'*, 3sg prs of *hajür-* remain behind (repeatedly). || *ŋopojlad* one by one; *ŋopoj* one. || *tükumi*, nsg Px1sg of *tüku* this. || *tænœ* (*ææ*) little, few; tv *tanua'*, *tanuaŋ*; yn *tenne*; sk *taanaŋ*. || *tamna*, prolative of *ta* this: still, etiamnunc, etiamtum; already. || *jæmdaj'*, 3sg prs, refl. conj., of *jæmda-* migrate (with a caravan). || *ŋani'* (*aa*) anew, again; *ŋani* (*aa*) other, another. || *pæd* = *pæ'*, gsg of *pæ, pææ* (< **paa*) tree, forest; see U fi *puu*. || *salæ* promontory, land tongue; see U fi *salo*. *pæd*

salæ protruding forest. || *ŋadimæ*, 3sg prs of *ŋadim-* become visible; *ŋadæ-* be visible; *ŋadi* visible; yn *ori*, *odi* visible; sk *ada-*, *ača-* be visible. || *pond*, lat. of *po'* inter-space: (to a place) between; cf. (loc.) *poŋana* between, (sep.) *poŋad* from between. || *ta* you see, see there; = dem. pron. *ta*. || *ŋõsy*, 3sg prs of *ŋõso-* (*õõ*) stop, and put up one's tent; *ŋysy*, *ŋyysy* tent settlement; see U fi *asu-*. || *tyda*, n(sg)pl of *ty* (used as direct object). || *tanajda*, 3sg prs, pl. obj., of *tana-*, *taana-* drive (trans.); tv *tonu-*; yn *tanno-*. || *ŋõdalaj'*, 3sg prs, refl. conj., of *ŋõdala-* drive, ride in a sledge. || *jælæ*, *jæælæ* day; light, l u m e n; sun; light, bright; see U lp *jâlâkâs*. || *hada*, 3sg prs of *hada-*. || *mækanda*, lat. Px3sg of *mæ'*. || *hajæ*, 3sg prs of *hań-* ~ *hõ-*. || *honaj'*, 3sg prs, refl. conj., of *hona-* (*oo*) fall asleep; P *honœ-*, C *hoony-* sleep. || *jürky'*, 3sg prs, refl. conj., of *jürka-*. || *ŋaworŋa*, 3sg prs of *ŋawor-* eat; cf. *ŋama-* id. || *pin*, C *pihin*, *piin* out (movement); *pihine*, *pihinæ* out (position); *pihid* from without; yn (lat.) *fioddo'*, (loc.) *fiohone*, (sep.) *fiohoro*. || *tarpy'*, 3sg prs, refl. conj., of *tarpa-* go out. || *poderjæda*, 3sg prs, pl. obj., of *poder-* (*oo*) to harness, put to; *poder'* breast-strap (draught); see U lpKola *boackas*. || *jæmban* (*ææ*) along, during; C *jaamb* long, tall. - *syŋgarœda*, nsg Px3sg of *syŋgarœ* news. || *jæŋgu* there is not. || *põw*|| *sümb'*, temporal gerund of *põwsüm-*. || *næhanda*, lat. Px3sg of *næ*. || *tyn*, gsgpl Px1sg of *ty*. || *jebnani*, gerund (loc. Px1sg of verb noun) of *je-*, *jee-* watch, tend. || *ni*, 3sg prs of the negative verb *ni-*; see U hu *në*. || *tara'*, the form of *tara-* which is used in combination with the neg. verb. || *honajha'*, *jürkjæha'*, 3du prs, refl. conj. || *jed* (*ee*) kettle (PSam). || *pire'*, 2sg imper. of *pire-* cook (trans.); *pi-*, *pii-* ripen, get ready; *pi* ripe, ready; *piwy* cooked; see U hu *fő-*. || *næw*, nsg Px1sg of *næ*. || *nimdæ*, asg Px3sg of *ni*, *nii* belt, girdle; see U vty *jä*. || *særada*, 3sg prs, sg obj., of *særa-* (*ææ*) to tie; see U hu *szalag*. || *tõhõta*, lat. pl Px3sg of *ty*. || *hadon*, lat. sg of *hado* winter pasture; see U lp *guotto-*. || *tõwy'*, 3sg prs, refl. conj., of *tõwa-*. || *tyda*, npl Px3sg of *ty*. || *jæŋgu'*, 3pl prs. || *pürć*, inf. of *pür-* (*üü*), C *piurŋa-*, *püurŋa-* seek, search (for); tv *fuure-*; sk *pera-*; derived from yr C (1sg prs) *piiuu*, *püuu*, sk *pea-*, km *pie-*; cf. U fi *pyytä-*. || *ŋut*, lat. of *ŋu'* ~ *ŋud-*, *ŋut* path, way, track; see U hu *út*. || *sarmik* (*aa*) wolf; see U lpSkolt *čõrˈmâ*. || *hanawyda*, 3sg prs, sg obj., narrative mood, of *hana-*, *haana-* carry away, drive away; see U fi *kanta-*. || *jæda*, 3sg prs of

jæda- (*ææ*) go; see U lp *jotte-*. || *tyta*, gpl Px3sg of *ty*. || *ŋudo'mana*, prol. pl. of *ŋu'*. || *ŋuli'* very, exceedingly, quite, altogether; see U lp *ollo*. || *amgõhõrt* = *ŋamgõhõrt* whosoever, whatever; *amgõ* = *ŋamgõ* what. || *ŋaďü'*, verb form used in combination with neg. verb (*ŋadæ-*). || *mal'ća* fur coat with the hair on the inside, worn with nothing beneath, 'malitsa'. *-da*, Px3sg. || *sane*, 3sg prs of *sane-* get wet. || *hadhana*, loc. of *had* (*aa*) fine drifting snow, snow-storm; see U est *kidu-*. || *hanæ'* whither see fi *kuka*. || *jehõrada*, 3sg prs, sg obj., of *jehõra-* ignore, not know (something), not understand; yn *jahuða-*, *joharo-*. || *jædawamda*, *jædamahananda*, asg Px3sg and loc. Px3sg respectively, of verb noun of *jæda-*; the derivative ending is = fi *-ma* ~ *-mä*. || *wydara*, 3sg prs of *wydara-* not be able, not have enough strength, succumb, become exhausted; *wyda-* be able, have enough strength. || *sæny ŋobta* in the meanwhile, all of a sudden. As to *sæny*, cf. C *śańe* when, and *śańi* earlier, before, from *śa* what. *ŋobta* may be *ŋob'*, one, + *ta*, see there! || *wajera*, 3sg prs of *wajera-* pass on, pass off, wear off (intr.), cease. || *syrŋa-*, 3sg prs of *syr-* look, view, see. || *tenewana*, ptc prs act. and pass. of *tenewa-* know (something); *tene-*, *teene-* id.; remember (tv, yn, sk). || *jæ*, *jææ* soil, land, place (PSam). || *nerndanæna*; *nernæna* before, in front of . .; *-da*, Px3sg; C *ner* forward part; L *neeryy* fore, anterior, foremost; see U md *neŕ*. || *mæt*, lat. of *mæ'*. || *wõneko* = *wõ'* ~ *wõn-* (õõ) dog (PSam). || *madly'*, 3sg prs, refl. conj., of *madla-* start barking; *maadar-* bark; *maad* (the) barking. (PSam). || *mækad*, sep. of *mæ'*. || *mertæwna* swiftly: prol. of *mertæ* (*ee*) swift, rapid. || *tü*, 3sg prs of *tü-*, *tüü-* approach, come, enter; see U hu *av-*. || *mækana*, loc. of *mæ'*. || *hasawa*, *haasawa*, Forest *kaasama* man, husband, Samoyed; tv ***kojung***, ***kajungma*** man (human being; human male); yrForest *kaasa* young man; human male; Samoyed; yn *kaasa* human male; km *kuza* human being. || *jæŋgowy*, 3sg prs, narrative mood, of *jæŋgo-*. || *wõwa* (õõ) bad; nasty. || *wada*, *waada* word (< **wahada*: *waha-* speak). *-da*, Px3sg. || *jænõdœw*, hypocoristic derivative, + Px1sg, of *jænõ'* ~ *jænõs-* (*ææ*) relative by marriage; bridegroom; P 'svat' (: father of the son-in-law or daughter-in-law; match-maker, wooer's proxy); see U lpKola *vún'dam*. *ne* feminine. || *jedadami*, asg (or nsg) Dx1sg of *jed*. || *ninækon*, 2sg pot. of neg. verb *ni*. || *pireŋgu'*, form of the future base of *pire-*, used

in combination with neg. verb. || *nenõćami*, nsg Px1sg of *nenõć'* ~ *nenõćan-* (*nenec'*, etc.; *-ee-*) man, human being; Samoyed, Yurak; tv *ŋanasaŋ* ~ *ŋanasana-* human being; Samoyed, Tavgi-Samoyed; yn *eneť* ~ *eneťen-* human being; Samoyed, Yenisei-Samoyed; *nenõj* real, genuine; tv *ŋano*; yn *enej*. || *tobnanda*, cond. gerund of *to-*, *too-* come, arrive; see U fi *tule-*. || *puna* (*uu*) after, afterwards, later; behind: see U fi *puo*. || *manda*, 3sg prs, sg obj., of *man-*. || *jehõrana*, ptc prs (pass.) of *jehõra-*. || *hibæri*, *hiberi* somebody, anybody; *hibi*, *hibe* (dial. *-m-*) who. *-m*, asg. || *mædolabta*, inf. of *mædolabta-* receive as a guest, treat, entertain (*mæ'*). || *pæwõn*, 2sg pot. of *pæ-*. || *pon* long, for a long time, d i u. || *niś*, 3sg prt of *ni-*. || *ŋa-* be. || *wõn'*, npl of *wõ'*. || *madlyd'*, 3pl prs, refl. conj., of *madla-*. || *ŋõ*, *ŋõõ* foot. || *mu'* ~ *mun-* (*uu*) sound, noise. || *nœ*, *nœœ* door; see U fi *ovi*. || *si*, *sii* hole, opening (PSam). *-n*, lat. || *südbæ* (*üü*) giant, forest-spirit. || *ŋõwy*, 3sg narr. of *ŋa-*. || *wa'awanda*, lat. Px3sg of C *wa'u* sleeping-place, couch, bed; either of the halves of the tent; place; see U vg *waapi*. || *ni'* to, onto, on: lat. of the defective noun *ni-*; see U fi *ylä-*. || *ŋamdy'*, 3sg prs, refl. conj., of *ŋamda-* (*aa*) sit down; *ŋamdœ-* sit. || *jedamda*, asg Dx3sg of *jed*. || *tædada*, 3sg prs, sg obj., of *tæda-* take out, put off, remove. || *næbi* (*ææ*) another. || *hydæ* cup; see U md *keče*. *-m*, asg. || *pelejko* (P) the place to the right of the door in the tent, (L) the empty left side of the tent; *pele*, *peele* half; see U fi *pieli*. *-næ'*, *-nææ'* towards: lat. of *næ*. || *moda*, 3sg prs, sg obj., of *mo-*, *moo-* throw. || *ŋawor'*, 2sg imper. of *ŋawor-*. || *hanæd* where from, whence; see U fi *kuka*. || *tyni*, apl Px1sg of *ty*. || *hanać*, 3pl prt of *hana-*. || *pumna* after (speaking of a movement); prol. of *pu-*: see (above) *puna*. || *jædõrmahanani*, iness. Px1sg of *jædõrma*, verb noun of *jædõr-*, frequentative-continuative of *jæda-*. || *wydaram*, 1sg prs of *wydara-*. || *jepada*, ptc prs of *jepa-* (*ee*) be hot, be warm. || *tudami*, asg Dx1sg of *tu* fire; see U fi *tuli*. || *pürŋam*, 1sg prs of *pür-*. || *mań* I; see U fi *minä*. || *nænani* with me, about me: loc. Px1sg of *næ*. || *tym*, asg of *ty*. || *jerana*, ptc prs of *jera* (*ee*), to watch, guard, tend. || *jile'*, 2sg imper. of *jile-* (*ii*) live; see U fi *elä-*.

SELKUP

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

The idiom described by Prokof'ev (Taz dialect) has the following vowels:

Back		Middle	Front		
u	*y*	(*ï*)		*i*	High
o		(*ɐ̯o*) *ɛo*		*e* *ɛ*	Middle-high
å	*a*			*ä*	Low
Lab.	Non-l.		Lab.	Non-l.	

ï is written *i* in Literary Selkup, but it functions rather as a variant (allophone) of *y*.

ɐ̯o is a variant of *ɛ̯o*. We follow Prokof'ev in writing *ə* for both.

To judge from the description given by Prokof'ev, *ɛ* would rather be *ɛ̯* according to the FUF system of transcription. Literary Selkup has *e*, in some cases *ə*.

The opposition between short and long (or perhaps rather: half-long) vowels has sometimes a lexical value.

Vowel harmony

In some dialects there are traces of vowel harmony; e.g. lative *labond*, *kobond*, *eedend*, *üdend*, of *lab* 'oar', *kob* 'hide, skin', *eed* 'tent', *ün* 'strap'. In the Narym dialect there is even labial harmony, e.g. gsg *margan*, *tobon*, *tiben*, *ügön*, of *marg* 'copse', *tob* 'foot', *tib* 'stick', *üg* 'cap'.

CONSONANTS

The Taz dialect has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales anter.		Postdorsales poster.	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.		
Explosivae	(*b*)	*p*	*d*	*t*								*k*		*q*
Fric. blaesiformes .	*w*								*j*		*γ*			
Fric. sibilantes . .			*z*	*s*		*š*								
Affricatae								*č*						
Tremulantes . . .					*r*									
Cryptofricativae . .			*l*				*l'*							
Nasales	*m*		*n*				*ń*				*ŋ*		(*ŋ̣*)	

b is voiced before *l*, otherwise half-voiced.

d and *z* are half-voiced.

g is voiced before *l*; otherwise, it is mostly half-voiced.

q is voiced before *l*, mostly half-voiced after a voiced consonant and in intervocalic position, otherwise unvoiced.

ŋ is homorganic with *q* when it has developed from this consonant before *m*.

š is palatalized, according to Prokof'ev.

ć is sometimes half-voiced in intervocalic position. We shall write *č* for *ć* (cf. FUV, p. XVII).

Glottal stop seems to occur in *aa'*, or *aəə'* 'oh, yes!'

Most consonants can be long (geminate) in intervocalic position. Otherwise, all consonants may be regarded as short.

STRESS

As a rule, the stress is on the first syllable.

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

The Px3sg (sometimes even other Px) may function as definite article. The numeral *ukkyr* 'one' may function as a kind of indefinite article, e.g. *ukkyr qorqy tündy* 'there came a bear'.

Selkup has two genders: *genus animatum* and *genus inanimum*.

Like Vogul, Ostyak and Northern Samoyed, Selkup has a dual even in the declension of nouns.

In Selkup, the stem of a noun may be defined as being identical with the nominative singular. If a suffix consisting of a consonant or a consonant cluster or beginning with a cluster is combined with a stem that ends in a consonant, a vowel appears between the stem and the suffix; e.g. *måt* 'tent, hut', asg *måtyp*, translative *måtytqo*, but lative *måtty*, separative *måtqyny*.

The *-ŋ* ~ *-k* of a stem may disappear before a consonant, e.g. *täbäk* 'squirrel', asg *täbäp*.

Before *-myn* ~ *-myt* and *-q-* + vowel, the final vowel of the stem is long, e.g. *myka* 'needle', separative *mykaaqyny*. Stems in *y* have *oo* in this position, e.g. *üky* 'cap', ndu *ükooqy*.

Selkup has the following ordinary cases: nominative, genitive, accusative; locative, separative, lative(-dative), prolative; instructive, translative.

Nominative singular has no ending.

The *genitive* has the ending *-n* ~ *-t*.

The *accusative* has the ending *-m* ~ *-p*.

For the case of the direct object, Wickman gives the following rules:

1) If the verb is in the 2nd person of the imperative, the object is in the nominative.

2) If the object has a cardinal number for an attribute, it is mostly in the nominative.

3) For the rest, the accusative is the most common case of the object.

The *locative* has the ending *-qyn* ~ *-qyt* in the inanimate gender.

In the animate gender it is formed by adding *-myqyt* to the genitive.

NOTE.—Historically, *-myqyt* is the loc. of the word *my* 'something, a piece'.

The *separative* has the ending *-qyny* in the inanimate gender. In the animate gender it is formed by adding *-nån(y)* to the genitive.

NOTE.—In the idiom described by Castrén the locative was identical with the separative: inanimate *-gan*, animate *-nan*.

The *lative* has *-ndy* (after a vowel) ~ *-ty* (after a consonant) in the inanimate gender, *-nyŋ* ~ *-nyk* in the animate.

NOTE.—In the Ket dialect, *-nyŋ* is the ending of the dative, whereas the ending *-ny* can be rendered by '(moving) to, towards'.

The *prolative* has the ending *-myn* ~ *-myt*.

The *instructive* has the ending *-sä*.

The *translative* is formed by adding *-qo* to the genitive. It indicates that somebody or something is transformed into that which is expressed by the word stem, that something is intended to function as such, or that the verb action takes place in view of, because of it, etc.

NOTE.—Castrén regards *qo* as a postposition.

The instructive ending *-sä* sometimes can be rendered by '(together) with'. Besides that, Prokof'ev mentions an obsolete *comitative* case, which is formed by adding *-əpti* to the genitive.

A few words have a *vocative*, e.g. *kəcanəə* of *kəcan* 'grandchild'.

The *dual* has the characteristic *-qy*, to which the same case endings are added as in the singular, except in the lative, which has the case ending *-tkinï*.

The eyes, hands etc. (and even the gloves etc.) of one individual are expressed by *sajï*, *uty* etc. in the *singular*; and 'one hand', etc., is rendered by *pɛläl'* ('half') *uty*, etc.

NOTE.—'My parents' is rendered by *mat äsänyl' ämänyl' myqääqy*. *äsänyl'* is an adjective, formed from gsg Px1sg of *əsy* 'father', and *ämänyl'* is in the same relation to *əmy* 'mother'. *-qä* is a copulative suffix, according to Prokof'ev.

The *plural* has the characteristic *-t* (~ *-n*) ~ *-ty-* in the animate gender; the case endings are the same as in the dual. Inanimate

nouns have only a periphrastic plural, formed by combining the word stem with the suffix *-l'*, which has otherwise the function of forming adjectives from substantives, and adding the word *my*, 'something, a piece', in the singular. *ükyl' my*, npl of *üky* 'cap', would then be, literally, 'something cap-like, something (a quantity) in the kind of cap(s)'.

NOTE.—Castrén has the plural characteristics *-la* and *-t* ~ *-de-* alternatively in both genders.

Numerals

Cardinal numbers

The cardinal numbers 1–7 are: *ukkyr*, *okkyr* 1, *šitty*, (dual:) *šittääqy* 2, *nååqyr* 3, *teetty* 4, *sombyla* 5, *muktyt* (C also *mukte*, *muktey*) 6, *seel'či* 7. 10 is *köt*. 8 is *šitty čäŋgytyl' köt* or *šitty čäŋ köt* ('a decade where two units are lacking'), and 9 is *ukkyr čäŋgytyl' köt*, *okkyr čäŋ köt* ('a decade where a unit is lacking'). 11 is *ukkyr kəl' köt* (*kəl'* is an adjective, formed from *kə* 'surplus'). 20 is *šittysar*, 30 *nassar*, 40 *teesar* or *tessar*, 50 *sombylazar*, 60 *muksar* or *muktyssar*, 70 *seľčsar* (*sar* means 'bundle', cf. *sååry-* 'to tie, bind'). 18 is *šitty čäŋgytyl' šittysar*, 19 is *ukkyr čäŋgytyl' šittysar*. 100 is *tot*, 1000 is *köt tot*. 80 is *šittysar čäŋgytyl' tot*, 90 is *köt čäŋgytyl' tot*.

Quotiential and ordinal numbers

Quotiential numbers (*adverbia numeralia*), answering the question 'how many times?', are formed periphrastically by means of *par* 'time, occasion, instance': *ukkyr par* 'once', *šitty par* 'twice', etc.

Quotiential ordinals are formed by means of the ending *-mdäl*, *-ndäl* (historically, the primordial suffix of ordinal numbers, + an obsolete case ending): *šittyndäl*, *šittymdäl* 'the second time, iterum', *nååqyrmdäl* 'the third time, tertium', etc. 'The first time, primum' is *poos ukoon* or *poos ukoot* (*ukoot* 'before, from the beginning'; as to *poos*, see below, under Comparison).

Sequential ordinals (indicating that somebody or something 'has' the number expressed by the basic stem) are—with the exception of *poos ukool'* '(the) first'—adjectives derived from the corresponding

quotiential ordinals by means of the suffix *-l'*: *šittymdälïl'* '(the) second', *nååqyrmdälïl'* '(the) third', etc.

After *šitty*, the principal word is put in the dual.

After other cardinal numbers (and after indefinite numerals, such as English 'many, several') the designation of the things counted is put in the singular (and inflected, the numeral functioning as attribute).

Adjectives

There are few non-derivative adjectives in Selkup. Most of the adjectives have the suffix *-l'*, which we have mentioned already.

The suffix *-l'* is also combined with case forms of nouns; e.g. *aqqal'qyl'* 'being on the reins' (*aqqal'qyt*, loc. av *aqqal'* 'reins'; *äsändyl' måt* 'your father's tent' (*äsändy*, gsg Px2sg of *əsy* 'father').

The complex suffix *-symyl'* means 'provided with, having', e.g. *tɛnysymyl'* 'intelligent, wise' (*tɛny* 'intelligence, wit').

The suffix *-kyta*, attributive *-kytyl'* means 'without', e.g. *sajïkyta*, attr. *sajïkytyl'* 'blind' (*sajï* 'eye').

Comparison

An English comparative is usually rendered by putting the designation of the outdone member in the separative, e.g. *čünd hyrnan warqy* 'the horse is bigger than the cow' (literally 'big from the cow'); but there is also a comparative ending *-låq* (*-låt*, *-lå*), e.g. *ïlälåqy* '(going) farther down' (*ïllä* 'down').

A superlative may be rendered by *poos(y)*, e.g. *poosy wərqy iijaty* 'his oldest son'.

Possessive suffixes

According to Castrén, the Px are put at the end of the word in all the cases except the instructive (and the translative). The same seems to be the case in the idiom described by Prokof'ev, as far as the inanimate nouns are concerned. For the separative of animate nouns Prokof'ev mentions only the structure gen. + Px +

-nån. For the locative he has, besides the structure *åtänmyqyt*, 'with my reindeer', the form *åtänmyqäk*[1] (*-k* is Px1sg). On the other hand, he has, besides the forms lat. sg Px3sg *åtäqyndy*, lat. du. Px1sg *åtääqyqäk*, and lat. pl. Px1sg *åtäiiqäk*, which fit in with the description given by Castrén, the alternative forms *åtändynyk* (gsg + Px + case ending), *åtääqynyqykinï* (gdu + Px1sg + case ending) and *åtäiinykinï* (gpl + Px1sg + case ending) respectively.

NOTE.—It is obvious that the sequence [word stem + case ending + Px] is primordial in Selkup.

In combination with Px the plural (of animate nouns) have *-ii-* (long *i*) instead of the plural characteristic *-t-*; e.g. *ååtäiimy* 'my reindeer' (more than two). Castrén: *-i-*, *-ji-*, *-ni-*.

Before the Px of the 1st person (sg, du., pl.), the accusative has no case ending; after a consonant, it has no case ending before any Px.

For the sake of the description, it may be said that the genitive has no case ending before Px.

Px1sg is after nominative and accusative: (after a vowel:) *-m* ~ *-p*, (after a consonant, sometimes after a vowel:) *-my*; after the genitive: *-ny*; after locative, lative, prolative: *-k*.

Px1du is after nom. and acc.: *-mïj*; otherwise: *-nïj*.

Px1pl is after nom. and acc.: *-myn* ~ *-myt*; otherwise: *-nyn* ~ *-nyt*.

Px2sg is after nom. *-l(y)*; after gen. (after a vowel:) *-ndy*, (after a consonant:) *-ty*, *-dy*; after acc. *-ty*, *-dy*; otherwise: *-ndy*.

Px2du: *-lïj*, *-ndïj*, *-tïj*, *-dïj*.

Px2pl: *-lyn* ~ *-lyt*, *-ndyn* ~ *-ndyt*, *-tyn* ~ *-tyt*, *-dyn* ~ *-dyt*.

Px3sg is after nom. *-t*, *-ty*, *-dy*; otherwise = Px2sg.

Px3du is after nom. *-tïj*, *-dïj*; otherwise = Px2du.

Px3pl is after nom. *-tyn* ~ *-tyt*, *-dyn* ~ *-dyt*; otherwise, it is hardly to distinguish from Px2pl.

NOTE.—In the suffixes that end in *-ïj*, the *j* is very short and faint, and sometimes it is not heard at all.

[1] Both forms are 'periphrastic' and secondary. The former may be analysed as 'with [my reindeer's] something', the latter as 'with my [reindeer's] something'.

PARADIGMS

(after Prokof'ev)

Vowel stems

SINGULAR

	Genus animatum	*Genus inanimum*
1. Nom.	*åtä* 'reindeer'	*üky* 'cap'
2. Gen.	*åtän, -t*	*ükyn, -t*
3. Acc.	*åtäm, -p*	*ükym, -p*
4. Loc.	*åtänmyqyt*	*ükooqyn, -qyt*
5. Sep.	*åtännåny*	*ükooqyny*
6. Lat.	*åtänyk, -nyŋ*	*ükondy*
7. Prol.	*åtäämyn, -myt*	*ükoomyn, -myt*
8. Instr.	*åtäsä*	*ükysä*
9. Transl.	*åtätqo*	*ükytqo*

DUAL

	Genus animatum	*Genus inanimum*
1. Nom.	*åtääqy*	*ükooqy*
2. Gen.	*åtääqyn, -t*	*ükooqyn, -t*
3. Acc.	*åtääqym, -p*	*ükooqym, -p*
4. Loc.	*åtääqynmyqyt*	*ükooqyqyt*
5. Sep.	*åtääqynnåny*	*ükooqyqyny*
6. Lat.	*åtääqytkinï*	*ükooqytkini*
8. Instr.	*åtääqysä*	*ükooqysä*
9. Transl.	*åtääqytqo*	*ükooqytqo*

PLURAL

	Genus animatum	*Genus inanimum*
1. Nom.	*åtät, -n*	*ükyl' my*
2. Gen.	*åtätyn, -t*	*ükyl' myn, -t*
3. Acc.	*åtätym, -p*	*ükyl' mym, -p*
4. Loc.	*åtätynmyqyt*	*ükyl' myqyt*
5. Sep.	*åtätynnåny*	*ükyl' myqyny*
6. Lat.	*åtätytkinï*	*ükyl' myndy*
8. Instr.	*åtätysä*	*ükyl' mysä*
9. Transl.	*åtätytqo*	*ükyl' mytqo*

Consonant stems

SINGULAR

	Genus animatum	*Genus inanimum*
1. Nom.	*kəcan, kəcat* 'grandchild'	*üt* 'water'

2. Gen.	*kəcanyn, -t*	*ütyn, -t*
3. Acc.	*kəcanym, -p*	*ütym, -p*
4. Loc.	*kəcanynmyqyt*	*ütqyn, -qyt*
5. Sep.	*kəcanynnȧny*	*ütqyny*
6. Lat.	*kəcannyk, -nyŋ*	*ütty*
7. Prol.	*kəcanmyn, -myt*	*ünmyn, -myt*
8. Instr.	*kəcassä*	*üssä*
9. Transl.	*kəcanytqo*	*ütytqo*
10. Voc.	*kəcanəə*	

Conjugation

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Even a noun, when it functions as predicate, can assume personal endings to indicate the person and number of the subject; the third person singular may then be said to have the sign Ø (zero). But it seems that nouns are not combined with a tense character, as in Northern Samoyed and in Mordvin.

The verb stem can be defined as the (sound or) sound-sequence that precedes the ending *-qo* of the infinitive. There are three kinds of verb stems in sk, namely, (1) vowel stems with the same final vowel in the whole paradigm, (2) vowel stems with alternating final vowel, and (3) consonant stems.

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristics of mode of action, aspect, tense and mood

Mode of action

For the notions of mode of action and aspect, we refer the readers to the Yurak Grammar.

In Selkup, as in other languages, different basic verb stems have different modes of action. But there are also suffixes that imply certain modes of action: durative (continuative), breviative, frequentative (iterative), plurative, usitative.

DURATIVE (CONTINUATIVE)

The durative mode of action is indicated by the suffix *-mby-* ~ (after a consonant:) *-by-*, *-py-*: *mannymby-* 'look, be looking (at

something), view'; cf. *mandy-* 'glance, have a look (at something)'; *tɛnyrby-* 'think, be thinking, ponder, meditate, consider something'; cf. *tɛnyr-* 'think, happen to think (of something), take into account'.

BREVIATIVE

The suffix *-qu-* indicates a transient action, an activity that takes no considerable time.

FREQUENTATIVE

Frequentative verbs imply that the verb action has repeatedly taken place or usually takes place. Characteristic: *-ky-* ~ (after the vowel of the first syllable:) *-kky-*.

PLURATIVE

Plurative verbs imply that the verb action is directed towards several objects, or repeatedly towards one object. Characteristics: *-qyl-*, *-ɛl(i)-*, *-ål-*, *-ol(i)-*, *-qylål-*, *-ɛlål-*.

USITATIVE

Usitative verbs do not indicate any real action as performed or being performed, but the habit (or faculty) of doing something, often regarded (more or less) as a quality (property) or disposition of the subject (cf. English expressions like *do you smoke cigars*, *do you play the violin*, *do you sleep well*?). Characteristic: *-r-*.

Aspect

In Selkup, three aspects have explicit characteristics, namely, the imperfective, the intensive-perfective, and the inchoative(-ingressive) aspect.

The imperfective, which is, as we define it, a sub-species of the cursive aspect, implies that the verb action is thought of as not being finished (completed) or leading to a result (whilst the beginning of the action is not taken into consideration). Cf. the Lappish Grammar.

For the definition of the other aspects, we refer the readers to the Yurak grammar.

IMPERFECTIVE

The imperfective aspect has the characteristics *-ty-*, *-dy-*, *-ndy-*, *-tɛndy-*, *-dɛndy-*, *-nnɛndy-*.

PERFECTIVE

Perfective verbs present the verb activity together with the notion of its completion or end. Characteristics: *-l'čï-*, *-ɛi-*, *-ɛj-*, *-ɛčï-*.

The same suffixes have an intensive function when added to verb stems which in themselves imply a sudden change.

INCHOATIVE

Inchoative verbs are formed by means of the characteristic *-ɛly-* or *-lɛly-*.

Tense

There are three tenses: present tense, preterite, and future.

PRESENT TENSE

The present tense (Castrén: first tense, Prokof'ev: aorist) can refer to the past or the future as well as to the actual time, and when it refers to past time, it may often be a *praesens historicum*. (In the following, we shall regard the *prs hist.* as referring to the actual time.) The time reference of the present tense seems to be subject to the following rules:

Imperfective verbs that do not denote a change, refer to the *actual* time; e.g. *qaj orqylbaty kəəzyŋgomy* 'what is holding my arrow?' (*orqylby-* is 'continuative' of *orqyl-* 'seize'); *kuty tɛnymyŋyty* 'who knows (it)?'

Imperfective verbs that denote a change, refer to the *future* time; e.g. *ürmy üllä šiikɛndy* 'my fat will be spilled (out)' (*šiikɛndy-* is imperfective of *šiiky-*; not all the fat will be spilled); *aal'čɛnda* 'he will fall down' (*aal'čɛndy-* is imperfective of *aal'čï-*; it would seem to us that 'fall' has a perfective aspect here: cf. English expressions like *I am leaving* = 'I shall depart').

Basic verb stems that may be either perfective or imperfective according to the context, are subject to the same rule when they occur in the imperfective aspect; e.g. *mašim aj kuttar amnandy* 'how will you eat me then?' ('eat' does not mean 'devour com-

pletely' here; the Russian translation given by Prokof'ev has 'kak est' budeš'?').

Perfective verbs refer to the *past* time; e.g. *aal'ča* '(he) fell down'; *poonä tary* '(she) went out'.

In the indicative, the characteristic of the present tense is:

after a vowel that is the same through the whole paradigm: *-ŋ-*, e.g. 1sg prs ind. *tüŋak* of *tü-* 'come';

after consonant stems: *-n-*, e.g. 2sg prs ind. *amnandy* of *am-* 'eat'.

Stems with vowel alternation (*y* [*ï*] ~ *a*) have no present characteristic in the indicative mood; e.g. 3sg prs ind. *aal'ča* (or *aal'či*) of *aal'či-* 'rush, fall'.

The characteristic of the present imperative will be accounted for under Moods, Imperative.

For the quality of the vowel that follows the present characteristic, see the Paradigms.

In the other moods there is no present characteristic.

NOTE.—Assimilations: *t* + *n* > *nn*, *š* + *n* > *ńń*.

PRETERITE

The preterite always refers to the past time and often to a more or less distant past. It has the characteristic *-s-* (in some dialects *-h-*). For the subsequent vowel, see the Paradigms.

NOTE.—Assimilations: *m* + *s* > *ps*; *n* + *s* and *t* + *s* > *ss*; *ŋ* + *s* > *ks*; *š* + *s* > *šš*.

FUTURE TENSE

The future tense usually has a connotation of uncertainty, or it conveys a wish, an exhortation, or the like. Characteristic: *-l-* (+ vowel).

NOTE.—Assimilations: *m* + *l* > *bl* or *wl*; *n* + *l* and *t* + *l* > *ll*; *š* + *l* > *l'l'*.

-sä, added to the future tense, indicates a rather distant future.

NOTE.—Assimilation: *t* + *s* > *ss*.

Moods

Selkup has five moods: indicative, narrative, auditive, conditional, and imperative.

NOTE.—Castrén has a 'conjunctive' in *-ni-* or *-ne-*. It may be that a trace of this mood has survived in the Taż dialect (described by Prokof'ev) in the uninflected word *ɛnä*, used in constructions like *mat tüsaŋ ɛnä* 'I would have come (ja prišol-by)'.

INDICATIVE

The indicative has no mood characteristic. For the tenses of the indicative, see above.

NARRATIVE

As to the function of the narrative mood, see the Yurak Grammar. The narrative has two tenses: present tense and preterite. (Prokof'ev calls the future tense in *-l-*—see above under Tense—'narrative future'.)

The present tense has the characteristic *-nd(y)-*. If the basic verb stem ends in a consonant, the characteristic *-nd(y)-* is added to a derivative stem, preferably to the perfective-intensive in *-ɛi-*.

The preterite has the characteristic *-mb(y)-* ~ (after a consonant:) *-p(y)-*, *-b(y)-*. The verb *ee-*, 'be', has *-pp-*.

Note the use of the narrative preterite in questions, e.g. *iča koš kučče qənba* 'wherever has Iča gone?'

AUDITIVE

The auditive mood implies that one hears the action expressed by the verb stem, or that the existence of that action is inferred from what one hears (with one's own ears). Characteristic: *-kun-* (+ vowel). The auditive does not occur in the 1st person.

CONDITIONAL

The conditional mood is used in the hypothetical clause (condition, *protasis*) of a conditional structure, where the condition is presented as possible or even likely. The English 'if' has no explicit counterpart in such a clause, but the verb form in itself is equivalent to 'if' + a verb (in the indicative). The conditional refers to the future time. Characteristic: *-mm-* (+ vowel); if *-sä* is added, this implies that the event will not take place in the immediate future; e.g. *oryp nenyqal' pooty eemmäsä, mat qåndap eeläsä* 'if it is going to be a very gnatty year, it will be my sparks'.

In rendering such structures, one may often use 'when' instead of 'if'; but it should be remembered that in the Selkup language there is a tendency to present future events as uncertain.

IMPERATIVE

The imperative does not occur in the first person. The characteristic is (cf. above, Tense, Present tense):

after non-alternating vowel stems: *-ŋ-* (+ vowel), except in 2sg, transitive conjugation;

after alternating vowel stems: *-ŋ-* (+ vowel), except in 2sg (trans. and intr. conjugations), and 2pl, trans. conjugation;

after consonant stems: *-n-* (+ vowel), except in 2sg.

Personal endings

Selkup has an intransitive and a transitive conjugation. The transitive conjugation is used when there is a direct object.

NOTE.—The intransitive conjugation may be used even when there is a direct object, at least when the object is in the 1st person; e.g. *mašim kuttar amnandy* 'how will you eat me?'

The imperative has not the same personal endings as the other moods. The endings that occur in the other moods we shall call indicative endings.

Transitive endings

INDICATIVE ENDINGS

The personal endings are identical with the corresponding Px (in the shape they have after the nominative singular of vowel stems), with one exception: the 1st person dual has the ending *-j* (preceded by *e*), e.g. *apsej* 'we (two) ate it'.

IMPERATIVE ENDINGS

The endings of 2sg and 2pl are identical with the Px of the *third* person sing. und plur. respectively, e.g. *amdy* (sg) and *amnâtyt* (pl.) 'eat it!'

3sg has *-mdïjä*, to which is added in 3du the dual characteristic *-qy*, and in 3pl the Px3pl, *-tyt*.

NOTE.—*-mdïjä* seems to be = the ending of asg + Px3sg + *-jä* (see below, under Intransitive endings).

Intransitive endings

INDICATIVE ENDINGS

2sg has the ending *-ndy* (= Px2sg in the shape it has after the genitive singular of vowel stems).

The endings of 2du and 1,2,3pl are identical with the corresponding Px (in the shape they have after the nominative singular of vowel stems).

The ending of 3du is identical with the dual characteristic, e.g. *aal'čïsåqy* 'they (two) fell'.

The 1du has the same ending as in the transitive conjugation.

The 3sg has no personal ending. If the stem has the alternation *y* ~ *a*, the 3sg prs ind. may have either of these vowels. The 3sg prt has likewise *-y* or *-a*, e.g. *aal'čïsa*, *aal'čïsy* '(he) fell'.

The same personal endings are added to nouns in the first and second persons (rarely in 3pl), with one exception: 1du has *-mïj*, not *-j*; e.g. *mee iijamïj* 'we (two) are children'.

IMPERATIVE ENDINGS

The ending of 2du is identical with the Px2du.

The ending of 2pl is identical with the ending of npl of animate nouns: *-t*.

The ending of 2sg is *-šïk* (preceded by *ä*); according to Castrén, it is *-k*.

3sg has *-jä*, to which is added in 3du the dual characteristic *-qy*, and in 3pl the Px3pl, *-tyt*.

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

Nouns derived from the verb stem

Nomina actionis

The *nomen actionis* in *-ptä* (after vowels) ~ *-ä* (after *r*) ~ *-tä*, *-dä* (after other consonants) is used—according to Prokof'ev—in many instances where the English language has (or may have) a

temporal subordinate clause; e.g. *mat eeptääqäk* ... 'while I was ...' (loc. Px1sg of *eeptä*, nomen actionis of *ee-* 'be': 'during my being').

Note expressions like *mat amdäp čäŋgy* 'I have not eaten' (literally: 'my eating is absent, is lacking').

The nomen instrumenti et actionis in *-psy* ~ *-sy* is used in expressions like *tap čeely typsy čeelytyt* 'they ought to come today' (literally: 'this day is their day of arrival').

Participles

PRESENT PARTICIPLE

The present participle has the ending *-tyl'* ~ *-ndyl'* ~ (after *r*:) *-yl'*.

PAST PARTICIPLE

The past participle has the ending *-pyl'*.

The past participle of transitive verbs seems to have passive function throughout, and even the ptc prt of intransitive verbs may be passive, e.g. *qöšpyl' mât* 'the tent (they) went into' (*qöš-* 'go').

FUTURE PARTICIPLE

The future participle indicates that somebody is going to perform or ought to perform, or be the object of, the action expressed by the verb stem. It is formed by adding *-tyl'* to the nomen actionis in *-psä* (*å* being substituted for *ä*). *tap čeely tüpsåtyl' čeelytyt* 'they ought to come today' ('this day is the day they are coming').

Isolated cases of defective stems

INFINITIVE

The infinitive has the ending *-qo*.

NOTE.—The infinitive may be, historically, the translative of the verb stem.

The infinitive may be combined with Px; e.g. *ammondïjqo*, *amqondïjqo* '(in order) to be eaten by you (two)'.

GERUNDIUM

The gerund has the ending *-lä*. It indicates that the action expressed by the verb stem accompanies the main action of the clause, or specifies it; e.g. *måtqyndy åmdylä qala* 'she remains sitting in her tent'.

PARADIGMS

(after Prokof'ev)

Transitive conjugation

Indicative

PRESENT TENSE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*amnap* 'I eat (it)'	*amnej*	*amnymyt*
2	*amnal*	*amnylïj*	*amnylyt*
3	*amnyty*	*amnytïj*	*amnåtyt*

PRETERITE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*apsap*	*apsej*	*apsymyt*
2	*apsal*	*apsylïj*	*apsylyt*
3	*apsyty*	*apsytïj*	*apsåtyt*

FUTURE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*awläp* (*sä*)	*awlej* (*sä*)	*awlymyt* (*sä*)
2	*awläl* (*sä*)	*awlylïj* (*sä*)	*awlylyt* (*sä*)
3	*awlyty* (*sä*)	*awlytïj* (*sä*)	*awlätyt* (*sä*)

Narrative

PRESENT TENSE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*ammɛindap*	*ammɛindej*	*ammɛindymyt*
2	*ammɛindal*	*ammɛindylïj*	*ammɛindylyt*
3	*ammɛindyty*	*ammɛindytïj*	*ammɛindåtyt*

PRETERITE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*ambap*	*ambej*	*ambåmyt*
2	*ambal*	*ambålïj*	*ambålyt*
3	*ambaty, ammyndyty*	*ambatïj, ammyndytïj*	*ambåtyt, ammyndåtyt*

Auditive

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
2	*amkunäl*	*amkunylïj*	*amkunylyt*
3	*amkunyty*	*amkunytïj*	*amkunätyt*

Conditional

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*ammäp (sä)*	*ammej (sä)*	*ammämyt (sä)*
2	*ammäl (sä)*	*ammälïj (sä)*	*ammälyt (sä)*
3	*ammäty (sä)*	*ammätïj (sä)*	*ammätyt (sä)*

Imperative

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
2	*amdy*	*amnylïj*	*amnåtyt*
3	*amnymdïjä*	*amnymdïjäqy*	*amnämdïjätyt*

Intransitive conjugation

Indicative

PRESENT TENSE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*tüŋak* 'I came'	*tüŋej*	*tüŋymyt*
2	*tüŋand*	*tüŋylïj*	*tüŋylyt*
3	*tüŋa, tüŋy*	*tüŋåqy*	*tüŋåtyt*

PRETERITE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*tüsak*	*tüsej*	*tüsymyt*
2	*tüsandy*	*tüsylïj*	*tüsylyt*
3	*tüsa, tüsy*	*tüsåqy*	*tüsåtyt*

FUTURE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*tüläk (sä)*	*tülej (sä)*	*tülymyt (sä)*
2	*tüländy (sä)*	*tülylïj (sä)*	*tülylyt (sä)*
3	*tülä (sä), tüly (sä)*	*tüläqy (sä)*	*tülätyt (sä)*

Narrative

PRESENT TENSE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*tündak*	*tündej*	*tündymyt*
2	*tündandy*	*tündylïj*	*tündylyt*
3	*tündy*	*tündåqy*	*tündåtyt*

PRETERITE

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*tümbak*	*tümbej*	*tümbåmyt*
2	*tümmandy*	*tümbålïj*	*tümbålyt*
3	*tümba, tümmyndy*	*tümbåqy, tümmyndåqy*	*tümbåtyt, tümmyndåtyt*

Auditive

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
2	*tükunändy*	*tükunylïj*	*tükunylyt*
3	*tükunä, tükuny*	*tükunäqy*	*tükunätyt*

Conditional

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
1	*tümmäk* (*sä*)	*tümmej* (*sä*)	*tümmymyt* (*sä*)
2	*tümmändy* (*sä*)	*tümmylïj* (*sä*)	*tümmylyt* (*sä*)
3	*tümmä* (*sä*)	*tümmäqy* (*sä*)	*tümmätyt* (*sä*)

Imperative

	Sg	Du.	Pl.
2	*tüŋäšik*, C *tük*	*tüŋylïj*	*tüŋyt*
3	*tüŋïjä*	*tüŋïjäqy*	*tüŋïjätyt*

TEXT

iča šötty qənny, imyl'aty mât-qyndy âmdylä qala. iča kyš šüümyn konnä qənny.

ukkyr čondooqyt pakät âmnyndâtyt ütooqyt. iča yndyty iindyty, kəəzyŋgoty iindyty, ättɛnda, čattyŋyty—pakätyp ńünïryŋyty . . . pakät wəššɛjâtyt.

nyy tüŋa (kəəzyŋgooqyndy), kəəzyŋgomdy čap näqqylɛlyŋyty—meeldy orqylbaty kos qaj.

iča nil' kətyŋyty: 'qaj orqylbaty kəəzyŋgomy?'—'qaj orqylbaty kəəzyŋgomy? . . .'[1]

iča nil' kətyŋyty: 'loozy-tütyl laka, kəəzyŋgomy too üütät!'—'loozy-tütyl laka, kəəzyŋgomy too üütät!'

iča kuppɛiŋyty—kupaŋ nyy orqylnyty. 'loozy-tütyl laka, kupaŋmy too üütät!'—'loozy-tütyl laka, kupaŋmy too üütät!'

nyyny aj tâ pɛläl' kupaktysä qättyŋyty—aj tyy orqylnyty. 'loozy-tütyl laka, kupaŋmy too üütät!'—'loozy-tütyl laka, kupaŋmy too üütät!'

l'akčïssä qättyŋyty—l'akčït nyy orqylnyty. 'loozy-tütyl laka, l'akčïnmy too üütät!'—'loozy-tütyl laka, l'akčïnmy too üütät!'

aj kətykä pɛläl' l'akčïndysä qät-

Iča went to the forest, his grandmother remained sitting in her tent. Iča went upstream (along the river).

Suddenly wild ducks are sitting on the water. Iča took his bow, took his arrow (with an iron knob), charged (the bow-string with the arrow) and shot. He missed the ducks, and they flew off.

He came thither (where his arrow was), he scarcely pulled at his arrow—something is holding it constantly.

Iča said (thus): 'What is holding my arrow?'—'What is holding my arrow?'

Iča said: 'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my arrow!'—'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my arrow!'

Iča beat his fist—it seized the fist there. 'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my fist!'—'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my fist!'

Then (again) he beat the other fist—again it seized his fist there. 'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my fist!'—'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my fist!'

He stamped his heel—it seized his heel there. 'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my heel!'—'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my heel!'

Then (again) he stamped his left

[1] The echo answered.

tyŋyty—l'akčït nyy orqylnyty. 'loozy-tütyl laka, l'akčïnmy too üütät!'—'loozy-tütyl laka, l'akčïnmy too üütät!'

qåttysä qättyŋyty—qåt nyy orqylnyty. 'loozy-tütyl laka, qånmy too üütät!'—'loozy-tütyl laka, qånmy too üütät!'

seepylaŋ naany ippa . . . ukkyr čondooqyt loozy-ira konǯɛindy. 'u-uu! kyyzymyl' čaŋgap! titijap qəttap, qolqan iijap qəttap!'

loozy-ira måtqyndy tattyŋyty, näl'ääqyqyndy nil' kətyŋyty: 'näl'ää! čiilïj karrä yytyŋylïj!'

iča nil' kətyŋyty: 'il'ča! tan nyyny qaj tomdal? naššaak kypa čiindysä mašim aj kuttar amnandy? ürmy ïllä na šiikɛndy!'—'u-uu! kəcan, ånïj!' loozy-ira nil' kətyŋyty: 'mat täly warqy čiiqäk qöl'l'äk.'

loozy-ira tåbtyl qaryt čiiqyndy qənny, iča ondy qala loozyt näl'ääqysä.

čeelyt ukkyr čondooqyt iča nil'čïk ɛsa: 'mat tee čååty nəkyryl' solal'ap meeläk man ürmy ammondïjqo.'

loozyt näl'ääqy nil'čïk ɛsåqy: 'iča, ånïj! kyssa meety!'

iča poonä tanda pičïm mïšallä; tap poot toopy qoopäptymmyndyty, top poot toopy qoopäptymmyndyty . . .

ukkyr čondooqyt iča nil'čïk ɛsa: 'qatyŋ! qaj soma solaŋ meendap! qatyŋ! poonä mannymbyŋylïj!'

loozyt näl'ä poonä tary, iča pičïš šuksä qättyŋyty qåtyt kyymyn. måtty šeerny.

heel—it seized the heel there. 'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my heel!'—'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my heel!'

He beat with his forehead—it seized his forehead there. 'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my forehead!'—'You dirty piece of a devil, let go my forehead!'

He lies long enough. Suddenly the old devil appeared. 'Oh, my fortunate trap! I have got a bird, I have got a young jay!'

The old devil brought him to his tent, and he said to his (two) daughters: 'Daughters, hang the kettle over the fire!'

Iča said: 'Grandfather, what are you saying now? How will you eat me then, having so small a kettle? My fat will be spilled.'—'Oh yes, grandchild, that's true.' The old devil said: 'Tomorrow I'll go and fetch my big kettle.'

On the following morning the old devil went for his kettle. Iča (himself) remained with the devil's daughters.

Some time in the day Iča began thus: 'I'll make you a decorated spoon to eat my fat with.'

The devil's daughters said: 'All right, Iča! Go ahead and make it!'

Iča went out, seizing an axe; he cuts the butt of this tree, he cuts the butt of that tree . . .

Suddenly Iča began thus: 'Well, what a good spoon I make! Go ahead, look outside!'

The devil's daughter went out; Iča hit her in the middle of the forehead with the head of the axe. He went into the tent.

iča aj kypa näľäp qättyndyty. čiity karrä yytyŋyty, karrä ponnyty loozyt näľääqyp. naany mušåqy.

Iča smote the younger daughter too. He hung the kettle over the fire and put the devil's daughters in the kettle. They boiled for a long time.

ukkyr čondooqyt iča tiipy meeqyldyty; čiimdy konnä wəčïŋyty, mundyt čary matɛlnyty.

Meanwhile Iča made (some) pins; he lifted the kettle from the fire and cut the devil's daughters to pieces.

loozy näľääqyt wəčil lakaľ myp tiipondy tokkaldålnyty, loozy-irat wəttondy čoqqyrnyty. ondy moqynä tüŋa, loozy-irat peemym iindyty, olymdy too matyŋyty . . .

He fastened the pieces of flesh of the devil's daughters on the pins and placed them in the old devil's way. He came back, and he took the old devil's hairskin boots and cut off their foot-pieces . . .

loozy-irat peemyt küütyt šüńńondy šɪimysä zonnyty. poonä tanda, pičïlamdy čüüqyndy tokkaldyŋyty. tüümondy syqylny, tüüm pådryqyt åmda.

He filled the legs of the old devil's hairskin boots with embers. He went out, fastened his little axe at his belt. He climbed up a larch-tree, and (there) he sits on the top of the larch-tree.

ukkyr čondooqyt loozy-ira konžɛindi na. poos ukooľ wəčïľ munnondy na tulyčï, mïšallä pollɛindyty: 'u-uu! mïty onäŋ wəčïńa!' aj pollɛiŋyty: 'u-uu! mïty onäŋ wəčïńa!'

Suddenly the old devil appeared. He came to the first piece of flesh, took it and swallowed it: 'Oh! It tastes as if it were my own flesh!' He swallowed again: 'Oh! It tastes as if it were my own flesh!'

måtändy åkty tüŋa, ńeńńïmånny näľääqyqyndy: 'tee qaiľ ičasä karambåliŋ? ičat ür üllä yky šiikyŋïjä!' måtẗy aaľča loozy-ira, näľääqyty qaš šüńčooqyt čičïrymbååqy.

He went to the doorway; he got angry at his daughters: 'What kind of Iča are you playing with? Iča's fat must not be spilled!' The old devil rushed into the tent; his daughters are chirping behind the bed-curtains.

na qaj kutyľ qaj? iča loozy-irat näľääqyt olyl lakaľ myp too pačallä karrä čiindy pottɛimbaty. nyyny šitty iškåšååqy orqyllä qamyš šüńńondy üütɛimmyndy. loozy-ira qamyp ïnnä čap tïllɛiŋyty—šitty iškåšååqy wəššɛindåqy.

What is this? When Iča had cut off the heads of the devil's daughters, he put them in the kettle over the fire. Thereupon, having taken two magpies, he let them in behind the bed-curtains. The old devil only just raised the bed-curtains—two magpies flew up.

karrä koľalda, kalam mïšaldyty, čiity ïnnä qoldɛiŋyty—näľän olyl

He turned to the fire-place, took a ladle, ladled (meat) out of the

lakap ïnnä sooqyllɛindyty, qotyl' olyl'. loozy-ira čuurɛla, qamd aal'ča.

seel'čï sajïl' kooras sajïp naany tooqyldymbaty—kun qaj ni čääŋgy. qottä aal'ča. seel'čï sajïl' qïšqäs sajïp naany tooqyldymbaty—kun qaj ni čääŋgy.

iča koš kučče qənba? kuty tɛnymyŋyty? seel'čï poot pådryp naany tooqyldymbaty—iča koš kučče qənba? . . .

ukkyr čondooqyt loozyt måtän åč čådty pïrgy nådqyr tüümy. nådqyrmdälïl' tüüm pådryqyt too åmnyndy iča.

loozy-ira ïnnä läpätålny, ńeńńïmånny. pičity mïšaldyty, kurallä pačalɛlyŋyty. seepylaŋ naany pačityty.

ukkyr qorqy tündy. 'il'ča! man aj pačalläp, pičal mäkkä mity!' loozy-ira mil'čïŋyty pičimdy. qorqy ukkyr par pačalnyty—nyyny pakta. loozy-ira čap ńooŋyty qorqym—meeldy pakta.

loozy-ira šittyndäl wənyl' pičï iindyty, aj pačalɛlyŋyty. ukkyr čondooqyt üŋŋyndy tündy. 'il'ča, pičal mäkkä mity! man aj pačalläp, måly amqonïjqo.' loozy-ira mil'čïŋyty.

üŋŋyndy ukkyr par pačalnyty—nyyny pakta. loozy-ira nåty pičikålyk kučče qatɛnda? . . .

ukkyr čondooqyt loozy-ira tötkyqolamny. 'u-uu! izeečaryqyt qəttyt tiiryp amdääqäk qorsan olyp polysak!' qorsat olym poonä töttɛiŋyty,

kettle, and picked up his daughter's head, with ear-rings. The old devil burst out crying and fell down on his face.

He counts all the seven-eyed grains of sand—there is nothing anywhere. He fell on his back. He counts all the seven-eyed stars—there is nothing anywhere.

Wherever has Iča gone? Who knows? He counts all the tops of the seven trees—there is nothing anywhere. Wherever has Iča gone?

Suddenly, opposite the devil's doorway there are three tall larch-trees. Iča is sitting on the top of the third larch-tree.

The old man devil jumped up—he got angry. He took his axe, ran (thither) and started hewing. He hewed (went on hewing) long enough.

There came a bear. 'Grandfather! I will also hew, give me your axe!' The old devil gave him the axe. The bear cut once—then he ran away. The old devil barely pursued the bear—it ran away forever.

The old devil once again took another axe, and started hewing anew. Suddenly a wolverine came. 'Grandfather, give me the axe! I will also hew, so that we may eat half each.' The old man devil gave it to her.

The wolverine cut once—then she ran away. Where shall the old devil betake himself henceforth without an axe?

Suddenly the old devil started vomiting. 'Oh! Long ago, when I devoured a whole town, I swallowed the head (iron) of an adze!' He vom-

paqqondy tokkaldyŋŋyty, nyyny aj pačalɛlyŋŋyty.

ukkyr čondooqyt loqa tündy. 'il'ča! qorsally mäkkä mity! mat pačalläp!' loozy-ira mil'čïŋŋyty. loqa ukkyr par pačalnyty—nyyny pakta. loozy-ira tətalbylä čap ńooŋŋyty: 'kəcat! kəcanəə! qorsanmy moqynä tattät!' loqa meeldy pakta.

loozy-ira moqynä tüŋa, aj tötkyqolamny. iča nil'čïŋ ɛsa: 'il'ča! tötkylä puutamdy aj qa səpälnal? tat qottä aal'čäšik, åŋly, sajal, yndäl'dy mü, tasty mü muundyk šitty kepytåldy poosä.'

loozy-ira nil'čik ɛsa: 'kəcat, ånïj!' kepytålnyt muundyk.

iča ïllä panyšqolamny. ukkyr čondooqyt loozy-ira nil'čik ɛsa: 'kəcat! sajooqäk aj qail' poot tuka talimmyndy?!'

iča nil'čik kətyŋŋyty: 'ašša, il'ča! mat panyčendylä poot qåzy talimmyndy . . .' iča illälåqy panyńńa, loozy-irap šiimyl' mysä čari qamdɛiŋŋyty. loozy-ira olä na toršɛlna.

iča ïllä läpätålny, loozy-irap pičïš šuksä qättyŋŋyty. loozy-irap pačallä taŀaldyŋŋyty. poo taqqyldyty, loozy-irap tüüsä čååtɛiŋŋyty.

loozy-irap tü amdyptääqyndy qåndyty pyŋŋymbylä wəšɛlyndåtyt: 'u-uu! oryp nenyqal' pooty eemmäsä, mat qåndap eeläsä! . . .' iča nyyny qənny imyl'andynyk.

ited the head of the adze, put on a handle, and then he started hewing again.

Suddenly a fox came. 'Grandfather, give me your adze! I will hew.' The old devil gave it to him. The fox cut once—then he ran away. The old devil, beseeching, barely pursued him: 'Grandchild, grandchild, bring back my adze!' The fox ran away forever.

The old devil came back and began to vomit again. Iča said: 'Grandfather! Bringing up your interior again, what do you break? Fall down on your back, spread your mouth, your eyes, your nostrils, the opening of your hind part entirely (in two) with two sticks.'

The old devil said: 'True, grandchild!' He spread them entirely.

Iča started gliding down. Suddenly the old devil said: 'Grandchild, what kind of wooden trash comes showering down into my eyes?'

Iča said: 'No, grandfather! While I am gliding down, the bark comes showering down.' Iča glided lower down; he poured out (pieces of) embers into the old devil's eyes. The old devil just started jerking (his legs).

Iča jumped down, and he hit the old devil with the head of the axe. He hewed the old devil and crushed him. He collected wood and burned the old devil (with fire).

When the fire was devouring the old devil, his sparks rose humming: 'Oh! If it is going to be a very gnatty year, it will be my sparks.' Iča then went to his grandmother.

šöt forest, lative *šötty*. || *qən-*, 3sg prs *qənny* go, leave; see U yr *haje-*. || *imyl'a* grandmother; aunt; *ima* woman; see U lp *ibme*. *-ty*, Px3sg; cf. FU fi *hän*. || *måt* tent, loc. *måtqyny*, loc. Px3sg *måtqyndy* (PSam). || *åmdy-* sit, gerund *åmdylä* (PSam). || *qaly-* remain (< Turk.); 3sg prs *qala*. || *qy* river, gsg *qyn*, *qyt* (*qyš*); see U fi *joki*. || *šüümyn*, *šüümyt* in the direction of . . ., along. || *konnä* upstream, upwards; away from the fire(place) in the hut. || *ukkyr* one; once; suddenly (PSam). || *čondy* middle, midst, loc. *čondooqyt*; *ukkyr čondooqyt* suddenly; see U os *jəčə*. || *pakä* querquedule, Anas querquedula, a kind of wild duck; *-t*, npl. || *åmnyndåtyt*, 3pl prs narrative of *åmdy-*. || *üt* water; see U fi *vesi*; loc. *ütooqyt*. || *yndy* bow; see U fi *jousi*; *-ty*, Px3sg. || *ii-* take; *iindyty*, 3sg narrative. || *kəəzyŋgo* arrow with an iron knob; *kəəzy* iron; see U fi *vaski*. *-my*, Px1sg. || *ättɛndy-* put the arrow on the string; *ättɛ* bifurcation at the back end of an arrow. || *čattyŋyty*, 3sg prs trans. of *čatty-* throw, shoot, discharge. || *pakätyp*, apl. || *ńünïryŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *ńünïry-* miss one's aim, fail. || *wəššɛjåtyt*, 3pl prs of *wəššɛi-* fly away, intensive-perfective of *wəšï-* rise, get up, go up. || *nyy* = *tyy* thither, hither; see U fi *nämä* and fi *tuo*. || *tüŋa*, 3sg prs of *tü-* come; see U fi *tule-*. || *kəəzyŋgooqyndy*, lat. Px3sg. || *kəəzyŋgomdy*, asg Px3sg. || *čap*, *čam* only, just, scarcely, barely. || *näqqylɛlyŋyty*, 3sg prs trans., inchoative, of *näqqyl-* pull. || *meeldy* always, all the time, constantly, continually. || *orqylbaty*, 3sg prs trans. of *orqylby-* keep, hold (continuative of *orqyl-* seize). || *kos qaj* (or *qaj kos*) something; *qaj* what; see U fi *kuka*. || *nil'* so; see U fi *nämä*. || *kəlyŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *kəly-* say; see U lpLule *giel'to-*. || *loozy* evil spirit; auxiliary spirit of the shaman. || *tütyl'* (by sandhi assimilation: *tütyl*), adj., derived from *tüt* excrements, dirt; see U fi *sitta*. || *laka* heap, piece. || *too* voici, voilà; away, off; cf. U fi *tuo*. || *üütät*, 2sg imper., trans., of *üüty-* let, let go. || *kuppɛiyyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *kuppɛi-* beat, strike with one's fist; cf. *kupaŋ*, *kupak* fist. || *orqylnyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *orqyl-*. || *nyyn*, *nyyny* then (later), henceforth; therefore; see U fi *nämä*. || *aj* anew; cf. yr *yaani*. || *tå* behind; through; thither; cf. *tåkty* behind; see U fi *taka-*. || *pɛläl'* half; one of two things which form a pair; *pɛläk* half, side; see U fi *pieli*. || *kupaktysä*, instr. Px3sg. || *qättyŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *qätty-* beat. || *l'akčissä*, instr. of *l'akčit*, *l'akčin* heel. || *kətykä* from the left

side. || *qåt* forehead; *qåttysä*, instr. Px3sg. || *seepylaŋ*, *seepylak* sufficiently; *seep* sufficient. || *naany* long (= for a long time). || *ippa*, 3sg prs of *ippy-* lie (be in a recumbent position); km *i'po-*. || *ira* old man, adult male human being, husband; cf. hu *öreg*. || *konžɛindy*, 3sg prs narrative of *konžɛi-* show oneself, appear. || *u-uu*, interjection, emotional sentence-word. || *kyyzymyl'* fortunate, lucky, happy (< Turk. ?). || *čaŋgap*, nsg Px1sg of *čaŋgy* trap. || *titijap*, asg of *titija* (little) bird. || *qəttap*, *qənnap*, 1sg prs of *qət-* kill, get. || *qolqan*, gsg of *qolqak* jay, Garrulus glandarius. || *iijap*, asg of *iija* child; young (of animals), cub etc.; see U ch *igə*. || *måtqyndy*, lative Px3sg of *måt*. || *tattyŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *tatty-* bring; see U fi *tuo-*. || *näl'ääqyqyndy*, lat. du. Px3sg of *näl'ä* daughter. || *näl'ää*, vocative of *näl'ä*. || *čiilij*, nsg Px2du of *čii* kettle; yr *jeed*. || *karrä* downhill, downstream, towards or to the fire(place). || *yytyŋylij*, 2du imper. of *yyty-* hang, be suspended; hang (up), suspend; see U md *itə-*. || *il'ča* grandfather. || *tan* thou; see U fi *sinä*. || *tomdal*, 2sg prs of *tom-* say. || *naššaak* so, so much, that much; *na* that; see U fi *nämä*. || *kypa* little, small. || *čiindysä*, instr. Px2,3sg. || *mašim*, acc. of *man* I; see U fi *minä*. || *kuttar* how; *kut* who; see U fi *kuka*. || *amnandy*, 2sg prs, intr., of *am-* eat (PSam). || *ürmy*, nsg Px1sg of *ür* fat, grease. || *ïllä* down; see U fi *ala*. || *na*, may be rendered by 'look!', or not at all (*na* that). || *šiikɛndy*, 3sg prs, imperfective aspect, of *šiiky-* get lost; be spilled, be poured out, be scattered. || *kəcan* grandchild. || *ånïj*, *ånyl'* correct(ly), true. || *mat* = *man*. || *täly* tomorrow. || *warqy* big (PSam). || *čiiqäk*, lat. Px1sg ('for, to fetch'). || *qöl'l'äk*, 1sg fut. of *qöš-* go, travel. || *tåbtyl'* following, next. || *qaryt*, gsg of *qar* morning. || *čiiqyndy*, lat. Px3sg. || *qənny*, 3sg prs of *qən-*. || *ondy* himself (*-dy*, Px3sg). || *loozyt*, *loozyn*, gsg. || *näl'ääqysä*, instr. du. || *čeelyt*, gsg of *čeely* day, light, sun; see U lp *jâlâkâs*. || *nil'čik*, *nil'čiŋ* so, thus; see U fi *nämä*. || *ɛsa*, 3sg prs of *ɛsy-* become; begin, start; see U fi *asu-*. || *tee* you (two or more); see U fi *te*. || *čååty* for, for the sake of, instead of, against, opposite to. || *nəkyryl'* figured, flowered, decorated; *nəkyr* pattern, design. || *solal'ap*, asg of *solal'a*, dim. of *solak*, *solaŋ* spoon; see U est *sulu*. || *meeläk*, 1sg fut. of *mee-* make; see U hu *mű*. || *ammondïjqo* (< **am-qondïjqo*), inf. of *am-*, transl. Px2du. || *näl'ääqy*, ndu. || *ɛsåqy*, 3du prs. || *kyssa* well, come, go ahead! || *meety*, 2sg imper. trans. || *poonä* out-

wards, out. || *tanda*, 3sg prs of *tandy-* go out. || *pičïm*, asg of *pičï* axe. || *mïšallä*, gerund of *mïšal-* seize. || *tap* this; see U fi *tämä*. || *poot*, gsg of *poo* tree; see U fi *puu*. || *toopy* base, butt; *toop* end, brim. || *qoopäptymmyndyty* (< **qoopäptymbyndyty*), 3sg prs narrative, continuative, trans., of *qoopäptï-* hew, cut. || *qatyŋ* well, go ahead! || *qaj* what; cf. U fi *kuka*. || *soma* good (PSam). || *meendap*, 1sg prs narrative of *mee-*. || *mannymbyŋŋylïj*, 2du imper. of *mannymby-* look, look at (continuative; cf. the momentaneous *mandy-*). || *tary*, 3sg prs of *tary-* go out. || *pičïš* = *pičït*, gsg. || *šuksä*, instr. of *šuk* (back of the) neck; head (of an axe). || *qättyŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *qätty-* smite, hit, beat. || *qåtyt*, gsg of *qåt*. || *kyymyn* in the middle. || *måtty*, lative of *måt*. || *šeerny*, 3sg prs of *šeer-* enter, go in. || *kypa* little, small; younger. || *näľäp*, asg. || *qättyndyty*, 3sg prs, narrative. || *čiity*, nsg Px3sg (functions as direct object). || *ponnyty*, *pottyty*, 3sg prs trans. of *pot-* put (into the kettle); cf. U fi *pata*. || *näľääqyp*, adu. || *naany* long, for a long time. || *mušåqy*, 3du prs of *mušï-* boil (intr.). || *tiipy* pin, peg. || *meeqyldyty*, 3sg prs, trans., plurative action, of *mee-*. || *čiimdy*, asg Px3sg. || *konnä* (here:) away from the fire(place). || *wəčïŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *wəčï-* lift up, pick up. || *mundyt*, gsg of *mundy* piece. || *čary* to. || *matɛlnyty*, 3sg prs, trans., plurative action, of *maty-* cut, carve, slice (PSam). || *näľääqyt*, gdu. || *wəčïľ* (by assimilation: *wəčïl*), adj., derived from *wəčï* flesh, body. || *lakaľ*, adj., derived from *laka* lump, piece, heap; *wəčïl l.* piece of flesh. || *myp*, asg of *my* something, piece; *wəčïl lakaľ my* pieces of flesh. || *tiipondy*, lat. of *tiip*. || *tokkaldålnyty*, 3sg prs, trans., continuative, of *tokkaldy-* put on, fasten; cf. *tokuat-* get stuck; see U fi *takkala*. || *irat*, gsg. || *wəttondy*, lat. of *wətty* way, path, track; see U hu *út*. || *čoqqyrnyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *čoqqyr-* set, put, place, post (in various places). || *ondy* he himself. || *moqynä* (lat.) back, back again. || *tüŋa*, 3sg prs of *tü-* come, arrive; see U fi *tule-*. || *peemym*, *peemyp*, asg of *peemy* hairskin boot (PSam; > R). || *iindyty*, 3sg prs, narrative, trans., of *ii-* take. || *olymdy*, asg Px3sg of *oly* head; foot-piece (of boot). || *too matyŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., cut off. || *küütyt*, gsg of *küüty* core; *peemyt k.* the leg of a hairskin boot. || *šüńńondy* (< *šüńčondy*), lat. of *šüńčï* (the) interior. || *šiimysä*, instr. of *šiimy* ashes, embers. || *zonnyty*, 3sg prs trans. of *zot-* fill. || *pičïľamdy*, asg Px3sg of *pičïľa*, dim. of *pičï* axe. ||

čüüqyndy, lat. Px3sg of *čü* belt; see U vty *jä*. || *tokkaldyŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *tokkaldy-*. || *tüümondy*, lative sg of *tüümy*, *tüüm* larch-tree, Larix. || *syqylny*, 3sg prs of *syqyl-* climb. || *pååryqyt*, loc. of *pååry* top. || *åmda*, 3sg. prs of *åmdy-* sit. || *poos ukool'* (the) first; *ukoot* before, earlier, *poos ukoot* at first, from the beginning. || *munnondy* (< *mundondy*), lat. || *tulyčï*, 3sg prs of *tulyčï-* (*tulyš-*) reach, arrive (at); see U fi *tule-*. || *pollɛindyty*, 3sg prs, narrative mood, intensive-perfective, of *poly-* swallow; see U fi *pala*. || *mïty*, *mïta* as if. || *onäŋ*, *onäk* myself; my own. || *wəčïńa*, 3sg prs of *wəčïnï-* smell like flesh, taste like flesh (*wəčï*). || *pollɛiŋyty*, 3sg prs trans. intensive-perfective of *poly-*. || *måtändy*, gsg Px3sg of *måtä* door; see U fi *ovi* (*måt* tent). || *åkty*, lat. of *åk*, *åŋ* mouth, opening; see U lp *vuoŋâs*. || *ńeńńïmånny*, *ńeńńïmånna*, 3sg prs of *ńeńńïmåt-* get angry; see U lpKola *nienne*. || *näl'ääqyqyndy*, lat. du. Px3sg. || *qaiľ* what sort of a, what a . . . || *-sä*, instr. || *karambälïj*, 2du prs of *karamby-* play. || *-t*, gsg. || *ïllä* down(wards); see U fi *ala*. || *yky* don't!; see U fi *e-*, 3sg prs *ei*. || *šiikyŋïjä*, 3sg imper. of *šiiky-*. || *aal'ča*, 3sg prs of *aal'čï-* rush. || *näl'ääqyty*, ndu Px3sg. || *qaš* = *qam* bed-curtains. || *šüńčooqyt*, loc. of *šüńčï* (the) interior. || *čičïrymbååqy*, 3du prs of (continuative) *čičïrymby-* chirp, twitter. || *kutyľ* whose (adj., derived from *kuty* who). || *pačallä*, gerund of *pačal-* cut. || *pottɛimbaty*, 3sg prt narr. intensive-perf. of *pot-*. || *šitty* two; see U fi *kaksi*. || *iškåšååqy*, ndu of *iškåša* magpie, Pica caudata. || *orqyllä*, gerund of *orqyl-* take, seize. || *qamyš* = *qamyt*, gsg of *qam*. || *šüńńondy* = *šüńčondy*, lat. of *šüńčï*. || *üütɛimmyndy*, 3sg prt trans., narrative, intensive-perfective, of *üüty-* let (go). || *qamyp*, asg. || *ïnnä* up; see U fi *yl*. || *tïllɛiŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., intensive-perfective, of *tïly-* tear away; raise, lift. || *wəššɛindåqy*, 3du prs narrative, intensive-perfective, of *wəšï-* rise, go up. || *koľalda*, 3sg prs of *koľaldy-* turn (trans. and intr.); *koľa* circle, ring, hoop. || *kalam*, asg of *kala* ladle. || *mïšaldyty*, *mïšalnyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *mïšal-* seize. || *qoldɛiŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *qoldɛi-* to scoop, ladle (in a kettle); see U fi *kulle*. || *näl'än*, gsg. || *olyl* = *olyľ*, adj., derived from *oly*. *olyl laka* the head (severed from the body). || *sooqyllɛindyty*, 3sg prs narrative, trans., intensive-perfective, of *sooqyl-* bale out, pick up (from, out of a kettle). || *qotyľ*, adj., derived from *qot*, C *kuočee*, *koce* ear-ring; see U fi *kehä*. || *olyľ*, viz. *lakap*. || *čuurɛla*, 3sg

prs, inchoat., of *čuury-* weep, cry; km *d'oorə-*. || *qamd, qamyttä* flat, face downwards, on one's face; see U fi *kumo*. || *seel'čï* seven. || *sajïl'*, adj., derived from *sajï* eye; see U fi *silmä*. || *kooras* = *koorat*, gsg of *koora* sand; grain of sand. || *sajïp*, asg. || *tooqyldymbaty*, 3sg prt narrative, trans., of *tooqyldy-* count, reckon. || *kun* where; yr *huna* where | yn *kune* when | vg *kun* | osS *hun* | yk *hon* where, whither; cf. U fi *kuka*. || *ni*, neg. particle; *kun ni* nowhere; *qaj ni* nothing; cf. U hu *në*. || *čääŋgy*, 3sg prs of *čääŋgy-*, *čäŋgy-* be absent, not exist; *kun qaj ni čääŋgy* there is nothing anywhere (PSam). || *qottä*, *qott* on one's back; hu *hát* back, tergum. || *qïšqäs* = *qïšqät*, gsg of *qïšqä* star; see U hu *húgy*. || *koš* although (R); *k. kuččɛ* wherever, in whatever direction. *kuččɛ* whither; see U fi *kuka*. || *qənba*, 3sg prt, narrative, of *qən-*. || *tɛnymyŋyty*, 3sg prs trans. of *tɛnymy-* know, understand (PSam). || *poot*, gsg. || *pååryp*, asg of *pååry*. || *åč* = *åt*, gsg of *åk*, *åŋ*. || *čåäty* against. || *pïrgy* high, tall. || *nååqyr* three (PSam). || *tüümy* larch tree. || *nååqyrmdälïl'* (the) third. || *pååryqyt*, loc. || *åmnyndy*, 3sg prs narrative, of *åmdy-*. || *läpätålny*, 3sg prs of *läpätål-* to start, give a start; *ïnnä l.* jump, spring up; cf. hu *lép-* step, tread. || *-ty*, Px3sg. || *mïšaldyty*, *mïšalnyty*, 3sg prs, trans. || *kurallä*, gerund of *kural-* run. || *pačalɛlyyyty*, 3sg prs, inchoat., of *pačal-*. || *pačïtyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *pačïty-* hew, cut. || *qorqy* bear. || *tündy*, 3sg prs, narrative, of *tü-*. || *pačalläp*, 1sg fut. of *pačal-*. || *pičal*, nsg Px2sg of *pičï*. || *mäkkä*, lat. of *man* I. || *mity*, 2sg imper., trans., of *mi-* give; see U fi *myy-*. || *mil'čïŋyty*, 3sg prs, trans., intensive-perfective, of *mi-*. || *par* time (occasion); *ukkyr p.* once; see U zr *pyr*. || *pačalnyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *pačal-*. || *pakta*, 3sg prs of *pakty-* leap, jump (up), run away; see U hu *fut-*. || *ńooyyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of *ńoo-* drive, pursue; cf. U fi *nouta-*. || *-m*, asg. || *meeldy* all the time, steadily, altogether; *meelqo*, *meeldytqo* forever. || *šittyndäl*, *šittymdäl* once again, a second time | *wənyl'* another, the other. || *iindyty*, 3sg prs narrative, of *ii-* take. || *üŋyyndy* wolverine, Gulo gulo. || *måly* half and half, fifty-fifty. || *amqonïjqo*, 1du translative of inf. of *am-* eat. || *nåty* henceforth. || *pičïkålyk* without axe. || *qatɛnda*, 3sg prs, imperfective, of *qaty-* betake oneself. || *tötkyqolamny*; (inf.) *tötkyqo* vomit, + *olamny*, 3sg prs of *olam-* begin, start. || *izeečaryqyt* long ago (loc. of *izeečary* anti-

quity). || *qəttyt*, gsg of *qətty* village, town; see U fi *otava*. || *tiiryp*, asg of *tiiry* unit; *qəttyt t.* a whole town; see U fi *tyrtty-*. || *amdääqäk*, loc. Px1sg of a verb noun of *am-*. || *qorsan*, *qorsat* adze. || *polysak*, 1sg prt of *poly-* swallow. || *töttɛiyyty*, 3sg prs, trans., of (intensive-perfective) *töttɛi-* vomit, spew. || *paqqondy*, lat. of *paqqy* handle, haft. || *tokkaldyyyty*, 3sg prs of *tokkaldy-*. || *loqa* fox; see U ch *lŏj*. || *qorsally*, nsg Px2sg of *qorsan*. || *tətalbylä*, gerund of (continuat.) *tətalby-* entreat, beg, beseech, (try to) persuade. || *kəcat* = *kəcan* grandchild; *kəcanəə*, vocative. || *-my*, Px1sg. || *tattät*, 2sg imper. trans. of *tatty-*. || *tötkylä*, gerund of *tötky-*. || *puutamdy*, asg Px2sg of *puuty* (the) interior; a plant: Angelica (archangelica?); see U fi *putki*. || *qa* = *qaj*. || *səpälnal*, 2sg prs of *səpäl-* break (trans., on purpose). || *tat*, *tan* thou; see U fi *sinä*. || *aal'čäšik*, 2sg imper. of *aal'čï-*. || *-ly*, Px2sg. || *sajal*, nsg Px2sg of *sajï*. || *yndäl'dy*, gsg Px2sg of *yndäl'* nose. || *mü* hole, opening. || *tasty*, gsg Px2sg of *tas* hind part. || *muundyk* entirely. || *šitty* in two. || *kepytåldy*, 2sg imper., plurative, of *kepyty-* stretch, spread, extend. || *poosä*, instr. of *poo* stick. || *kepytålnyt*, 3sg prs, plurative, of *kepyty-*. || *panyšqolamny*; *panyšqo* (inf.) let oneself down, glide down, descend, + *olamny*, 3sg prs of *olam-* begin, start. || *sajooqäk*, lat.-loc. Px1sg of *sajï*. || *qaiľ* what kind of a . . . || *ɣoot*, gsg. || *tuka* trash, fragments. || *talimmyndy* (< **talimbyndy*), 3sg prs, narrative, of *talimby-* (continuative?) come showering down. || *ašša* no. || *panyčɛndylä*, gerund of imperfective aspect of *panyčï-*, *panyš-*. || *qåzy* bark, rind, crust, shell (of egg etc.). || *illälåqy* lower (*-låqy*, comparative suffix). || *panyńńa*, 3sg prs of *panyš-*. || *-p*, asg. || *šiimyľ*, adj., derived from *šiimy* ashes, embers, cinders. || *mysä*, instr. of *my*. || *čari* in one's face. || *qamdɛiyyty*, 3sg prs, intensive-perfective, of *qamdy-* pour out, strew out, scatter out. || *olä* only. || *toršɛlna*, 3sg prs of *toršɛl-* start jerking (the legs); *toršimby-* jerk. || *pičïš* = *pičïn*, gsg of *pičï*. || *šuksä*, instr. of *šuk* neck, occiput; head of an axe. || *qättyyyty*, 3sg prs trans. of *qätty-*. || *taľaldyyyty*, 3sg prs of *taľaldy-* break (trans.). || *taqqyldyty*, *taqqylnyty*, 3sg prs trans. of *taqqyl-* collect. || *tüüsä*, instr. of *tü* fire; see U fi *tuli*. || *čååtɛiyyty*, 3sg prs, intensive-perfective, of *čååty-* burn (trans.). || *amdyptääqyndy*, loc. Px3sg of a nomen actionis, derived from the imperfective base of *am-* devour. || *qåndyty*, nsg Px3sg of *qåndy* little bit, spark. ||

pyŋymbylä, gerund of (continuat.) *pyŋymby-* to hum, buzz, drone, sound. || *wəšɛlyndåtyt*, 3pl prs narrative, inchoat. of *wəšï-* rise, fly. || *oryp* strongly, very; *or-* power. || *nenyqal'*, adj., derived from *nenyqa* gnat, midge. || *pooty*, nsg Px3sg of *poo* year. || *eemmäsä*, 3sg cond. of *ee-* become (+ *-sä*). || *mat*, *man* I; my. || *qåndap*, nsg Px1sg of *qåndy*. || *eeläsä*, 3sg fut. of *ee-* (+ *-sä*, which indicates a more or less distant future). || *imyl'andynyk*, *imyl'andynyŋ*, lat. Px3sg of *imyl'a*.

KAMASSIAN

GRAMMAR

PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

It is not easy to find out the essential traits of Kamassian vocalism. Donner has 63 vowel signs in his field notations, and 42 in his dictionary. He has pointed out that there were a good deal of individual variations.

The following table is an attempt to restitute the system of vowel units.

y	*u*		*ü*	*i*
õ	*o*	*ə̂ ə*	(*ö*)	*e*
a	*å*			*ä̂*
Non.-l.	Lab.		Lab.	Non.-l.

y is of no frequent occurrence, except as an individual variant of *õ*, *i*, or *ü*.

õ stands for FUF *ę*. In FUV, we have used the sign *õ* even for *ə̂*, which seems to be a back variant of the middle-high middle-front vowel *ə* (both variants are no doubt slightly labialized); here we shall use *ë* for *ə̂*.

ü stands for an intermediary between *u* and German *ü*.

ä̂ is written *ä* by Castrén; we shall follow Donner and write *ɛ*.

ö is an individual (or dialectal) variant of *ę*, *ə̂* or *ɛ*.

a has the variant *ȧ* in the neighbourhood of palatalized consonants, and *o* has the variant *o̧*.

All the vowels can be long, except *ə*, which is short or overshort, and *ë*.

All the vowels (except *y*) can be followed by non-syllabic *i*. *a* can be followed by non-syllabic *u*.

In addition to this, km has the diphthongs *ia* (~ *iä*), *iɛ*, *ie*, *üɛ*, *üõ*, *uë*, *üə*, and *iü*. *ia* has the variant *i̇a*, before which the preceding consonant is palatalized or followed by an *i*-glide.

Vowel harmony

The palatal vowel harmony is well preserved in km, but *i*, *e*, *ɛ* and *ə* can occur even together with back vowels.

There are manifest traces of labial vowel harmony in suffixes and terminations; e.g. locative *d'ågåågën* (*d'ågå* 'river') ~ *sirɛɛgən* (*sirɛ* 'snow') ~ *kotkun* (*kot* 'rib') ~ *küürüpkün* (*küürüp* 'pit'); 2sg imperative, trans. conjugation *bâtë* 'cut' ~ *pünzəldə* 'swallow' ~ *kutu* 'kill' ~ *šõ'dü* 'sew'; 3sg imper., intr. conj. *kåygëj* 'go' ~ *nuguj* 'stand' ~ *üzügüj* 'fall'.

CONSONANTS

Kamassian has the following consonants:

	Bilabiales		Praedorsales		Apicales		Mediodorsales anter.		Mediodorsales poster.		Postdorsales		Glottales	
	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.	Son.	Sur.
Explosivae	*b*	*p*	*d*	*t*							*g*	*k*		*ʾ*
Fric. blaesiformes	*β*	(*φ*)							*j*		*γ*	(*χ*)		*h*
Fric. sibilantes			*z*	*s*	*ž*	*š*	*ź*	*ś*						
Affricatae							*ʒ*	*ć*						
Tremulantes					*r*									
Cryptofricativae			*l*	(*L*)			*l'*	(*L'*)						
Nasales	*m*				*n*		*ń*				*ŋ*			

β, for which we shall write *w*, sometimes has the variant *u̯* (non-syllabic *u*).

In some words there is an individual variation *b* ~ *w*, e.g. *buda*, *woda* 'kettle-hook' (yr *wada*).

d- chiefly occurs in Russian loan-words and in the demonstrative (and personal) pronoun *di* 'he' and case forms and derivatives of this pronoun (note *diγətə* ~ *tiγitə* 'then, after that'). It may be regarded as a variant of *t-*; e. g. *dåγåj* ~ *tåγåj* 'knife'.

d', *ʒ́* and *t'* alternate freely, at least in initial position; e.g. *d'ålå*, *ʒ́ålå*, *t'ålå* 'day' (**j-*: see U lp *jâlâkâs*).

φ occurs in a few Russian loan-words.

At the beginning of the word, the voiced stop *g* occurs almost only in a few loan-words, in the enclitic *-gö*, 'also', and in isolated case forms of the interrogative *gi-* (~ *ki-*). In the interior of the word, *g* alternates with velar *γ*. The stop dominates in the neighbourhood of front vowels and after the glottal stop. We shall write *g* for *γ*.

k is aspirate, as a rule, in initial and final position and before unvoiced consonants, otherwise it is non-aspirate. *k-* sometimes has the variant *χ*.

NOTE.—Donner has noted *kojü*, *kujü* 'birch' with aspirate *k*, and *kojü*, *kujü* 'old' with non-aspirate *k*.

There are two variants of non-palatalized *l*: *l* (with low back-tongue) and *ł* (with raised back-tongue). *ł*, of much more frequent occurrence, appears chiefly in the neighbourhood of back vowels, *l* appears preferably in the neighbourhood of front vowels. All the three kinds of *l* may appear in the same word: *šołołžǯl'am* 'I fall'.

d + *l* has developed into unvoiced *l* + (voiced) *l*; Donner sometimes has noted a fricative *t*. We shall write *'l* for *ʟ* + *l*.

p is aspirate in initial position, except in recent loan-words and descriptive words; else, it is mostly non-aspirate.

š has an (individual) palatalized variant.

t is aspirate in initial position, except in recent loan-words, else it is mostly non-aspirate.

The glottal stop is strong. It does not occur in initial position.

b', *h'*, *k'*, *ḿ*, *ŕ*, and *ṕ* are (individual) variants of *b* etc. + (non-

syllabic or syllabic) *i*. *h'* is probably = *χ* (German *ich*-Laut) or unvoiced *j*.

Most consonants are often (or usually) lengthened in the position between a preceding (stressed) short vowel and a following vowel, and the same is the case with voiced consonants in the position between a preceding short vowel and a following consonant. Intervocalic *b*, *d*, *d'*, *z* and *w* are not lengthened, as a rule. If a consonant is preceded by a short stressed vowel + glottal stop and followed by a vowel, it is half-long. A few geminates have come about by agglutination, e.g. *turatte* 'from his house'.

Otherwise, all consonants may be regarded as short.

STRESS

In genuine km words, the main stress is usually on the first syllable; but there are many exceptions.

MORPHOLOGY

Declension

In Kamassian the Px3sg often functions as a kind of definite article. Even the pronoun *di*, *də*, 'he, she', may have such a function, e.g. *də ko'bdo iinɛn old'a kulja, a də ńi neen old'a gulja* 'the girl looks at the horse-harness, but the son looks at the women's clothes'.

CASE AND NUMBER

Kamassian has the following cases: nominative, genitive, accusative, locative, separative, lative(-dative) and instructive.

There are three numbers: singular, dual and plural. The dual occurs only in personal pronouns and Px, and occasionally in the noun *kågå, kaga* 'brother, elder brother': *šidə kagaazəgej amnoo'bi* 'two brothers lived, there were two brothers'.

The nominative has no case ending. The genitive and the accusative have preserved the PU case endings, *-n* and *-m* respectively.

We define the stem of a km noun as identical with the nominative singular. There are six sorts of stems: 1) stems ending in a vowel; 2) stems ending in *j*; 3) stems ending in glottal stop; 4) stems ending in *k*; 5) stems ending in a voiced consonant (other than *j*); 6) stems ending in an unvoiced consonant other than *k* or glottal stop.

Stems ending in *j* seem to have syllabic *i* instead of *j* in gsg and asg, e.g. gsg *tågåin* of *tågåj* 'knife'.

Stems ending in glottal stop usually have *d* in gsg and asg, e.g. *no'* 'grass', gsg *noodən* (see U lp *njuocco-rasse*); but sometimes *d* has disappeared or changed into glottal stop, e.g. *må'* 'tent', gsg *måådən, må'ån, mån.*

Stems in *k* have lost their *k* in gsg and asg, e.g. *šåmnak* 'spoon', asg *šåmnaam.*

Other consonant stems have a vowel before the endings of gsg and asg. If the stem ends in a voiceless consonant (other than *k* or glottal stop), the gsg and asg have the corresponding voiced consonant, e.g. *myt* 'liver', gsg *mydën.*

Stems in *m* have *w* in all the inflected forms, e.g. *naa'm* 'duck', gsg *naawën.*

Sometimes the genitive has no ending (or the nominative is used instead of the genitive).

Kamassian, like the other sam languages (and lpS) uses the genitive to fix a point of time, e.g. *pyn* 'at night'.

In genitival constructions, the principal word (the designation of the possession) is usually combined with Px3(sg), e.g. *bün ejet* 'the water-sprite, the water-god' (*eje* 'master, lord; spirit; devil').

English clauses with 'have' = 'possess' are rendered by means of *ii-* 'be'; the counterpart of the subject of the English clause is put in the genitive, if it is a noun, and the counterpart of the English direct object is combined with Px; e.g. *büüzən naagur ko'bdot iibi* 'an old man had three daughters' (*ko'bdot*, nsg Px3sg of *ko'bdo*); *najʒədən ibi* 'they had a friend', hu 'barátuk volt' (*-dən*, Px3pl). The present tense of the verb may be omitted: *let i'go* 'it has many bones, there is a lot of bones in it' (*let*, nsg Px3sg of *le* 'bone', *i'go* 'much'). Negative clauses with 'have' are rendered

by means of *nåågа*, *naaga* '(there) is not', e.g. *ujüt naaga*, *udat naaga* 'he has neither feet nor hands'.

The direct object is usually put in the nominative if it is a noun without Px and is indefinite or combined with the second person of the imperative. A definite object without Px is put in the accusative or combined with the enclitic *-bë* ~ *-bə* ~ *-bu* (*-bo*) ~ *-bü*.

The locative has the ending *-kën* ~ *-kən* ~ *-kun* ~ *-kün* (see Phonology, Vowel harmony) after an unvoiced consonant, and *-gën* etc. in other positions. Stems in glottal stop have vowel + *-n*, e.g. *aaspa'an* of *aaspa'* 'kettle'.—*soogənu*, loc. of *soo* 'raft'!

Note *din* (also *di'en*) 'there' (*di* 'he'), *t'eerən* 'in the middle' (*t'eer* 'middle').

The separative has the ending *-kë'* etc., *-gë'* etc.; rarely: *-gada* ~ *-gɛdɛ*.

Note *dətə* 'then, after that', and *tåktə* 'from behind' (cf. *tåkkën* 'behind', and see U fi *taka-*).

The lative has *-në* ~ *-nə* (after a vowel), *-dë* ~ *-də* (after a voiced consonant and *j*), *-të* ~ *-tə* (after an unvoiced consonant). (Even the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, *ü* occur.)

The instructive has *-ńe'*, *-ńe'*, *-ǰe'* etc.

Before the endings of the local cases and the instructive, a short vowel is lengthened, e.g. *d'ågåågën*, loc. of *d'ågå* 'river'.

Kamassian has three plural characteristics:

1) *-i'*, *-je'* etc., *-'i-* (see the Paradigms);

2) *-zaŋ*, *-zɛŋ*, *-saŋ*, *-seŋ* etc.

3) *-lar* (preferably used in Turkish words).

NOTE.—Words like *sima* 'eye' are put in the singular speaking of both eyes (ears, hands etc.), and 'one eye' etc. is expressed by means of *peel* 'half'; e.g. *peel siimaabə kajlaua'bi* 'he shut one of his eyes'.

NUMERALS

The cardinals 1–7 are: *o'm*, *o'b* 1, *šide* 2, *naagur*, *nåågur* 3, *tee'də* 4, *sumna* 5, *muktu'* 6, *seǰ'bü* 7. 8 is *šëntee'də* ('twice four'). 9 is *aamitun* (*aami* 'another'). 10 is *bjə'n* (*b'eent*). 20 is *šidɛɛbi'*,

30 *nåågurbiě'*. 11 is *b'jeno'w. kërok* 40, *jelyg* 50, *altoon* 60, *d'üs* 100, *mëy* 1000, are Turkish loan-words. 60 is also *muktuu'b'ee*.

'The first' is *wåštåp, båståw* (Turkish). The higher ordinal numbers have the suffix *-git*: *šideegit, naagurgit, sumnaŋgit*.

A cardinal number can be inflected if there is no designation of the things counted.

When a cardinal number is followed by the designation of the things counted, it is usually uninflected, but there are instances of agreement.

After a cardinal number the designation of the things counted is put in the singular.

ADJECTIVES

Most of the adjectives are derivatives, like *påj* 'wooden' (*på* 'wood'), *tëmzəwi* 'dirty' (*tëm* 'dirt'), *saagëššët* 'crazy' (*saagëš* 'wit').

Adjectives are (almost always) uninflected when they function as attributes (qualifiers).

Comparatives are formed by the Turkish suffix *-rak*; but the positive grade can serve as comparative if the designation of the outdone member of the comparison is put in the separative.

The superlative is rendered by putting *baarguttun* (sep. Px3pl of *baar* 'all'), or the Turkish *ugaandə* 'very', or the Russian *saamüj*, before the positive grade.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

In the instructive, the Px is put before the case ending, else it is put after the case ending.

In combination with Px, the nouns have the same form in the genitive and accusative as in the nominative, and there is a common form for the locative and the lative.

The co-affix *-g-* + vowel, common to the locative and the separative in the declension without Px, is lacking in the declension with Px in the singular of disyllabic vowel stems (see the Paradigm); in the plural, and in the declension of other stems, it appears both in the separative and in the locative-lative; e.g. *numgutte*, sep. Px3sg of *num* 'thunder', but *turatte*, sep. Px3sg of *tura* 'house'.

Traces of the U co-affix *n* occur in combination with Px1,2sg. In combination with the nominative singular, the Px1sg is *-m* (after a vowel), *-b-* + vowel (*a* ~ *ɛ* ~ *u* ~ *ü*: after a nasal consonant or *j*), or *-p-* + vowel (after an oral consonant other than *j*); e.g. *turam* 'my house', *tagajba* 'my knife', *šɛrgɛtpɛ* 'my elbow'. In combination with the loc.-lat., the Px1sg is *-ńi*. In combination with the nom. sg, the Px2sg is *-l* (after a vowel), *-n* (after a nasal consonant), or *-l-* + vowel (after an oral consonant). In combination with the loc.-lat. and the separative, the Px2sg is *-n*. E.g. *tural* 'thy house', *turattan* 'from thy house'. (The *-n* of the 2sg has developed from **-nti*.)

PARADIGMS

	Singular	Plural	
1. Nom. -	*tura* 'house'	*turaje'*	*turazaŋ*
2. Gen.	*turan*	*tura'in*	*turazaŋən*
3. Acc.	*turam*	*tura'im*	*turazaŋəm*
4. Loc.	*turaagën*	*tura'igën*	*turazaŋgën*
5. Sep.	*turaagë'*	*tura'igë'*	*turazaŋgë'*
6. Lat.	*turaanë*	*tura'inə*	*turazaŋdə*
7. Instr.	*turaase'*	*tura'ize*	*turazaŋze'*

Px

Case	One object			
1–3. Nga 4, 6. Loc., lat. 5. Sep.	*turam* *turaańi* *turaćći*	*tural* *turaanan* *turattan*	*turat* *turaandə* *turatte*	One owner
1–3. Nga 4, 6. Loc., lat. 5. Sep.	*turaawyj* *turaańiwyj* *turaććiwyj*	*turaalyj* *turaańilyj* *turaććilyj*	*turaadyj* *turaandyj* *turattyj*	Two owners
1–3. Nga 4, 6. Loc., lat. 5. Sep.	*turaawa'* *turaańiwa'* *turaććiwa'*	*turaala'* *turaańila'* *turaććila'*	*turaadən* *turaandən* *turattən*	More than two owners
	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers.	

Case	More than one object			
1–3. Nga 4, 6. Loc., lat. 5. Sep.	*turazaŋba* *turazaŋgańi* *turazaŋgaćći*	*turazaŋna* *turazaŋganan* *turazaŋgattan*	*turazaŋdə* *turazaŋgandə* *turazaŋgattə*	One owner
1–3. Nga 4, 6. Loc., lat. 5. Sep.	*turazaŋbyj* *turazaŋgańiwyj* *turazaŋgaććiwyj*	*turazaŋnyj* *turazaŋgańilyj* *turazaŋgaććilyj*	*turazaŋdyj* *turazaŋgandyj* *turazaŋgattyj*	Two owners
1–3. Nga 4, 6. Loc., lat. 5. Sep.	*turazaŋba'* *turazaŋgańiwa'* *turazaŋgaććiwa'*	*turazaŋna'* *turazaŋgańila'* *turazaŋgaććila'*	*turazaŋdən* *turazaŋgandən* *turazaŋgattən*	More than two owners
	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers.	

NOTE.—Px3pl is often used instead of Px3du.

Personal pronouns

	1sg	1du	1pl
1. Nom.	*man*	*mište*	*mi', mee*
2. Gen.	*man*	*mištən*	*mi', mə*
3. Acc.	*mana*	*mištəm*	*mi'ńibɛ'*
4, 6. Loc., lat.	*mana*	*mišteeniwəj*	*mi'ńibɛ'*
5. Sep.	*manat'e'*	*mišteećiwəj*	*mi't'ibɛ'*
7. Instr.	*manże'*	*mišteeże'*	*mi'że'*

	2sg	2du	2pl
1. Nom.	*tan*	*šište*	*ši'*
2. Gen.	*tan*	*šištən*	*ši'*
3. Acc.	*tanan*	*šištəm*	*ši'ńilɛ'*
4, 6. Loc., lat.	*tanan*	*šišteeńilii*	*ši'ńilɛ'*
5. Sep.	*tënatan*	*šišteet'ilii*	*ši'ńit'ilɛ'*
7. Instr.	*tanże'*	*šišteeże'*	*ši'że'*

	3sg	3du	3pl
1. Nom.	*di, də, tə*	*dišide*	*dizɛŋ*
2. Gen.	*din*	*dišidən*	*dizɛn*
3. Acc.	*dim*	*dišidem*	*dizɛm*

	3sg	3du	3pl
4. Loc.	*di'ən*	*dišideegəgən*	*dizɛŋgən*
5. Sep.	*di'e'*	*dišideegəge'*	*dizɛŋgə'*
6. Lat.	*di'ne, dənan*	*dišideegəde*	*dizɛŋdə*
7. Instr.	*diże'*	*dišideeże'*	*dizɛŋże'*

Conjugation

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The verb *ii-*, 'be', functions as copula; but a noun (in the nominative) may function as predicate, e.g. *man d'ili = d'ili igɛm* 'I live, I am alive' (*d'ili* 'living, alive'). Nominal construction occurs even in such expressions as *gijen büüzəl* 'where is your husband?' (hu 'hol az urad?').

Transitive verbs have personal endings of their own in the third person of the present indicative and in the imperative, when a definite direct object is referred to; otherwise, they have the same personal endings as the intransitive verbs.

NOTE.—Sometimes, intr. endings are used instead of trans. endings.

The verbs have three numbers: singular, dual and plural.

CONJUGATIONAL SUFFIXES

Characteristics of tense and mood

Tense

Kamassian has two tenses: present tense and preterite, and there are rudiments of a future tense.

PRESENT TENSE

All the verbs, except *i'bë-* 'lie' (= 'be in a recumbent position') and the negative auxiliary *i-* ~ *ɛ-*, have one of the following present characteristics: *-l'a-* ~ *-l'ɛ-* etc.; *-la-* ~ *-lɛ-* etc.; *-l'i-*; *-ga-* ~ *-gɛ-* etc.; *-ma-* ~ *-mɛ-*; (*-na-* ~ *-nɛ-*).

According to the present characteristic, we shall call the verbs *l'am*-verbs, *lam*-verbs, etc.

In some *l'am*-verbs, *l'im*-verbs and *lam*-verbs, *l'* and *l* have changed into *ń* and *n* respectively after a nasal consonant; e.g. *kunńim*, C *kull'im* 'I carry away' (stem: *kun*[*a*]-); *pimńem* 'I am afraid'.

gam-, *nam*-, and *mam*-verbs are of rare occurrence.

l'im-verbs are transitive, as a rule, whilst *lam*-verbs are intransitive.

l'im-verbs have *-l-* instead of *-l'i-* in all the forms except 1,2sg.

lam-verbs have *-la-* in 1,2sg, *-lej* (*-luj*, etc.) in 3sg, *-le-* in 3pl, *-l-* in the other forms.

There is a tendency to distinguish between the actual time and the future time by differentiating the characteristics of the present tense, in the following way: if the present characteristic contains *l'*, future time is often indicated by a characteristic containing *l*; if the present characteristic does not contain *l'*, future time is preferably indicated by a characteristic that contains *l'*.

PRETERITE

In 3sg, the prt has the characteristic *-bi* (now and then: *-bje*) ~ (after a [shortened] stem ending in an oral consonant without preceding glottal stop:) *-pi*; in the other singular forms, the characteristic is *-bja-*, *-bje-* etc. ~ *-pja-* ~ *-pjɛ-* etc., in the dual and the plural: *-bii-* or *-bi-*. There is an instance of *-mi*, alternating with *-bi*.

Moods

There are four moods: indicative, conditional, imperative and hortative. The imperative occurs only in the 2nd and 3rd persons. The hortative occurs only in the 1du and 1pl, and it is of rare occurrence. The hortative forms might as well be regarded as suppletive imperative forms.

NOTE.—Some desiderative verbs are formed by means of the suffix *-nzə-* (after vowel stems) ~ *-zə-* (after consonant stems); e.g. *amənzə-* 'like to eat', *büdürzə-* 'wish to drink'.

The indicative has no mood characteristic.

CONDITIONAL

The conditional has the characteristic *-na-*, *-nɛ-* etc. ~ (after a [shortened] stem ending in an oral consonant with preceding glottal stop, or a nasal consonant:) *-da-*, *-dɛ-* etc., ~ (after a [shortened] stem ending in an oral consonant without preceding glottal stop:) *-ta-*, *-tɛ-* etc. In the dual and the plural, the vowel of the characteristic is long.

According to Castrén, the conditional of all the verbs, except the negative auxiliary, is followed by the word *izɛ* (historically, 3sg prt of *ii-* 'be'); the idiom described by Donner has the enclitic *-zɛ* instead.

IMPERATIVE

In all the forms except the 2sg, the imperative has the mood characteristic *g* or (after a [shortened] stem ending in an oral consonant without preceding glottal stop:) *k*, + a vowel. For the details, see below under Personal endings, and the Paradigms.

HORTATIVE

The hortative has the mood characteristic *-žə-* ~ *-š-*.

Characteristics of voice and mode of action

Voice

Some *medio-passive* and *reflexive* verbs have the suffix *-oo-*, e.g. *ku'bdoo-* 'be extinguished, go out' (*ku'bdərə-* 'extinguish, put out'), *kajoo-* 'cover oneself' (*kaj-* 'cover'), *šoktoolooma* 'it is spread' (*šuktul-* 'arrange, spread').

Mode of action

Momentaneous and *inchoative* verbs are formed by means of the suffix *-lu'-* (C *-lugu-*); e.g. *d'oorlu'-* 'start crying, weeping' (*d'oorə-* 'cry, weep'). Such derivatives sometimes are 'intensive-perfective', e.g. *məlu'-* 'give . . . away' (*mə-* 'give'), and sometimes they seem to be partly synonymous with the basic verb, e.g. *mə'lu'-* 'go away, start wandering, go, wander' (*mən-* 'go, walk, wander').

Personal endings

Indicative, conditional, hortative

The intransitive conjugation has the following personal endings:

1sg *-m*. 2sg *-l*. 3sg has no ending as a rule, but *lam*-verbs may have *-i*.

1du *-büj*, *-byj*. 2du *-lüj*, *-lyj*. 3du *-güj*, *-gyj*.

1pl *-ba'* ~ *-bɛ'*. 2pl *-la'* ~ *-lɛ'*. 3pl *-j-* + vowel + ', or ' + vowel + ', or vowel + '.

The special present tense endings of the transitive conjugation are:

3sg *-t*, or *-d-* + vowel. 3du *-dyj*. 3pl *-d-* + vowel + *-n*.

Imperative endings

INTRANSITIVE CONJUGATION

2sg. In km (as in fi), the ending **-k* has developed into glottal stop. 2sg imper. is identical with the negative base, i.e., the form of the verb that occurs in combination with the prs ind. of the negative auxiliary. The stem of the verb may be defined as the (sound or) sound-sequence that precedes the glottal stop in 2sg imperative of the intransitive conjugation, and in the negative base. (Historically speaking, all the verb stems have ended in a vowel.)

3sg *-g-* ~ *-k-* + *-u-* (*-ü-*, etc.) + *-j*.

2du *-g-* ~ *-k-* + *-ulyj* (*-ülyj*, etc.). 3du C *-kujguj* etc.

2pl *-g-* ~ *-k-* + *-a'* ~ *-ɛ'* (etc.). 3pl *-g-* ~ *-k-* + *-ü'jü'* etc.

TRANSITIVE CONJUGATION

2sg *-t*, or *-d-* + vowel. (This is = Px3sg, historically.)

3sg *-g-* ~ *-k-* + *-uba*, *-ubu*.

2du, see Intr. conjugation.

3du *-g-* ~ *-k-* + vowel + *-büj* (C *-kuwij*).

2pl *-g-* ~ *-k-* + *-ut*, *-ot*. 3pl *-g-* + *-k-* + *-ubën* etc.

Additional remarks on the negative verb

The negative auxiliary verb has a stem *ɛ-* ~ *i-*, corresponding etymologically to fi *e-* (lp *æ-* ~ *i-*, etc.), and a stem *ɛl-*, corre-

sponding to fi *älä, äl-*. *ɛ-* occurs in 1sg prs ind. and in the conditional (individually or occasionally in 2sg imperative); *i-* occurs in the imperative, *ɛl-* in the prs ind. with the exception of the 1sg.

In addition to that, there is an uninflected form *ej* (*ee*, etc.).

The prs ind. of the neg. auxiliary is combined with the neg. base of the principal verb (identical with 2sg imperative).

The imperative forms of the neg. auxiliary are combined with the corresponding imperative forms of the principal verb.

After *ej*, the principal verb is inflected in the regular way. If the verb is put in the prs ind., the construction with *ej* is more often than not to be regarded as preterite, but sometimes it refers to the actual time, e.g. *man koola ej aamənzəljɛm* 'I don't want to eat fish'.

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

Nouns derived from the verb stem

There are several groups of derivatives which may be rendered in English by participles. Some of these formations also correspond to English substantives.

VERB NOUN IN *-ma*

Substantives like *kajooma* 'roof, ceiling' (*kajoo-* 'cover oneself') seem to be of rare occurrence. They are sometimes used as (predicative?) participles: *aajə kajooma* 'the door is shut'.

NOMEN INSTRUMENTI AND PARTICIPLE

Joki mentions *saargə* 'a kind of thread or yarn' (*saar-* 'tie'), and examples like *t'eemdəgɛ ma'* 'a heated tent' (*t'eemdə-* 'to heat').

NOMEN ACTIONIS ET AGENTIS IN *-na*

Suffix: *-na* ~ *-nɛ*, (after a stem ending in a consonant:) *-da* ~ *-dɛ*. Examples: *šoona* 'coming, arrival' (*šoo-* 'come'); *tåktoona aajə* 'a closed door' (*tåktə-* 'shut, close'); *te'ɒ̈nɛ på* 'a decayed tree' (*te'-* 'moulder, go rotten').

NOMEN AGENTIS IN *-j*

Suffix: *-j*, *-i*. Examples: *d'ili* 'living' (cf. C *t'il'e-* 'revive'); *man d'ili* 'I live'; *toli* 'stealing; thievish, thief' (cf. C *tol'er-* 'steal'); *t'eeldəj* 'satisfied (: not hungry'; *t'eeldə-* 'eat, get satisfied').

This participle is used in combination with a following finite verb to indicate an action that accompanies or specifies the action expressed by the finite verb; e.g. *naa'w bün źürdüj polu'l'ɛ* 'the duck dived into the water and disappeared' (cf. *źür-* 'disappear').

PAST PARTICIPLE

Suffix: *-bi*, *-wi* (= the preterite characteristic). E.g. *te'wi på* 'a decayed tree'.

(PASSIVE) PAST PARTICIPLE

There are one or two examples of a ptc prt pass. in *-t*.

PARTICIPIUM PROPENSIONIS

Suffix: *-juk*, *-d'uk*, *-źuk* etc. (Turkish): *kuroojuk* 'irascible' (*kuroo-* 'get angry').

Isolated forms

INFINITIVE

Ending: *-zet*, *-set*, *-žit*, *-šit* etc.; (after a vowel, also:) *-jzet*, *-jstə* etc.

When the infinitive indicates that something can be done, or ought to be done, the designation of the performer of the action expressed by the stem is put in the genitive or represented by a Px; e.g. *dəzɛn amzittən* (inf. Px3pl of *ama-* 'eat') *nakoo'obi* 'they had nothing to eat'.

GERUNDIUM CONJUNCTUM (MODALE)

The conjunct gerund has the ending *-la'* ~ *-lɛ'* (after a nasal consonant: *-na'* ~ *-nɛ'*). It usually indicates that the action expressed by the verb stem accompanies or specifies the action expressed by the following finite verb. Often the finite verb ('go', 'sit', 'lie' = 'be in a recumbent position', and the like) has lost its semantic

content, functioning as a mere auxiliary; the two members of the expression then form a compound, as a rule, with loss of the glottal stop, and sometimes loss of the initial consonant of the second member, and vowel contraction. Examples: *kala' kaštəga* 'go and invite him' (literally: 'going, invite him', Turkish 'gidip čaγyrynyz'); *te'laambi'i'* 'they have gone rotten, they have decayed' (*te'lɛ'*, gerund of *te'* 'rot, decay', *kambi'i'*, 3pl prt of *kan-* 'go').

GERUNDIUM ABSOLUTUM CONTEMPORANEUM

This gerund indicates that the action of the predicate verb is simultaneous with or takes place during the action expressed by the verb stem of the gerund. The same can be expressed by a subordinate clause, beginning with the Russian conjunction *paka* 'while'.

The gerund is formed by adding a Px to the locative of the preterite base in *-bi* (or *-mi*); e.g. *man amoorbińi də šoobi* 'he came while I was eating'; *kubində ma' nuga* 'as he looked, (he saw that) there stood a tent'.

GERUNDIUM ABSOLUTUM PRAETERITI

This gerund consists of the preterite base + *-za* ~ *-zɛ* (historically, = the obsolete 3sg prt of *ii-* 'be'): *ma'andə hambiza* 'after he had gone home' (*kambi* 'he went').

PARADIGMS

Present indicative

		INTRANSITIVE		TRANSITIVE
s	1	*nereel'ɛm* 'I am afraid'	*ɛm* 'I do not'	*paargəl'am* 'I carve (it)'
	2	*nereel'ɛl*	*ɛlle*	*paargəl'al*
	3	*nereel'ɛ*	*ɛl*	*paargəl'at*
d	1	*nereelbyj*	*ɛlbyj*	*paargəlbyj*
	2	*nereellyj*	*ɛllyj*	*paargəllyj*
	3	*nereelgyj*	*ɛlyjgyj*	*paargəldyj*
p	1	*nereelbɛ'*	*ɛlbɛ'*	*paargəlba'*
	2	*nereellɛ'*	*ɛllɛ'*	*paargəlla'*
	3	*nereel'eejɛ'*	*ɛlii'*	*paargəldën*

Preterite

	1	*nereebjɛm*	(*ej*)	*paargəbjam*
	2	*nereebjɛl*	(*ej*)	*paargəbjal*
	3	*nereebi*	(*ej*)	*paargəbi*
d	1	*nereebɪibyj*	(*ej*)	*paargəbiibyj*
	2	*nereebiilyj*	(*ej*)	*paargəbiilyj*
	3	*nereebiigyj*	(*ej*)	*paargəbiigyj*
p	1	*nereebiibɛˀ*	(*ej*)	*paargəbiibaˀ*
	2	*nereebiilɛˀ*	(*ej*)	*paargəbiilaˀ*
	3	*nereebiˀˀiˀˀ*	(*ej*)	*paargəbiˀˀiˀˀ*

Future

s	1	*nereeləm*	*paargəlåm*
	2	*nereeləl*	*paargəlål*
	3	*nereelə*	*paargəlåt*
d	1	*nereelbyj*	*paargəlbyj*
	2	*nereellyj*	*paargəllyj*
	3	*nereelgyj*	*paargəldyj*
p	1	*nereelbɛˀ*	*paargəlbaˀ*
	2	*nereellɛˀ*	*paargəllaˀ*
	3	*nereeleejɛˀ*	*paargəldën*

Conditional

s	1	*nereenɛmzɛ*	*ɛnem*	*paarganamzɛ*
	2	*nereenɛlzɛ*	*ɛnel*	*paarganalzɛ*
	3	*nereenɛzɛ*	*ɛne*	*paarganatsɛ*
d	1	*nereenɛɛbyjzɛ*	*ɛneebyj*	*paarganaabyjzɛ*
	2	*nereenɛɛlyjzɛ*	*ɛneelyj*	*paarganaalyjzɛ*
	3	*nereenɛɛgyjzɛ*	*ɛneegyj*	*paarganaagyjzɛ*
p	1	*nereenɛɛbəˀzɛ*	*ɛnəbɛˀ*	*paarganaabaˀzɛ*
	2	*nereenɛɛleˀzɛ*	*ɛnəlɛˀ*	*paarganaalaˀzɛ*
	3	*nereenɛɛŋeˀzɛ*	*ɛnəjɛˀ*	*paarganaadënzɛ*

Imperative

s	2	*nerɛˀ*	*iˀ*	*paarget*
	3	*nereegyj*	*igyj*	*paargəgubo*
d	2	*nereegəlyj*	**igəlyj*	*paargagəlyj*
	3	*nereegyjgyj*	*igyjgyj*	*paargagəbyj*
p	2	*nereeyɛˀ*	*igɛˀ*	*paargagot*
	3	*nereegejeˀ*	*igeˀjeˀ*	*paargagubun*

TEXTS

1

tumo da kës, suzuj samajlaganbi'i'. t'aga to'ptoobi. bejdə' molaaje', šalguj' boldəbi'i', kõõbrumbi.

kës bejlaandəbi. šalguj a'moolət'bi. këz bün üzəbi, ćërlərlu'bi. suzuj kak naarbi, kak naarbi, paktla' saa'mobi.

tumo uńə maä'bi, t'agan kunzə mənlaandəbi. šamnak bolda to'bdoobi, ibi də šamnaam, amnəbi šamnahtə, peńiilo'ptəbi d'agan tåžë.

kubində, ma' nuga. essəŋ śaarlabü'jü'. kegəraarbi tumo: 'essəŋ! urgaabaala' šoonuga. uja pa'ka'!'

essəŋ u'mubi' jaandeŋ, nõõrbəbi': 'urgaabaaba' šoonəmna. uja padalja'!' — 'kala' kaštəga, koola pülaambi.'

'Man koola ej aamənzəljɛm, let i'go, kjadoolam.'

balttəbo kabaarbi, tüžojdə kuppi, uja' pa'bi. 'këštəgut urgaabaala', këštəgut! uja pülaambi.'

'urgaabaa šo'! uja pülaambi.' — 'saagër koonən kubaabə šuktulgut!'

'šuktulbiiba'. šo', kala' këštəgut, šo'ktoolooma.'

'man də'ən igɛm.' nee kuubi, pa kabaarbi, də t'ugato'lu'bi.

A mouse and a coal and a bladder went hunting. They came to a brook. They wanted to cross, and they broke a straw to serve as a bridge.

The coal started crossing. The straw burnt down. The coal fell into the water and was extinguished. The bladder laughed and laughed, till it exploded.

The mouse remained alone; he started walking along the brook. He found a broken spoon, took the spoon and sat down in it, and went (downstream) down the brook.

As he looked, (he saw that) there was a tent. Children were playing. The mouse shouted: 'Children, your grandfather comes. Boil flesh!'

The children went to their mother and said: 'Our grandpapa is coming. Put meat in the pot!'— 'Go and invite him, the fish is ready.'

'I will not eat fish, there are lots of bones in them, I choke.'

She took the axe and killed her cow, and boiled meat. 'Invite your grandpapa, invite him! The meat is ready.'

'Grandpa, come! The meat is ready.'—'Spread a black bearskin!'

'We have spread it. Go and invite him, (saying): it is spread.'

'Here I am.' The woman saw him, took a piece of wood and killed him.

tumo mouse; tv *tomu* | yn *tomake* | sk *tama, tawa*. || *da* and (R). || *kës* (burning) coal (Turk.). || *suzuj* bladder. || *samajla'*, conjunct gerund of *samaj-* catch, hunt (Castrén: hunt for sables). *-ganbi'i'* = *kandəbi'i'*, 3pl prt of *kanda-, kåndå-* depart, go, come (derived from *kana-, kånå-* go [somewhere], leave: see U yr *haje-*). || *t'aga, d'aga* river, stream, small river, brook; see U fi *joki*. || *to'ptoobi*, 3sg prt of *to'bdoo-, to'ptoo-* happen to come, meet, fall in (with); cf. *to-* arrive somewhere (see U fi *saa-* and fi *tule-*). || *bejdə'* may stand for *bejdɛ*, nomen actionis et agentis of *bej-* 'to cross' (esp. a river, or the like); or it may be = *bejdɛn*, lative of *bejdɛ*. *molaaje'*, 3pl prs of *moo-* become; come; be able; shall, will. The present tense of *moo-* in combination with the nominative or (according to Castrén) the lative of the verb noun in *-na, -nɛ* (*-da, -dɛ*) forms a periphrastic 'desiderative'. || *šalguj* straw (Turk.); *šalguj'* may stand for *šalguj*, or it may be = asg *šalgujm* (as a rule, though, an indefinite direct object is put in the nominative). || *boldəbi'i'*, 3pl prt of *boldə-* break (trans.); *bul-, bül-, pül-* break (intr.); yr *male-* break, shatter (trans.); these words may belong to U fi *muru*. || *kõõbrumbi* contains *kõõbru* bridge (Turk.); *-mbi* may be = *mobi, moobi*, 3sg prt of *mo-, moo-* become; or it may be 3sg prt of **kõõbrum-* be a bridge, or become a bridge: cf. C *šäjäm-*, 1sg prs *šäjämńäm* be cunning (= D *šjɛɛmńɛm* and *šaamńam* I lie, I tell a lie), *šäjä* cunning (*-m-*, the U transgressive suffix **-me-*).

bejlaandəbi: *bejlɛ'*, conjunct gerund of *bej-*, + *kandəbi*, 3sg prt of *kanda-*. || *a'moo-, amoo-* burn (intr.). *-ləta-*, character of momentaneous verbs (?; cf. sk intensive-perfective verbs in *-l'č-*). *-bi*, 3sg prt. || *këz* = *kës*. || *bün, büne*, lative of *bü* water; see U fi *vesi*. || *üzəbi*, 3sg prt of *üzü-* fall; see U hu *es-*. || *ćërlərlu'-* be extinguished, go out. || *kak* as, when (R). || *naar-* laugh; cf. fi *naura-*, kr, vote *nagra-* (onomatopoeic). || *paktla', paktəla'*, conjunct gerund of *pakte-* burst, explode (onomatopoeic, not historically identical with hu *pattan-* or ch *pudešta-*). || *sa'mo-* fall, tumble down. || *uńə* alone. || *maa'-* (*maa-* ?) remain. || *t'agan*, gsg. || *kunzə, kunzu* along; *kund'u* (for a) long (time); cf. FU hu *hosszú* (PU **ńć*). || *mənlaandəbi*: *mənlɛ'*, conjunct gerund of *mən-* go (see U fi *mene-*), + *kandəbi*. || *šamnak* spoon (Turk.). || *bolda* broken: ptc of *bol-*. || *ibi*, 3sg prt of *ii-* take

(= sk). || *də*, *di* he, she. || *šamnaam*, asg of *šamnak*. || *amnəbi*, 3sg prt of *amnoo-* sit down; live; *amna-* sit; reside, live; be; yr *ŋamdy-* sit | tv *ŋomta-* sit down | yn *addu-* sit | sk *aamda-*. || *šamnahtə*, *šamnahte*, lative. || *peńiiloptə-* go (or: let oneself be driven) downstream: derived from *peńii-* drift downstream (*-l-*, frequentative-continuative, *-oo-*, reflexive-passive, *-pt-*, causative?); sk *penžə-*. || *tăžë* the nether course, or the mouth, of a river; with the stream (current), downstream.

kubində, *kubinde*, contemporaneous gerund of *ku-* look, regard, etc.; see U fi *koke-*. || *ma'* tent (PSam). || *nuga*, 3sg prs of *nu-* stand (PSam). || *essəŋ*, npl of *eši*, *ešə* child; see U md *ača*. || *šaarlabü'jü'*, 3pl prt of *šaarla-*, frequ.-continuative of *šaar-* play. || *kegəraarə-* shout; *keegə* (a) cry, shout (onomatopoeic). || *urgo* big, great; yr *ŋaarka* | sk *wargy*. *aaba* father (Turk.). *urgaaba* grandfather; bear. *-la'*, Px2pl. || *šoonuga*, 3sg prs of *šoonu-* walk; come; *šoo-*, *šo-* come; see U fi *tule-*. || *uja* flesh, meat; body; see U zr *jaj*. || *pa'ka'*, 2pl imper. of *pa'-* boil (trans.). || *u'mubi'*, 3pl prt of *u'mu-* run. || *ja*, *ija* mother; cf. Soyot *ijä*. *jaandeŋ*, probably = *jaanden*, lat. Px3pl. || *nõõrbəbi'*, 3pl prt of *nõõrbə-* say, tell. || *-ba'*, Px1pl. || *šoonəmna*, 3sg of a periphrastic present tense of *šoo-*, come: *šoona*, ptc, + *amna* sits, is. || *padalja'*, 2sg imper. of (momentaneous?) derivative of *pada-* put, thrush; sk *pot-* put (e.g., meat into the kettle). || *kala'*, conjunct gerund of *kana-* go. || *kaštəga'*, 2pl imper. of *kaštə-* shout, call, invite, ask; *kašte* (a) shout, call. || *koola* fish; see U fi *kala*. || *pülaambi*: *pülɛ'*, conjunct ger. of *pü-* ripen, get ready (see U hu *fő-*), + *kambi*, 3sg prt av *kana-* go (somewhere).

man I; see U fi *minä*. || *ej* not: uninflected prs and prt of *ɛ-* ~ *i-* ~ *ɛl-* (neg. auxiliary verb): see U fi *e-*, 3rd sg prs *ei*. || *am(a)-* eat (PSam). *-nzə-*, desiderative suffix. *-ljɛ-*, *-l'ɛ-*, character of the present tense. *-m*, 1sg. || *le* bone; see U fi *luu*. *-t*, Px3sg. || *i'go* much. || *kjadoo-* choke (intr.). || *baltu* axe (Turk.). *balttə* may stand for *baltu*, if it does not contain *-tə*, Px3sg. *-bo*, emphatic enclitic word, often used like a kind of accusative ending. || *kabaarə-* seize (Turk.?). || *tüžoj* cow (Turk.). *-de*, *-də*, Px3sg. || *kuppi*, 3sg prt of *kuda-* kill; *kü-* die; see U fi *kuole-*. || *uja'* may stand for *uja*, or be = asg *ujam*. || *kěštəgut* = *kaštəga'*, *kěštəga'*. *-gut* is the regular

ending of 2pl imper. in the transitive conjugation, whilst *-ga'* belongs to the intransitive conjugation, strictly speaking. || *šo'*, 2sg imper. of *šo-* come. || *saagër* black; sk *saaga*. || *koonən*, gsg of *koonu*, *koonë* bear (Turk.? Ket?). || *kuba* hide, leather; membrane; *saanən k.* nutshell (*saanə* nut); see U est *kõba*. || *-bə* = *-bo*. || *šuktulgut*, 2pl imper., trans., of *šuktul-* arrange, spread; cf. *šuktu'* bed, couch, of reindeer- or moose-hide (Tunguz?). || *-biiba'*, 1pl prt. || *šo'ktoolooma*, verb noun in *-ma* of *šo'ktooloo-* be arranged, be spread, 'mediopassive' of *šuktul-*. || *də'ən*, *di'ən*, *digin* here: loc. of *də*, *di*. || *igɛm*, 1sg prs of *ii-*, *i-* be. || *nee* woman; see U hu *nő*. || *kuubi*, 3sg prt of *ku-*. || *pa* tree; wood; forest; see U fi *puu*. || *t'uga* to death. *to'lu'-* beat (once), slay: momentaneous-inchoative deriv. of *to'-* beat, thresh, break.

2

kijen mə'lɛ'bijem,
saagër məjazaŋbə
i'bəlɛ' kojoobi'.
mə'lɛ'ɒnɛ d'üm kük no'
t'ii özeerlɛ' ba'bi.
saagër məjazaŋbə
i'bəlɛ' kojoobi',
səri d'əlamzaŋbə
maala' kojoɒiji'.
küšalwë'
i'bəlɛ' kojoobi.

My black mountains
where I used to wander
have remained behind.
The soil I walked on grew
a belt of golden grass.
My black mountains
have remained behind,
my white mountains
have remained behind,
our strength
has remained behind.

i'gə' örengɛt'ə
i'bəlɛ' [maala'] kojoobjam.
tüganbəgət'i
d'üržüülɛ' kojoobjam.
kijen kolejla'bjem,
tuzaŋbə [maala'] kojoobi';
tüj dəzɛŋbə em gu'.
i'bəlɛ' jaadozaŋbə
te'laambiji', ⟨kambi',⟩
šüdõõnɛ tüü'zɛŋbə

baar t'ema'toolaa'mbi'.

From many families
have I remained behind.
I have gone astray from my kinsmen,
and I am left alone.
My lakes where I was wont to fish,
have remained behind;
I do not see them now.
The poles in the middle of my tent
have gone rotten, ⟨they are gone,⟩
the birch-bark slices that were sewn together
have all curled up.

kijen, *gi'in* where (interrogative and relative); *gi'i'* which (of two); see U fi *ken*. *-n* is an old locative ending. || *mə'lɛ'bijem*, 1sg prt of *mə'lu'-* 'go away, start wandering, wander'; *mən-* 'go, walk'. || *saagër* black. || *məja*, *məjɛ* mountain. *-zaŋ*, plural characteristic. *-bə* = *ba*, Px1sg (or possibly: emphatic enclitic). || *i'bəlɛ'*, conjunct gerund of *i'bə-*, *i'bë-* lie, be in a recumbent position; sk *ippy-*. *i'bə-* here merely denotes the irretrievable effect of the action expressed by the finite verb. || *kojoobi'*, 3pl prt of *kojoo-* stay, remain; see U fi *kato*. *kojoobi'* may stand for *kojoobi* (the singular being used instead of the plural). || *mə'lɛ'p̆nɛ*, participle of *mə'lu'-*? || *d'ü*, *d'u* land, earth, soil; yr *jaa* | ynH *jaa*, B *d'a* | sk *t'u*, *ču*. *-m*, Px1sg. *mə'lɛ'p̆nɛ d'üm* (literally:) 'the soil trodden by me'. || *kük* blue, green, yellow, golden (Turk., > hu *kék* blue). || *no'* grass; see U lp *njuocco-rasse*. || *t'ii*, *t'i* belt; see U vty *jä*. || *özeerlɛ'*, conjunct gerund of *özeer-*, *ɛzeer-* grow (Turk.). || *ba'bi*, *baa'bi*, 3sg prt of *ba'-* throw; ynB *bea-*. *ba'bi* forms a semantic unit together with the preceding gerund. || *sərі*, *sirɛ* white; yr *sõr'*, *sõrako*, *sõre'õ* | tv *sera'a* | ynH *siðoi* | skTaz C *ser*; cf. km *sərɛ* snow; yr *syra* | tv *sirü* | ynH *siða*, B *sira* | sk *syr*, *ser*. || *d'elam*, *t'elam* (C) snow-capped mountain; (D) the white mountains: the Sayan mountains. || *maala'*, conjunct ger. of *maa-* remain? || *küšal* power, force, strength (Turk.). *küšalwë'* is a conjecture: Donner writes *kuššалβə̂(t')*. The glottal stop may have 'materialized', making a faint impression of an oral unvoiced consonant. *-wë'*, Px1pl. || *i'gë* = *i'go* much. *i'gə'* is possibly a separative of archaic type. || *öör*, *õõr* family, clan, tribe (Turk.). *örengɛt'ə* seems to be sep. Px1sg, but what is *-n-*? *i'gə' örengɛt'ə* may signify 'from my numerous clan'. || *kojoobjam*, 1sg prt of *kojoo-*. || *tügan*, *tugan* cousin; relative (Turk.). *tüganbəgət'i* seems to be sep. Px1sg (with the Px1sg *-ba* inserted pleonastically?). || *d'üržüülɛ'*, conjunct gerund of *d'üržüü-* go astray. || *kolejla'bjem*, 1sg prt of *kolejla'-* to fish, get fish; *kolej-* to fish; *koola* fish. || *tuzaŋbə*, npl Px1sg of *tu* lake; see U hu *tó*. || *tüj* now, presently, at once. || *dəzɛŋbə*, npl of *də* he. *-bə*, enclitic, sometimes used as a kind of accusative ending. || *em*, *ɛm*, 1sg prs of the negative auxiliary verb. || *gu'* = *ku'*, neg. base of *ku-* see. || *jaado* pole in the middle of the tent. || *te'laambiji'*: *te'lɛ'*, conjunct ger. of *te'-* rot, decay (see U hu *ev*), + 3pl prt *kambiji'* of *kana-* go. || *šüdõõnɛ*, (passive)

participle of *šü'də-* tie up, sew (PSam). || *tüü'* (?) slice of birch-bark; cf. U vty *tuj* (suggested by Tryggve Sköld). The tent-cloth was made of birch-bark slices, sewn together. || *baar* all, altogether, completely (Turk.). || *t'ema'toolaa'mbi'*: *tema'toola'*, conjunct ger. of *tema'too-* curl up (intr.), + *kambi'*.

NOTE.—In Donner's manuscript, the word *ķ'ambi'i'* comes at the very end of the text. Joki has omitted this word as pleonastic; we have put it after the tetrasyllabic *te'laambiji'*, where it fills out the verse.

APPENDIX

TO

FENNO-UGRIC VOCABULARY

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

My Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary was printed early in 1955. In the meantime the following important works have appeared: Y. H. Toivonen, Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja, 1 (*aaja-knaappu*, 1955); Id., Über die syrjänischen Lehnwörter im Ostjakischen (1956); T. Lehtisalo, Juraksamojedisches Wörterbuch (1956). In Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, 28, professor Erkki Itkonen has reviewed my book in detail. Doctor Aulis Joki has kindly communicated with me the draft of a review that will appear in the 'Anzeiger' of Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen. He has also taken account of my work in his review of Toivonen's dictionary (Virittäjä, 1955). Mr. Matti Liimola has given me valuable information on some Vogul words. I have tried to make use of all these sources in order to present FUV in an ameliorated shape.

The following articles should be cancelled: U ch *äygər*, lp *boares*, yr *haje-*, fi *jälsi*, fi *kiunki*; FU lp *bâjan*, fi *ehti-*, hu *forog-*, fi *keri*, fi *mutso*, lv *mütsa-*, fi *nalkki*, hu *-nek*, zr *pom-*, lp *seahtar*, lp *šoarân*, fi *turpa*; IE vty *oš*, mdM *riz*.

The following etymologies should be marked as uncertain: U fi *kuiri*; FU lp *buoččâ*, fi *kääni*, fi *keso*, fi *kokka*, lpS k o t s e k, vty *l'ukyt*, fi *mies*, fi *monni*, fi *salko*, fi *sisko*, chW *tor-*, md *važov*, kr *väčküńe*.

The following words may be descriptive: U lp *čuruk*, fi *lattea*, fi *muli*, fi *putu*; FU lp *cicco-*, hu *csúcs*, lpS *gierˈgěčě*, fi *huosi-*, md *mora-*, fi *pakku-*, fi *pyörä*, zr *zuk*.

The following articles should be removed to another chapter: from U to FU fi *kaari*, fi *kehä*; from FU to U hu *hosszú*, fi *nila*, est *nolg*, fi *paina-*; from FU to IE fi *osa*.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO THE ARTICLES OF FENNO-UGRIC VOCABULARY

XIII[4] back > back to.

XVII$_3$ In > in.

XVIII$_{15}$ n > *n*.

XIX$_{16}$ and > in the Kazan dialect of Votyak and.

2[6] yr > yr *yace*(-),

2[7] *eši*, D *eśi* > *eši*.

2[10] father! > father!, Forest *aace* father.

2[13] etc. | . . . -sledge. > etc.

3[3] object; > object; *alin* near, beside; *aldin* nearer; N *algan* afterwards (*-gan* locative ending); S *aldege* near; near to him, in his neighbourhood;

3[4] suffix, > suffix, *-ge* is the locative ending,

3[5] ending) > ending); *algaduol lebie* the nether world (*lebie* earth); *algude* downwards; *aluke* below.

3$_{2-1}$ [? yr . . .] > [?? yr *teerwa*].

5[7] pick up | tv *jili-*, *jila-* > lift, raise; pick up | tv *jili-*, *jila-* pick up.

5$_1$ Add: The lp word may be a fi loan-word.

6[2] herdsman || . . . shield] | > herdsman ||.

6$_{13}$ vty > chW *pučõ*, E *püćə*, *pićə*, *wüćə*, Malmyž *pučõ* reindeer | vty.

6$_7$ *paada* leather bag; scrotum > *paad* bag, pouch; scrotum; seine bag; *paat* leather bag (wallet); bag made of the reindeer's legskin.

8[6] packed > (hard, packed).

8$_{14}$ || > || yr *sooho*, Forest *hooha* high, round, pointed hill; summit |.

8$_{11}$ *hylpik* > *hyĺpik*.

8$_6$ lynx >, *šurmaŋgõš*, *sõrme* lynx.

8$_3$ *pinsarma* > *pinsarma*, L *piin sæ̈rma*, *-i*.

9[17–18] md . . . cover > [?? md . . . cover].

9[19–20] yr . . . cover > [? yr . . . cover].

9_{12} trutta > trutta | sk *tiińě* Salmo fluviatilis (Joki: PU **ŋ́*).
10^{6} yn > [? yr *ni-*, negative aux. verb | tv *ńi-* (*ńo-*) | yn *ńe-* (if *ń-* < **ŋ-*)];
10_{16} *newe, niemea* > *nebe, niemeä*.
10_{8-7} vty *uno* much | zr *una* much; multitude | vg > vg.
12_{12} sk > sk *kəty-*, C.
13^{3} ch . . . dry; > ch.
13^{5} *kasuj* dry > *kyysuj* dry; waterless, arid (; shallow).
13^{6} dry. > dry | tv *košüa* dry; *kosa-* ~ *kojü-* become dry | ynH *kasua*, B *kasue* dry, arid, B *kaso* shallow; H *kasua-*, B *kasue-* become dry | sk *kuuska* shallow (*-ka* is a dim. suffix) | [? km *ko'-*, *koo-* get dry, be parched; dry up, wither, fade, pine away].
14_{14} a species of duck] >].
15^{1} yr *hawa* brittle snow > [? yr *haw'* ~ *hawa-* brittle snow-crust | km *kamo*] || yk Omok *ku* snow.
15^{2} , and > or.
15^{14} id.; > id.; *hajem-*,
16^{17-18} | md . . . ch > [? ch.
16^{20} concerned > concerned].
17^{7} *jaar* > *jæær'*.
17^{9} *jaaraŋ-kide* cup (*kide*) > *jææraŋ-kyde* cup (*hyde*).
17^{10} *jarako* > *jæærako*.
17^{11} zr . . . hurt > [? zr . . . hurt].
17_{13} pieces). > pieces)].
17_{2} *jühœ-* > *jüho-*.
18^{2} id. > , *ťü*, *ćö* id.
18^{3} *kündi-* > *küünda-*.
18^{3}] > | km *ťi*, *ź́ii* girdle].
18^{17} *jüi* > *jüüj*.
18^{18} os > os *jæčə*, S.
18^{18} bed of a river > main channel of a river || yr *jæænai* (the) middle (one); *jææny* the middle of the (human) body, waist |.
19^{14} *jošˇ*, *jåš*, > *jõš*, *ješˇ*.
19_{12} km > km D *tööde*, *d'üde* etc. between; interspace; middle; D *d'üdeegən*, C.
19_{11} between > between; in the middle.
20_{10-9} || sk . . . bow-net] >].

21^{9-10} fi . . . shine > [? fi . . . shine].

22^{12}] | sk . . . money > | sk . . . money]. Cf. the samoyed words mentioned under U hu *hó*.

22^{16} carry > carry; carry.

22^{17} lead away. > lead away; *kundu-* lead away, take away, carry; *mån båtgëni båra kundugam* I carry a sack on my shoulder.

23^{5} behind. > behind. Cf. yk *kudie-* let, let come.

23_{8} *keittä-* | lpKola *gypte-* > *keittä-*.

24^{8} ski-staff) . . . earring] > ski-staff).

24^{10} [? ch . . . yr *hade'* > ch . . . [? yr *haadõ'*.

24^{11} *hades-* > *haadõs-*.

24^{17} Add: Perhaps rather (Toivonen 1955): yr *sæ̈ha'* when (interrog.); *sæ̈næ* id.; *sæ̈æn* how much | tv *sele* who | yn *sio, sie* | km C *šimdi*, D *šində, šəndi*.

25_{14} leather. > leather; *saanən kuba* nutshell (*saanə* nut).

25_{12} *goaiˡvo* > *goaiˡvo* (< fi ?).

25_{9} Forest > Forest *kujhku*, C.

25_{6} *ho-* find; *horŋa-* > *hoo-* find; get; *hoor-*.

25_{1} Add: Cf. yk *kelize* worm (*-ze* is a suffix).

26^{1} *konta* > *kontta*.

26^{1} *kontaantu-* > *konttaantu-* (Lönnrot also: *kontaantu-*).

26_{13} *kun* > *qun*.

26_{4} *hanide* whither; > *hanin* when; *hanik* when (interrog.); *hanide* whither; *hadime* which; *hamun, hamluo* how much; *hode* which, what kind of a . . .;

28^{5} *hawa-* > *hawa-*, Forest *kama-*.

28_{10} *qont-* > *qont-*, *qoont-*.

28_{6} *hane-, hańa-* > *haańje-, haanije-*.

30^{13} (sam . . .)] >].

30_{9} *lokkil* > *loki(l)*.

31^{8} [md . . . ? vty > [? md . . . vty.

31^{14} Add: lp Inari *lyepi* (E. Itkonen) |.

31^{16} Add: Cf. yk *liipe* shovel.

32^{5} shall. be > shall be.

32^{14} sk > sk *loqa*, C.

32_{13} Add: According to Lehtisalo, the yr word is an os loan-word.

32_4 | zr *rod-* id.; be shy || yr *lõõrü-* > | [?? zr *rod-* id.; be shy] || yr *lõõrœ-*.
33_{17} *mokš* > *mokš* | vty *mus*.
34^{9-10} ch . . . head) > [? ch . . . head)].
34^{11} small hill > tussock; small hill.
35^6 *mən* > *məń*.
35_7 yr > yr *mada-* cross a water, pass over, cross (intr.);
35_3 *beze-* > *båzå-*, *buzə-*.
36_{13} shatter > break, shatter.
37_8 Add: os < zr? (Toivonen 1956).
38^5 wife > wife or the husband; son of the elder brother of the wife or the husband.
38^5 sister-in-law > younger sister of the wife or the husband; daughter of the elder brother of the wife or the husband.
38^8 nose; > nose; *naadam'*, Forest *naatam* id.;
38^{11} *nuo* . . .; >;
38^{12} thus; *noin* like that > thus;
38^{13-16} ; *nú* . . . (yonder) | > |.
38_{11} sam > [? sam.
38_{11} tv > yr *ni-* | tv.
38_{10} *ńe-* > *ńe* (if not *ń-* > **ŋ-*: see under U fi *e-*, p. 10)].
38_5 ? > ??
38_3 *ńung* soft > *nüŋk* swift, agile, dexterous, deft, supple (of a human being); flexible, pliant (e.g. of a bad bow).
39^{11} *næla-* > *nææla-*.
39_2 *ńyyr* > *nyyr*.
40^8 *jaaps* > *jææps*.
40^9 *jaapsa-* > *jæ æpsa-*.
40_{15} *ńuunea* > *nüüne*.
41_4 *ńooda-* chase, hunt (reindeer, men) > *nœœda-*.
42_1 *ńuurka* > *nüürka*.
42^2 woman >, vocative *neeŋae*.
44^1 await > await; *užo*, pl. *užodo* wait!
44^8 *ŋäejwa* > *ŋaejwa*, P *ŋõwa*.
44^{12} *ŋäejw* > *ŋaejw*, PT *ŋõw*.
44^{13} *ŋäejwa-* > *ŋaejwa-*.
44_{14} grave > grave; wild animal's lair, e.g. fox's den.

46[4] *pal' > pal''*.

46[9] *paaŕa-* > C *paaŕa-*.

46[9] *paaŕu-* > C *paaŕu-*, L *paana-*.

46[9] fill > fill; *jææw jiite baandy'* it is high tide ('the water of the sea is being filled').

46[11] fill] > fill | ?? km *punu* water on the ice in spring]. Cf. lp *bad'dâ-* swell, become swollen (subj.: artery or river); overflow because the outlet of the river is stopped up (e.g. by ice in spring); rise, owing to contrary wind (subj.: *mærrâ* the sea); Lule: tighten (of a knot); jam, squeeze, pinch (e.g. of a brogue-band that has been wound to tight); swell up, burst (of a tumour, of ice that swells because of rising water); etc.; *baddâdâ* the condition of ways when flowing water has frozen and made them bumpy and slippery; S p a d d e- glacie repleri; p a d d a t e s glacies fluviorum congelata et alte concreta. (fi N *paanta-* overflow, of water [from] under the ice, and *paanne, panne* overflowing water that freezes and makes the ice bumpy, < lp.).

46[12] Add: | md *pane-* drive, drive out, expel; bake.

47[10] beginning > beginning | [? lp *bagye* ~ *baye-* the thickest part of the reindeer antler, by the head].

47[11] chop off > chop off; E *pečke-* cut.

48[9–10] [? vty . . .] | vg > vty . . . | vg.

49[9]] > (thin) cloud].

49[7] *põwa-, päewa-*, C *paema-* > *põõwa-*, Forest *paema-*.

49[6] *päewde*, > *põwd, paewde, põwi, põbi*.

51[13] zr > [? zr.

51[12] [? vg > vg.

52[12] yr *purie* pike > [? yr *purie* pike].

54[6] yr > yr *piide-* drive away, chase away, C.

54[8] yr > yr *püü-*,

54[17] *lak, rak* close by > *lak* close by, near; situated near by, in the vicinity; soon; a while, a short time.

54[18] (of); > (of); Forest *rak* 1) near, in the vicinity; (for) a while; 2) (the, my etc.) relation, relative;

55[12] ch > md *sala-* steal; rob, ravish; carry away; *salava* furtively, stealthily, secretly, in secret |.

55^{15} || yn H . . . *tuela-* > | tv *tola-* | yn H . . . *tuela-* | km *tol'e-* id.; *toli* thief.

55^{15} tele- > tele- steal.

55_{16} *sal'a, salea* > *sale.*

55_{15} cape > (high) cape.

55_{8} *täewa* > *taewa.*

55_{7} *täewasi* > *taewasi*, PT *tõwasi.*

55_{6} fi > fi *sälkö, sälkevä* two-year-old colt; young horse;

56^{11} *tipsin* > *tipsin*, D *tepsin, təpsin.*

56_{10} lp > [? lp.

56_{9} knife > knife].

56_{5} wall >, Forest *siiŋ* wall.

57^{3} *säew, häem* > *saew, sõw, haem.*

59^{16} *ta* > *taa'*, Forest *taŋ.*

59^{17} *teŋa* > *tåŋå*, C *teŋa.*

59_{2} *-kwaaly'* > *-kwaalyg.*

60^{7} draught-strap > draught-strap; thread, filament (in a cord, yarn).

61^{11-12} ch . . . vg > vg

61^{15} (intr.) > (intr.) | km *tajloo-* break, pull down.

61_{5} zr . . . stuck > [? zr . . . stuck].

61_{4} [? vg . . . obstacle | os > vg *tah-* stick, get stuck (fi 'takertua') | [? os.

62_{11} km > ?? km.

62_{4} [? ch > md *tolya* | [? ch.

62_{3} | zr > | vty *tyly* | zr.

62_{1} feather > feather | motor tu.

63^{6} fi > [? fi.

63^{7} lake) > lake)].

63^{10} fi > [? fi.

63^{11} self > self].

63^{16} *täe* > *tae.*

63_{14} ch > [? ch.

63_{13} [? yr > yr.

64^{7} yn > yr *taaky* that, yonder; *taaj* there | yn.

65^{13} *ŋut* > Forest *ŋut.*

65_{12} *ŋaamad, ŋaawad*, Forest *aawadă* > *ŋaawad, aawadă*, Forest *ŋaamat.*

66_{9} Add: According to Toivonen (1956), os < zr.

66_{2} *wiehuhta, jœhota* an arrow to shoot big birds with > *jœhota* an arrow with biforked iron point; Forest *wiehuhta* an arrow (ending in a fork-shaped iron) to shoot wild reindeer, swans, geese, ducks etc. with.

66_{1} Add: Cf. yk (Starčevskij) *jogoti, johoti, jehoti* arrow. (Loan-word?)

67^{3} *wij* | tv *biŋi* > son-in-law; the husband of a younger female relative | tv *biŋi* son-in-law.

67_{14} *vyj, vij* ... (half-way) > *šõr-vyj, šõr-vij* ... (half-way; *šõr* middle).

67_{10} *jüüt* > Forest *jüüt*.

67_{5} *jiropta-* > *jirœpta-*.

67_{3} birds > birds), 'Wippschlinge'.

67_{1} *wæei* section of a river > *waei* (long) straight section of a river between two windings.

68_{15} Add: The zr word may belong to U lp *holˈgâ* (p. 81).

68_{3} ch > [? ch.

68_{2} garment > garment].

69^{8} skin > skin; E *wotke-* bark, peel off the rind from (a birch or a willow-tree).

69_{16} *võn* ... band > *võń* ... band | hu *öv* belt, girdle; sash; zone.

69_{5} cream > cream; *vel(-)* surface; the top, that which is highest; *velt* lid; roof; *vel-dor* surface, upper part; cream (*dor* edge, margin).

71_{12} ch > [? ch.

71_{9} foxes) > foxes)].

71_{5} vg > [? vg.

71_{4} > [? os > os.

72^{9} ch > [? ch.

72^{10} milk > milk].

73_{15} osS > [? osS.

73_{13} somebody) > somebody)].

73_{5} hood > a kind of hood, used by women (perhaps = *paygo* mushroom: see p. 46).

74^{14} lp ... in > [? lp ... in].

75^{11} os > [? os.

75^{13} etc.) > etc.)].

75^{14} etc.) > etc;); Pite (and Inari) *čiekˈtâ-*.

78_3 derivatives) > derivatives) | [? est *poo-* hang (up); hang (on the gallows), make swing; (intr.) hang].

80_5 lp > [?? lp.

80_4 betrothal > betrothal].

81^{10} fi *häntä* tail | [? > [? fi *häntä* tail |.

81_5 *hosa.* > *hosa, qwåše* || km *kunzu* along; *kund'u* (for a) long (time). Remove the article to p. 15!

82_6 md > [? md.

82_3 water) > water)].

83_{11} Add: The lp word probably < fi.

84^9 fi *jänkä, jänkkä* bog, marsh | lp *jægˈge* > lp *jægˈge* bog, marsh (fiN *jänkä, jänkkä,* < lp).

85^3 tv > yr, tv.

85^{10} | > ; est *kale* cataract: *kalu* id.; *kõlu* membrane that immediately covers the flesh; pea-pod; lv *kal'g, kal'k* cataract; mildew on beer |.

85^{17} Add: The BF and Ugric words are derivatives.

86^{15} ch *kaša* thin, lean > chW *kaša* thin, lean, emaciated; feeble, faint (Russian 'toščij, slabyj').

86_6 Add: According to Toivonen (1956), os < zr.

87_9 *kenyér* > *kënyér.*

88^3 vty ... beg > [? vty ... beg].

88^7 vg > vg *kwäl'l'əm,*

88^7 *-n* is a > *-m, -n* are.

88^8 suffix > suffixes

88_{16} vty *kučk-, kušk-* > [? vty *kučk-, kušk-*].

88_{14} vg [? vg.

88_{13} suddenly > suddenly].

89^{11} Lule > lpLule.

89^{15} Add: The following words seem to be fi loan-words: (add from the lines 7—11 the words lp *gibmâ-* ... birds).

89_{15} md ... neck > [? md ... neck].

90_{12} ice)] > ice)

90^{11} time) > time)].

90_4 femina > femina; ld *koppal,* npl *-ad.*

90_3 vg ... urogallus > [? vg ... urogallus].

92[4] Add: | [? vty, zr *kymes* forehead; zr *(śin-)kym* eyebrows; the supraorbital region (*śin* eye)].

92[11–12] etc. | mdM *kondä* friend, fellow > etc.

92[7] fi?] ... ravine > fi? ... ravine].

93$_{13}$ vty > [? vty.

93$_{13}$ [? zr > zr.

94[16] lpKola ... firewood) > [? lp *ladnjâ-* ~ *lanjâ-* make something by splitting the material, split off (e.g. a board, a splinter of wood), lpKola ... firewood].

95[12] os ... summer) > [? os ... summer)].

96$_{14–13}$ os ... etc.) > [? os ... etc.)].

97[14–15] fi ... fjeld > [? fi ... fjeld (perhaps < lp)].

98[16] Note: hu *mellett* (ancient locative of *mell*) by, beside, by the side of; *elmen- valaki mellett* pass by, go past somebody | vg *mälkt* past beside); straight on; *täw mälkt mənəstə* he passed him, he went past him (hu 'elment mellette') | osS *megtæ* past (beside). Add: Cf. yk *melu, melut* breast (Bouda).

99[2] *biecce*] ... *mæ̈nčim* > *biecce* ... *mæ̈nčim*].

99[13–14] vty ... river) > [? vty ... river)].

100[6] Add: Cf. km *mə'lɛɛ-* find.

101[14] Add: yr *nahar'*, id., is an os loan-word.

101[15] *ńjarʲme* > *njarʲme*.

101$_8$ ch ... scrape > [?? ch ... scrape].

102[10] md > [? md.

102[14] bark) [> bark).

102[15] etc.) > etc.) || yr *niili* sap, birch sap; *niilih peæ* soft layer under the bark of a tree (it changes into wood in the autumn; *peæ* wood).

102[16] lpS ... peg > [? lpS ... peg].

102$_5$ md > lp *(s)nuolʲgâ* | md.

102$_4$ saliva] > saliva] || yr *nüül* slime (which for instance the water leaves on a stone); dirt.

103[8] (intr.)] > (intr.).

103[9] knead > knead].

104$_{15–14}$ ch *os* ... parts > chE *üžaš, užaš, užas* part.

104_{11} Tryggve Sköld has shown that fi *osa* etc. is an Indo-Iranian loan-word: Sanscrit *aṃśa-* part, lot, Avestan *asa-* party, faction. Thus, the article should be removed to p. 134.

105^{11} vty, zr *byž* > vty *byž*, zr *bõž*.

105_{6} press]. > press || km *ṕaydə-* press down; *pijaydə-* brood, cover (eggs); *ṕaygoorə-* press, press down]. (If we follow Aulis Joki in adding the km word, the article should be removed to p. 45.)

106^{15} Add: Cf. lpLule etc. *buoʒ'ʒod* (pred.), *buoʒʒos* (attr.) naked.

106^{17} ch ... wall > [?? ch ... wall].

107^{1} bread)] > bread).

107^{2} fire) > fire)].

107^{3} fi *pellava* flax > [? fi *pellava* flax].

107_{14} osS > zr *poč* long, slender pole; stake, pale | [? osS.

107_{13} tree) > tree), perhaps > zr].

108^{9} fi > [?? fi.

108^{10} way > way].

108^{11} knit | [? os ... become] > knit.

109^{15-16} ch ... wind | [? chE ... wind) |.

110^{16-17} lp ... etc.) > [?? lp ... etc.)].

110_{5-4} os ... dark. > [? os ... dark].

111^{3} zr *rõć* part, piece; etc. | [? > [? zr *rõć*, *roć*, *rõč* part, piece; etc. |.

111^{16} vg ... horse) > [? vg ... horse)].

111_{9} Add: According to Toivonen (1956), vg, os < zr.

112^{8-9} ch ... pale. > [? ch ... pale].

112^{10} ch ... (derivative)? > [? ch ... (derivative?)].

112^{11} *sep* > *sep, sõp*.

113_{1} entirely] > entirely.

113_{1} clear > clear].

114^{13} *sosy'* > *sosyg*.

114_{2-1} md ... | vg > [? md ...] | vg.

115_{13-12} lp ... (trans.) > [? lp ... (trans.)].

116^{5} vg > [? vg.

116^{10} sun) > sun)].

116^{16} ch > [? md *śav* barb of a corn-ear; money] | ch.

116_{8-7} mdM ... mountain) > [?? mdM ... mountain)].

116_{6} | osN > (Pvg **ü̆*) | osN.

117^{17} ch *sərək* dry, parched > [? chW *sərək* thin, scraggy, dry, parched; *sərəklänä-* dry up, wither.

117^{19} fat) > fat)].

118^{5} lpKola ... snare > [? lpKola ... snare].

118_{8-5} counterpart. ... patch > counterpart.

119_{8} ch ... excelsa | vg *täry'* > [? ch ... excelsa] | vg *täryg*.

119_{4} [? hu ... bury] | lp > hu ... bury | [? lp.

119_{2} satiated > satiated].

120^{4} fi ... dead > [? fi ... dead].

120^{5-6} [? os ... smell)] > os ... smell).

121^{14-16} lp ... husband > [? lp ... husband].

122^{11} ch > ?? ch.

122^{12} *võž* ~ *võź*.

122_{5-4} [? fi ... lp > fi ... [? lp.

123^{9} Add: Cf. lp *vaʒʲʒe-* go (on foot), go at a walk.

124^{1} Add: ; [? *joz-vi, ďoz-vyj* the members of the body (in totality; *joz* joint) | zr *jõz-vi, jõz-vyj, jez-vi* sinew in the flesh; joint; knot of a stalk; segment (between two knots) of a stalk (*jõz* people, men, other people; this *vi, vyj* may be identical with the zr word mentioned under U fi *viime*)].

124^{6-7} est ... old > [? est ... old].

124_{15} hu > vty, zr *vir* | vg *wüür* | os *wər* | hu.

124_{8} vty ... thin | vg > [? vty ... thin] | vg.

124_{6} hu ... twig > [? hu ... twig].

125^{6} Add: The vg and os words < zr (Toivonen 1956).

125^{14-15} lpSkolt ... water) > [? lpSkolt ... water)].

125_{11-10} vg ... plane > [? vg ... plane].

128^{2} was ... Beregszászi > was Johan Eberhard Fischer (De origine Hungrorum, 1756); he mentioned the IE origin of hu *ezër*, thousand, and *tíz*, ten. Next to him comes Beregszászi (1796).

131^{17} *lahana-* > *laahana-*, *lahna-*.

135_{14} Pali *bundha-* = Sanscrit *budhna-*; Greek > Greek.

136_{7-6} zr ... bridge > [? zr ... bridge].

139^{12} mdE ... lamb > [? mdE ... lamb].

139_{6} work; make > work; make; do.

140^{5} Prakrit > Sanscrit.

148^{11} **kal'ɟa* > **kal'õ*.

Finnish

Corrigendum: konta > kontta. *Addenda*: erä 77. eräs 77. eri 77. konttaantu- 26. korpea- 26. korventa- 26. leikkaa- 31. nurmi 102. paanne 46. panne 46. puke- 109. sälkevä 55. sälkö 55. särki 112. suostu- 'become waterlogged' 116. survaise- 116. survo- 116. terä 62.

Lude

Addendum: koppal 90.

Estonian

Corrigendum: kale > kale 'drift-net'. *Addenda*: kale 'cataract' 85. kalu 85. kõlu 85. kõrbe- 26. lõika- 31. nurm 102. poo- 78. puge- 109.

Livonian

Addenda: kaľg 85. kaľk 85. kuorbõ- 26. nurm 102. nürm 102. pugu- 109.

Lappish

Corrigendum: holˈgâ 81 > holˈgâ 68, 81. *Addenda*: akˈte- 71. ârvuk 105. avtâtâk 71. badˈdâ- 46. baddâdâ 46. bagŋe 47. buoʒʒos 106. buoʒˈʒod 106. čoawˈje 8. guorˈbâ 26. guorˈbâ- 26. ladnjâ- 94. lavve 94. lyepi 31. njâkkâ- 39. njórˈmâ 102. nuolˈgâ 102. padde- 46. paddates 46. særgi 112. sierˈgâ 112. snuolˈgâ 102. vaʒˈʒe- 123.

Mordvin

Corrigenda: paŋgo 'hood' > paŋgo 'hood'. pango 'mushroom' 46 > paŋgo 'mushroom' 46, 73. *Addenda*: čapo 75. čapo- 75. pane- 46. sala- 55. salava 55. śav 116. säŕgä 112. sëŕge 112.

Cheremis

Corrigendum: mən > məń. *Addenda*: pečke- 47. pićə 6. pučõ 6. püćə 6. śereŋgə 112. sərəklänä- 117. sõrme 8. šereŋə 112. šereŋkə 112. šure- 116. šurmaŋgõš 8. tər 62. tür 62. užas 104. užaš 104. üžaš 104.

Votyak

Corrigendum: dor > dor 'neighbourhood'. *Addenda*: čupy- 75. dor 'edge' 62. dur 62. ďoz-vyj 124. joz-vi 124. kymes 92. mus 33. sõp 112. tyly 62. vir 124. vyj 124.

Ziryene

Corrigenda: dor > dor 'neighbourhood'. šor > šor 'brook'. võn > võń. võž > võź. vyj 'middle' 67 > vyj 'middle' 67, 124. *Addenda*: čup- 75. čupõd 75. dor 62. jez-vi 124. jõz-vi 124. kym 92. ńeć- 103. ńeč- 103. okty- 71. poč 107. roć 111. rõč 111. šin-kym 92. sõp 112. (šor 'middle' 67.) šor-vij 67. šor-vyj 67. vel(-) 69. velt 69. vi: kõd vi 67, 124. vi: jez-vi 124. vir 124. vyj: jõz-vyj 124. yrmaś- 83.

Vogul

Corrigenda: jås > jõs. jošˇ > ješ. sol-kwaalyˇ > sol-kwaalyg. sosyˇ > sosyg. täryˇ > täryg. *Addenda*: hol 15. holi 15. jäkt- 71. jorkol- 19. qoont- 28. kwåśe 81. kwälĺəm 88. ńurm 102. pår- 11. poår 6. såpŋ 75. sopam 75. šašpoår 6. šopŋ 75. taarkä 112. tah- 61. taťˇ- 116. tääru 112. tit- 116. wüür 124.

Ostyak

Addenda: ärəh 77. erət 77. hŏla 15. hŏtnə 15. jăləŋ 116. järəh 112. jăĕrət- 19. (j)ewət- 71. jŏrət- 19. lăləŋ 116. ńətˈ- 103. ńorəm 102. ńurəm 102. ögət- 71. pər 6. šopam 75. tärə 112. þăw 94. þɛgo 94. þŏþəŋ 116. wər 124.

Hungarian

Corrigenda: kenyér > kënyér. ti- > ti. *Addenda*: áz- 116. bőr 6. búj- 109. búv- 109. farag- 11. forgács 11. hát 14. holnap 15. iram(l)- 83. nyes- 103. öröm 105. örül- 105. örvend- 105. szëgy 60. szúr- 116. szügy 60.

Yurak

Corrigenda: hadeˇ > haadõ. hańa- > haańje-. hane- > haanije-. hawa > hawˇ. häem > haem. hylpik > hyĺpik. jaaps > jææps. jaapsa- > jææpsa-. jaar > jæærˇ. jaaraŋ-kide > jææraŋ-kyde. jarako > jæærako. jiropta- > jircepta-. jühœ- > jüho-. jüi > jüüj. kasuj > kyy-

suj. lõõrü- > lõõrœ-. næla- > nææla-. ńooda- > nœœda-. ńuŋ > nüŋk. ńuunea > nüüne. ńuurka > nüürka. ńyyr > nyyr. ŋaamad > ŋaamat. ŋäejw > ŋaejw. ŋäejwa > ŋaejwa. ŋäeso- > ŋaeso-. paada > paad. paľ > paľ'. päewa- > paewa-. päewde > paewde. säew > saew. ta > taa'. täe > tae. täewa > taewa. terua > teerwa. wæei > waei. wäemea > waemea. *Addenda*: aace 2. ćiew 8. hajem- 15. hooha 8. huu 15. huuwi 15. jüra- 19. kaarp 26. kama- 28. laahana- 131. lahna- 131. leakabta- 31. mada- 'to cross' 35. naadam' 38. naatam 38. nahar' 101. ni- 10, 38. niihü- 39. niili 102. ńoho- 39. nüül 102. paana- 46. paat 6. piide- 54. pir 6. põbi 49. põõwa- 49. põwi 49. püü- 54. sale 55. sææha' 24. sææn 24. sææne 24. sæærma 8. sæærmi 8. siiŋ 56. sooho 8. taaj 64. taaky 64. taewasi 55. taŋ 59. tiiw 8. tir' 62. tõwasi 55. wara- 11.

Tavgi

Corrigenda: ńi- 38 > ńi- 10, 38. ńo- 38 > ńo- 10, 38. *Addenda*: bara- 11. kidü- 15. kidüatu 15. kosa- 13. kośüa 13. sele 24. sie 24. sińśa 60. sio 24. tola- 55.

Yenisei Samoyed

Corrigendum: ńe- 38 > ńe- 10, 38. *Addenda*: boða- 11. bora- 11. kaso 13. kasua 13. kasua- 13. kasue 13. kasue- 13. kiduduo 15. kururuo 15. śudo 60. śuso 60.

Selkup

Corrigendum: kündi- > küünda-. *Addenda*: ćö 18. kar 15. kəty- 12. qottä 14. kuura- 26. kuuska- 13. loqa 32. poorgana- 11. tiińĕ 9. ťü 18. üra- 19.

Kamassian

Addenda: båzå- 35. buzə- 35. kamo 15. kari 15. ko'- 13. koo- 13. koroďon 15. kundu- 22. kunďu 81. kunzu 81. mə'lɛɛ- 100. paargə- 11. ṕaŋdə- 105. ṕaŋgoorə- 105. pijaŋdə- 105. punu 46. šəndi 24. šimdi 24. šində 24. šüj 8. tajloo- 61. tåŋå 59. tepsin 56. təpsin 56. ťi 18. toľe- 55. toli 55. ʒ́ii 18.

Koibal

Addendum: pere 6.

Motor

Addendum: tu 62.

Yukagir

Corrigendum: lok(k)il > lok(k)il, loki. *Addenda*: aldege 3. aldin 3. algaduol 3. algan 3. algude 3. alin 3. aluke 3. hadime 26. hamluo 26. hamun 26. hanide 26. hanik 26. hanin 26. hode 26. jehoti 66. jogoti 66. johoti 66. keliʒe 25. ku 15. kudie- 23. liipe 31. melu(t) 98.

Sanscrit

Addendum: aṃśa- 104.

Avestan

Addendum: asa- 104.

ADDITIONAL ETYMOLOGIES

URALIC WORD-LIST

[? hu *bőr* skin, hide, leather; skin, film (on milk); peel, skin (of fruits); etc. | vg *šašpoår* birch-bark (*šoåš* id.)] | osE *pər* reddish membrane inside the outer birch-bark || yr *pir* bark, *ho-pir* birch-bark (*ho* birk) | koibal p e r e bark]. (Toivonen.)

vg *-poår* may be identical with *-poår* piece, bit: see FU fi *päre*. The hu word is uncertain because of its initial *b*.

lp *čoawˈje* stomach, abdomen, belly (esp. paunch) || [? yr *tiiw*, Forest *ćiew* belly, abdomen; paunch; contents of the paunch] | km *šüj* stomach, belly.

hu *farag-* carve, cut, whittle (wood); hew, trim, chip (stone); *forgács* shavings, scobs; chip, cuttings, filings | vg *pår-* to plane || [? yr *wara-* id. | tv *bara-* id.; scrape, rub | ynH *boða-*, B *bora-* id.; id.; dress (hides), tan] | sk *poorgaana-* cut leather, hides | km *paargə-* scrape, cut, carve. (Halász, Kai Donner.) Onomatopoeic?

hu *hát* back (Latin 'tergum'); rear, reverse || sk *qottä* (fall) on one's back.

hu *holnap* tomorrow (*nap* day) | vg *hol* morning; *holi* East; in the morning | osN *hŏla* sunrise; S *hŏtnə* in the morning || yr *huu*, *huuwi* morning | tv *kidü-* wake up (intr.); *kidüatu* morning | ynH *kururuo*, B *kiduduo* morning | sk *kar* | km D *korodon* morning; the day tomorrow; C k a r i t j a l a n tomorrow (*ťala* day). (Hajdú.)

vg *jorkol-* forget | osS *jŏrət-*, *jĕrət-* || yr *jüra-* | sk *üra-*. (Joki.)

fi *korventa-* singe, scorch; *korpea-*, inf. *korveta* id.; est *kõrbe-* get burnt, be singed; lv *kuorbõ-* scorch, burn | lp *guorˈbâ-* be scorched

(of hair or clothes which are too near to the fire); Lule *guor'bâ* land that has been wasted by forest fire || yrForest *kaarp* big fire, e.g. burning ground | sk *kuura-* singe, scorch. (Setälä.)

fi *leikkaa-*, inf. *leikata* cut; est *lõika-* || [? yr C *leakabta-*]. (Setälä.)

lp *njâkkâ-* ~ *njâgâ-* bend down, stoop down (of person); happen to stand in a slanting position; sink, settle, and get crooked (of a house) || yr L *niihü-*, C *ńoho-* stoop down; pray.

hu *szügy* breast of animals (esp. horses); *szëgy* breast of cattle, brisket || tv *sińśa* breast | ynH *śudo*, B *śuso*. (Ernst Lewy, in a letter.)

fi *terä* (cutting) edge; point; blade (of an oar); etc. | ch *tər*, *tür* edge, brim, brink; shore, bank; (cutting) edge | vty *dor*, *dur* edge, margin, side; shore, bank | zr *dor* edge, margin; shore, bank || yr *tir'* high rocky shore or bank; *jaw' tir'* the high seashore (*jaw'* is gsg of *jam'* sea).

FENNO-UGRIC WORD-LIST

lpE *ak'te-* kill (animals for food), flay and cut up; lpN Kautokeino *avtâtâk* slaughtering-place in winter; Arjeplog (I. Ruong, orally) *ak'te-* cut up a joint that is difficult to dissect (esp. the joint connecting the pelvis and the sacrum); S Vefsen (Lagercrantz) *âk'tę-* (*â* erroneously for *a*) cut the neck vertebrae from each other | zr *okty-* hew, fell (a tree) | vg *jäkt-* cut, secare | os *ögət-*, S (*j*)*ewət-* id., cut off (corn, a cord). (E. Itkonen.)

mdE *čapo-* cut (framework); make a notch; *čapo* notch | vty *čupy-* to notch; to cut | zr *čup-* make a notch; timber, make a frame-house; *čupõd* notch; etc. | vg *sopam* a kind of timbered chest; small temporary storehouse; *šopŋ*, *såpŋ* chest or shed on a tomb (to protect the coffin) | osN *šŏpam* framework in the forest (to keep berries or game); timbered superstructure on a tomb. (The vg and os words are derivatives.) (Wichmann, Toivonen.)

The following lp word hardly belongs here: *cappâ-* ~ *cabâ-* chop up, cut in small bits; Lule: whittle, cut (with a knife) into slices or small bits.

fi *erä* parcel, lot, share; etc.; *eri* separate, diverse; *eräs* one, somebody, (pl.) some | os *ärəh* apart, asunder; S *erət* somebody, some. (Toivonen.)

hu *iraml-*, earlier *iram-* run, rush, hurry | zr *yrmaś-* to haste. (Budenz.)

lpLule *lavve* ~ *lave-* cousin; *vuostâs l.* id. (*vuostâs* first); *nubˈbe l.* second cousin (*n.* second); *goalmad l.* third cousin (*g.* third); *olgob l.* far relation (*o.* exterior); this word is also used jocosely addressing a new acquaintance (in lpN and partly in S, *l.* means 'acquaintance' and 'friend' respectively) | os Tremjugan *p̮ăw* son or daughter of an aunt; son of the elder sister; etc.; N Kazym *p̮ɛgo* son of the father's sister; etc.

fi *nurmi* (green) sward, lawn, meadow; grass; est *nurm* field, arable land; lv *nürm*, *nurm* | lpE *ńórˈmâ* meadow; bottom-land | vg *ńurm* meadow | os *ńorəm*, S *ńurəm* bottom-land; marshy woodland; marsh, swamp. (T. Itkonen, Toivonen.)

hu *nyes-* prune, lop, cut off, trim, shear; weed | zr *ńeč-*, *ńeć-* pluck, tug, tear; *ńečky-* pluck out, pluck off, tear (e.g. hair, grass) | os *ńəťˈ-* pluck (e.g. grass, feathers, hair); cut (grass with a knife); snap, nibble at the bait (of a fish). (Toivonen: PFU **-č-*; assimilation *č* > *ć* in os and in zrIžma.)

hu *öröm* joy, pleasure, delight, gladness; *örül-* rejoice, be glad, be delighted; *örvend-* id. | lp *ârvuk* gay, lively, spirited, in good spirits.

fi *puke-* to dress, clothe, put on (clothes); est *puge-* creep, slink, slip, slide; lv *pugu-* creep, slink off (for the meaning of the fi word, cf. lp *čagŋâ-* creep into or under; dress, put on [clothes], dress someone [ill.] in something; Lule 'creep into, enter [e.g., a tent]; put on clothes': *mon čaŋâw muodˈdai* I put on ['creep into'] the furcoat) | hu *búj-*, *búv-* (*bú-*) hide, conceal oneself; slip into, nestle in, creep into. (Budenz.)

fi *särki* roach, Leuciscus rutilus | lpLule *sierˈgâ* (perhaps < fi, like lpN Kautokeino *særgi*) | mdE *sĕŕge*, M *säŕgä* | ch *šereŋə*, *šereŋkə*, Malmyž *šereŋgə* | vgS *tääru* ~ *tärk-*, N *taarkä* ruff, Acerina cernua | os *järəh*, npl *järkət*, S *tærə*. (Setälä.)

[? fi *suostu-* become waterlogged, become loose and spongy, decay (of a tree or log)] | zr *sõz-* get wet, get moist | vg *tit-*, *taťˈ-* soak, steep, lie in soak; get wet, get wet through, get drenched | os *jăləŋ*, *lăləŋ*, N Kazym *pŏpəŋ* wet, moist, humid; raw, crude, unripe | [? hu *áz-* = vg *tit-*]. (Paasonen.)

The fi word may be derived from *suo* moor, fen, bog. The hu word is uncertain because of the consonantism.

fi *survo-* crush, stamp, pound; *survaise-* thrust | ch *šure-* crush, stamp, pound; thrust; prick | hu *szúr-* prick, thrust. (Paasonen.)

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