**Janne Saarikivi**

# SUBSTRATA URALICA

## STUDIES ON FINNO-UGRIAN SUBSTRATE IN NORTHERN RUSSIAN DIALECTS

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki, in the Little Hall of Festivities, Main Building, on the 2nd of December, 2006 at 10 o'clock.

Front cover: Sunset over the village of Gorodeck, Pinega district, Arkhangelsk region (photograph by the author)

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# INTRODUCTION

## 0. Objectives of the study

### 0.1. General remarks

This study is an academic dissertation for a Ph.D. degree in Finno-Ugrian linguistics. It consists of five previously published articles which are republished here together with this introduction. Collectively, they form a connected treatise on the problems of research methodology and the ethnical interpretation of the Finno-Ugrian substrate, most notably, the substrate nomenclature, in the Russian dialects of the Arkhangelsk region.

The articles in this volume should be of interest to scholars working on historical Uralistics and Slavistics as well as to those scholars who study the ethnic history of North Russia from the point of view of history, archaeology, folklore etc. Also, those scholars who study linguistic substrate from a general linguistic point of view, or toponymists working on the etymologisation and ethnical interpretation of substrate nomenclature in other areas, may find them interesting.

The publications included in this study are the following:

Article 1: Kontaktilähtöinen kielenmuutos, substraatti ja substraattinimistö. *Virittäjä* 104. Helsinki 2000. pp. 393–415.

Article 2: On the Uralic substrate toponymy of Arkhangelsk region: problems of research methodology and ethnohistorical interpretation. *Onomastica Uralica* 4. Debrecen 2006. [in print].

Article 3: Прибалтийско-финская антропонимия в субстратных названиях Русского Севера. Перспективы изучения. *Этимологические исследования, Вып.* 8. Екатерибург. pp. 136–148.

Article 4: Über die saamischen Substratennamen des Nordrusslands und Finnlands. *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 58. Helsinki 2004. pp. 162–234.

Article 5: Is there Palaeo-European substratum interference in western branches of Uralic? *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 90.* Helsinki 2004. pp. 187–214.

These articles were first published in three countries, Finland, Russia and Hungary, and in four languages (English, German, Russian and Finnish). Two articles were published in international referee-journals (*Journal de la Société*

*Finno-Ougrienne, Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* [Helsinki]), two in international edited volumes which use peer-review practice (*Onomastica Uralica* 4 [Debrecen], *Этимологические исследования, Вып*. 8 [Yekaterinburg]) and one in a Finnish referee-journal (*Virittäjä* [Helsinki]). The articles are not published here in order of appearance, but in an order that is most logical from the point of view of their content. Moreover, as the articles of this study have been published in different countries and for different readerships, there is of necessity much repetition of the same data. Nevertheless, each article has its own focus.

The articles in the study have a theoretical emphasis. They do not include an analysis of the full toponymic material of any region. While this may be a drawback from the point of view of representativity and completeness, it means also that the articles should be easily accessible even to a reader with only a limited knowledge of the Finno-Ugrian languages or Russian.

Although methodological and theoretical, the articles in this volume have an empirical background. They are related to the fieldwork activities carried out by the author in the Pinega District of the Arkhangelsk Region in 1996–2005. The Pinega River basin, a part of the drainage area of the Dvina, is one of those North Russian areas in which the existence of a Finno-Ugrian substrate toponymy and dialect vocabulary is especially obvious. Originally, it was the plan of the author to write a monograph PhD thesis on the toponymy of this district which would have included an etymological analysis of the central toponymic models of this region, together with their ethnohistorical interpretation. While the current circumstances have made it impossible to realise this plan in its entirety, the planned dissertation will hopefully be published as a separate monograph (Habilitationsschrift) in the near future. This forthcoming study will also provide a larger material base for the theoretical issues discussed in the articles of this volume.

## 0.2. Research problems

The articles in this study outline methods that can be used for examining the lexical residue of extinct languages which have not been preserved in literary form. They contribute to the general linguistic discussion concerning the nature of linguistic substrate and the outcome of language shift and to the onomastic discussion concerning the etymological analysis of substrate toponyms and the ethnic interpretation of toponymy that originates from extinct languages.

Among the theoretical questions the articles scrutinised are the following:

1) How may phonetic and morphosyntactic substrate interference be verified in a situation in which many probable substrate features can also be explained as the result of language internal development?

2) How typical is the transfer of vocabulary in the case of a language shift and what groups of vocabulary are the most salient in the lexical residue of a substrate language?
3) In what ways are the borrowing of toponymy and appellative vocabulary connected in the case of a language shift?
4) How have the common recurring models of substrate toponyms come into existence?
5) How does the etymologisation of the toponyms differ from the etymologisation of appellatives?
6) How reliable can the toponymic etymologies be?
7) How can the substrate language be identified? What criteria should the substrate toponymy meet in order to be labelled as residue of a certain language or language group?
8) How can personal names in toponymy be identified when the personal name system behind the toponyms has disappeared and has not been preserved in literary sources?

In addition to problems of general linguistics and onomastics, the articles of this volume also shed light on questions related to Uralistics and Slavistics. Among the most important of these are the following:

1) Which Finno-Ugrian languages were spoken in North Russia prior to Slavic?
2) Where were the boundaries of the predecessors of the present Finno-Ugrian language groups (Finnic, Sámi, Permian)?
3) Are there traces of extinct Uralic languages or language groups in the toponymy of North Russia?
4) When did the Slavicisation of the Finno-Ugrian population take place in the area of the Arkhangelsk Region?
5) What were the mechanisms causing Slavicisation, i.e. to what extent was this process connected to migration and to what extent to language shift?
6) What is the significance of the Finno-Ugrian substrate in northern Russian dialects to comparative Uralistics, i.e how does it enhance our knowledge of the interrelations between and development of Finnic, Sámi, Permian and other groups of Uralic languages?
7) Are there any traces of pre-Uralic substrate languages in north-eastern Europe?

It is clear that no unambiguous answers will be given for the complex questions raised above. In many instances this treatise is only preliminary and many challenges will be left for future research.

## 0.3. Structure of the study

The structure of this study and the contents of its articles are the following.

The introduction first outlines the theoretical foundations of the study of linguistic substrate. After that, an introduction to the ethnic history of North Russia prior the Slavic era is presented. In this connection some new loan etymologies from Finnic to Permian languages are considered. Because the research history of the Finno-Ugrian substrate in Russian and the methodology of the substrate studies are discussed in separate articles, these themes are dealt with only briefly in this introduction.

The first two articles are general and introductory. Article 1 discusses linguistic substrate as a contact linguistic phenomenon and lays special emphasis on the problems of verifying substrate interference in the case of phonological and morphosyntactic change on the one hand and in the case of the transfer of toponymy and lexicon on the other. It is found that although substrate interferences are often considered to affect first and foremost morpho-syntax and phonology, the transfer of lexicon is still of crucial importance for verification of the occurrence of substrate interference. Lexicon, including toponymy, is also that part of the linguistic substrate that is most suitable for drawing ethnohistorical conclusions. As this article is in Finnish, an English summary of its contents is presented in the commentaries after the article.

Article 2 outlines the methodology of the study and general characteristics of the Finno-Ugrian substrate toponymy in North Russia. As this article is the longest and the most recent in this treatise and also includes much methodological discussion, it is a sort of nucleus of this book. The article discusses the methods of the etymological study of toponyms and presents etymologies for some of the most common recurring types of northern Russian substrate toponyms. Special emphasis has been laid on the question of the verifiability and probability of toponymic etymologies. At the end of the article, ethnohistorical considerations are presented on the basis of toponymic material.

Articles 3 and 4 discuss more limited problems related to the study of substrate toponyms in northern Russia.

In article 3 a previously almost untreated theme, the place names derived from Finnic personal names, is touched upon. Also, section 5.3 of article 2 is dedicated to this problem and the issue is further discussed in the commentaries concerning article 3. The methodological guidelines outlined in these sections may be of importance not only for the study of northern Russian substrate toponymy, but also for the study of Finnic toponymy in other regions. Moreover, as the toponyms and personal names are interconnected, the study of nomenclature may reveal previously unattested old Finnic personal names.

Article 4 presents a new view on the so-called Sámi layer of substrate toponyms in northern Russia. In this article, the criteria for identifying toponyms as being derived from Sámi are developed separately from the lexical, phonological and typological point of view. It will be demonstrated that the

northern Russian toponyms considered as Sámi by earlier scholars point to very different kinds of Sámi languages to those known to present linguistics. This article thus participates in the debate concerning the ethnogenesis of the Sámi people and Sámi languages and provides tools for identifying the substrate language behind the substrate toponyms. The problem of Sámi toponyms is also touched upon in section 6.2 of article 2.

In article 5 an effort is made to employ those methods developed for the study of Russian substrate toponyms in other context, namely, for tracking down possible Palaeo-European substrate lexicon in Finnic and Sámi. This article is related to the ongoing debate in Indo-European studies, in which it is often assumed that extinct languages have influenced the development of present-day languages and language groups. Although the focus of the article is not on North Russia, it nevertheless includes some new etymologies for northern Russian dialect words.

After each article commentaries setting out the present position of the author regarding the questions treated in the article are presented. In the end of the book, the concluding remarks summarise the central results of the whole treatise separately from the point of view of general linguistics and onomastics and from the point of view of the Finno-Ugrian studies. The references for these sections are included in the References of the Introduction.

# 1. Linguistic substrate

## 1.1. On the definition of linguistic substrate

In historical and contact linguistics, the notions of *linguistic substrate* and *linguistic substratum* (< lat. *sub* 'under', *stratum* 'layer') are used side-by-side. They are also both used in the articles in this study, although at present the shorter form *substrate* is more common in scholarly literature. Despite the ample use of these notions, there have been few serious attempts to define their exact meaning. Different authors use these notions in several slightly different meanings and this state of affairs is also reflected in the lack of coherent general linguistic presentations on linguistic substrate.

The two main uses of these terms refer to a specific kind of language contact situation and to a specific type of cross-linguistic interference. The oldest use of the notion is in that of a contact situation. Romanist G.I. Ascoli, often considered the founder of substrate studies (cf. Veenker 1967: 5; ELL 4396), argued that French and Spanish originated through a language shift from Celtic (in France) and Iberian (in Spain) speakers to Latin and assumed that the influences of these extinct language forms was the reason Spanish and French started to diverge from Latin. In this sense, the linguistic substrate is thus a contact situation in which the speakers of a culturally less prestigious language shift to

the language of a culturally superior population. It is also used concerning discernable traces of language shift in an area where two speech communities with different languages have merged and the descendants of both groups speak a single language (cf. definitions by ELL ibid. and LES 497).

In addition, the term linguistic substrate has been used for a specific kind of cross-linguistic interference. In this case it is the linguistic processes that are referred to, not the social context or the outcome of the contact. Most notably have Sarah Thomason and Terrence Kaufman (1988) referred to linguistic substrate as a type of cross-linguistic interference connected to imperfect second-language learning typically occurring in the case of a rapid language shift (see section 1.7).

In the narrowest sense, the term linguistic substrate has been used of the articulational or morphosyntactic peculiarities of speech caused by the speaker's mother tongue. In this case, the term linguistic substrate is not connected with language shift but with second language acquisition and its effects on the L2.

In the articles in this study, the notion linguistic substrate is used in its classical sense, referring to the residue of an extinct language that is discernable in a present-day language. In this connection, the linguistic integration techniques of the features of extinct languages in present-day languages are also discussed. It is therefore important to distinguish between a *substrate situation* (a situation in which language shift has occurred and has resulted in discernable linguistic traces) and *substrate interference* (a type of cross-linguistic interference that occurs in connection with second-language learning). This study is primarily about the former. But in order to understand properly how the linguistic residue of an extinct language is preserved in a language that is at present spoken in its place, one has to comment also on the latter.

## 1.2. Different kinds of substrate languages

Several linguistic substrate situations are known to historical linguistics. Typically, the scope and extent of substrate influences in the development of present-day languages remains an open question and scholars are not unanimous concerning the role extinct languages and the language shift of their speech communities had in the development of present-day languages.

There are four possible kinds of substrate languages. First of all, the substrate language may be a living language that has ceded in a particular area but survived somewhere else. This is the case of the Celtic substrate in Irish English or Livonian substrate in Latvian (Zeps 1962) which are almost perfect cases from the viewpoint of identification of substrate interferences.

Secondly, the substrate language may be genetically linked to living languages but be different from these. For example, in the far-northern dialects of Finnish (Fi. *Peräpohjolan murteet*) there is a Sámi substrate that is discernable in the vocabulary and toponymy and, to a lesser extent, in some features of

phonology and morphosyntax (cf. Mantila 2000: 198–199; Mantila 2001: 334–338; Vahtola 1980: 60–93). The Sámi languages disappeared in this area in the 17th and 18th centuries (see Tegengren 1952 for details), but are still spoken in northernmost Finnish Lapland. There are some word lists of the extinct Sámi vernaculars spoken in southern Lapland in the 18th and 19th century and we know that they were slightly different from all surviving Sámi languages (Äimä & Itkonen 1918). A somewhat similar, but a more complicated case is the Meryan substrate in Central Russian dialects (Tkačenko 1985; Ahlkvist 2001). Merya (Ru. *мерья*) is a tribe name mentioned several times in Russian medieval sources. Generations of scholars have considered the Merya a Finno-Ugrian tribe. Most likely, its language was not closely related to any of the present-day Finno-Ugrian languages and Merya formed an independent node within the Uralic language family. Nevertheless, it is still possible to identify and reconstruct some Meryan words on the basis of Russian toponyms and dialectal vocabulary.

Thirdly, the substrate language may be known from literary sources but not be related to any living language. This is the case with the possible Iberian substrate in Spanish or the possible Illyrian substrate in the Balkan languages. In these cases we know the substrate languages by names from historical sources and they may even be literally documented to some extent, but there are no parallels for them among living languages.

Fourthly, the substrate language may survive only in the linguistic residue of present-day languages that can be identified as substrate by the methods of historical-comparative linguistics. This is the case with the Palaeo-European substrate in the Sámi languages (Aikio 2004) or the substrate vocabulary of Proto-Germanic (Polomé 1986; Salmons 1992). In these cases, linguistic substrate can only be established through purely linguistic investigation. Typically, the phenomenon of substrate can be identified but its scope and extent cannot be easily determined.

Historically, many treatises concerning linguistic substrate in particular languages have been no more than speculation and very loose substrate proposals are continuously being made. This is the case with the Vasconian substrate features in European languages proposed by Vennemann (2003) or the attempt by Wiik (2002) to describe the development of all of the European languages by assuming several substrate layers in them. This kind of groundless implementation of the notion linguistic substrate is, however, no reason for scepticism concerning the possibilities of substrate studies. Several researchers have used the concept of substrate in a meaningful way and reached important results.

It is a characteristic feature of those linguistic substrate situations adequately described in linguistic literature that the effects of language shift in present-day languages are unalike. In some cases, as in the case of the language shift of native Americans to English, language shift has caused few or altogether no discernable changes in the target language (if the toponymy is not taken into

consideration). In other cases, such as the language shift of Finnic speakers to Russian, the theme of this study, substantial interferences are to be perceived. Such differences reflect the varying social circumstances of the shift situation and the diglossia that has preceded the shift, the different sizes of contacting speech communities and the fluctuating speeds of shift.

## 1.3. Substrate and other kinds of contact situations

In addition to substrate, the notions *superstrate* (*superstratum*), *adstrate (adstratum)* and *perstrate (perstratum)* are used in contact and historical linguistics. All these refer to language contact situations in which linguistic interference spreads from one language to another as a result of bilingualism in some parts of the language collective or as a result of language shift.

*Superstrate* is the interference of a culturally dominating upper class language over other language(s) in the contact situation. Typically, this kind of upper class is of relatively small size, but because of its cultural domination it exercises remarkable influence in the majority language. The term *superstrate* is also used to refer to the linguistic effects of a language shift of an upper class to the language of the majority population. For example, the French influence on English during the Middle Ages has traditionally been characterised as superstrate interference.

In *adstrate* the contacting languages coexist in the same area for a long period, although no large-scale language shift takes place. In a prototypical adstrate situation the contacting languages are fairly equal in prestige. Thus, the Swedish and Finnish contact in Finland, or the contact between French and English in Canada would count as examples of adstrate. Some theoreticians also use the notion of *perstrate* (*perstratum*), which means language contact on the literary level, i.e. the kind of influence Latin has had on most of the European languages or Old Church Slavonic has had on Russian (for a definition of these terms see Veenker 1967: 15–17; Vostrikov 1990: 10–12).

It has been noted that *Sprachbünde* or linguistic areas often originate in contact situations characterised by multilingualism and the equal prestige of several languages (see Lindstedt 2000). In this respect they are a special case of multiple adstrate contacts. Recently the concept of *Sprachbund* has been sharply criticised by Campbell (2006) and Stolz (2006) who argue that linguistic areas typically emerge due to borrowing and not due to some kind of "areal" linguistic interference. While the criticism of Campbell and Stolz is well founded in that there is no special mechanism of linguistic interference involved in the emergence of linguistic areas, *Sprachbund* may still be an adequate concept for describing a situation in which adjacent languages share features. In a similar manner to the concept of linguistic substrate, the concept of *Sprachbund* has thus been used in a somewhat confusing manner – regarding both the

result of linguistic convergence (a situation) and its explanation (a mechanism). The latter use of this notion is, without doubt, misleading.[1]

According to Dixon (1997) periods of equilibrium and punctuation can be distinguished in language development. The former is a period of adstrate contacts that has as a result the emergence of a linguistic area. The latter, in turn, is a period of the expansion of a linguistic community and has as a result the emergence of a large language family. Thus, large-scale language shifts would be characteristic of punctuation periods, which however, would typically be short and followed by long periods of equilibrium. Although controversial in many respects, the theory of equilibrium vs. punctuation highlights the fact that the emergence of linguistic substrate is connected with expanding linguistic areas and the emergence of language families. Typically, language shifts that are accompanied by linguistic substrate interferences in the target language of the shift provide the reasons for new languages emerging in an expanding language family.

## 1.4. Prestige language, diglossia and language shift

The classical view of language contact situations described above presupposes that in a language contact situation (or, at least in a contact situation characteristic of the "punctuation" period) there would typically be a prestige language that dominates the contact. This is the language of the culturally dominating language collective, the target language of language shifters and the language from which most of the borrowing takes place.

Though generally justified, there are some obvious shortcomings to this assumption. As pointed out by many sociolinguists, a language that lacks prestige among the general public may still be appreciated in local communities or certain domains of speech (cf. Romaine 2000: 46–49; Aikio 1988: 35–37). In these cases, a functional diglossia (or polyglossia) characterises the speech community. The functional differentiation between languages in a diglossic speech community is among those factors which may support a minority language (cf. Romaine ibid. 54–55; Pyöli 1996: 72–73). In addition, the minority language typically develops emblematic functions. It begins to be used as a sign of membership in a particular group. Thus, although the Uralic minority languages of Russia have very limited use in government, education or the media, many of them have high prestige as markers of ethnic identity and for displaying attitudes towards the cultural traditions of the minority people. A similar relationship can be observed between the dialects and literary languages

[1] A similar double meaning can also be observed in the notion of *grammaticalisation.* Also in this case, the notion should probably be reserved for a result of a linguistic change instead of a mechanism of change.

of many European countries.[2] This demonstrates that code-switching between languages determined by domains is actually a sort of style-switching (cf. Romaine ibid. 59).

Most of the language shift situations represent the language shift of a minority language community to the language of the majority community. In some cases, however, the language shift may occur in both directions. For example, in the previously very bilingual Helsinki region, the Finnish speaking upper-middle class has traditionally considered Swedish a prestige language and a large-scale language shift from Finnish to Swedish among this social class took place during the 19th century. The Swedish-speaking working class, in turn, has substantially diminished, with most speakers having shifted from Swedish to Finnish during the 20th century. Thus, both Swedish and Finnish have been prestige languages in the contact situation and the choice between them has largely been determined by the social background of the speakers. According to Tandefelt (1988: 158), those Swedish-Finnish bilinguals in Helsinki region who have maintained their language often had a higher level of education and their work is somehow connected with language use. They thus benefit from their bilingualism. For working class people, bilingualism has not offered a chance to rise socially.

Not only language shift, but also language maintenance thus has social grounds connected with the domains of language use. Needless to say, the motivations for using or not using a particular language vary according to speech community.

## 1.5. Reasons for language shift

Some language contact situations end with a language shift of the other speech community while in other cases even seemingly inferior and persecuted cultural minorities are able to preserve their own language. The outcome of language contact is determined by multiple factors such as political and cultural power structures, values, identities, social networks and the psychology of contacting societies and individuals. This is well reflected in a study by Marjut Aikio (1988) on the language shift of one North Sámi community to Finnish that is based on interviews with the entire populations of five villages. Such a microscopic view of language shift reveals that even a relatively rapid language shift of a small population occurs very differently among individuals. Within one generation some Sámi shifted to Finnish in all domains, while many others

[2] From the point of view of comparative linguistics, many dialects of European languages are in fact independent languages (such as Võru-Seto in Estonia, Friuli and Sardi in Italy, etc.) and those questions related to the identity and prestige of dialect speakers are thus often actually questions concerning the status of minority languages.

now switch languages according to the domain, and a few have remained almost monolingual Sámi speakers.

The reason for language shift is not necessarily the political and cultural pressure put on the speech community – although even these factors should not be underestimated – but the opportunities the target language of the shift has to offer for the language shifters. Somewhat surprisingly, cultural pressure may even be among the factors supporting the minority identity related to a specific language. Thus, while the language shift of a Swedish-speaking minority to Finnish has been quite rapid in Finland (cf. statistics by Tandefelt 1988: 76), a country characterised by a relatively tolerant atmosphere in society and multilingual education, no substantial language shift has taken place among some persecuted minorities such as the Kurds or Chechens. In a similar way, the language shift among Finnic language communities (Karelian, Veps) in the totalitarian Soviet Union and its autocratic offspring, the Russian Federation, and democratic Sweden (Tornedal Finnish [Meän kieli]), has in the latter half of the 20th century proceeded very much in the same way despite the huge differences in social and political conditions (cf. statistics in Pyöli 1996: 55–56 on Karelian and Winsa 1998 on Tornedal Finnish).

Language shift, like language change is thus probably more connected to "soft" than "hard" power (cf. section 1.6 below). This can be seen, among other things, in that in many modern societies the main factor promoting language shift is education (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas 2000), that offers opportunities for social rise but typically requires the adoption of the majority language and culture.

## 1.6. Social aspects of contact-induced language change

The study of linguistic substrate is simultaneously the study of language shift and language change. It is not possible to discern the linguistic outcome of language shift if the target language of the shift has not somehow changed as a result of the shift. As is apparent from the aforementioned, examining the effects of language shift is deeply interconnected with examining the effects of contact-induced language change.

In a similar manner to language shift, language change is also ultimately connected to changes in modes, fashions and values within the speech community. The social force behind both these speech community events is the efforts of individuals to express their values and strengthen their social statuses by using a particular language in a particular way (cf. Labov 1990: 1–42).

Keller (1990) has described language change as a phenomenon that occurs through an "invisible hand" when individuals use a language in such a way that it makes them attractive in the eyes of others. According to him, language change emerges through social interaction in which the language is involved, although very few individuals consciously wish to change the language.

While Keller succeeds in describing the unintentional dimension of language change, he seems to miss the fact that in some cases the speech community changes its language intentionally. Thus, a process in which features of several mutually intelligible language forms merge into a new language form is referred to as *koineisation* by Ross (1999: 236–238), and the same author refers to the process of strengthening the emblematic differences between two language forms as *esoterogyny* (ibid. 239). Both of these processes represent language change that occurs because the speech community wants its language to change either to become more comprehensible or more emblematic with respect to the other languages in the contact situation.

Milroy (1992) has convincingly argued that in Belfast, a city divided into catholic and protestant speech communities, it is those few individuals who have contacts over the ethnic barrier who most often initiate the language change in one or another speech community. In his opinion it is the weak rather than the strong social networks that are crucial from the point of view of language change. The strong social networks, in turn, are involved in language maintenance.

The case made by Milroy demonstrates that in the language change situation, the language forms of the other speech communities may function as a source of innovations for creative or extravagant speech. In these cases, the language contact does not necessarily lead to contact-induced change, but it is likely to affect the equilibrium within the language system via bilingual members of the speech community. If the innovations which originate in the idiolects of these people under the influence of other language(s) turn into a norm in the speech community, the language change occurs.

This kind of language change does not necessarily involve cultural pressure or introduction of new cultural innovations but the adoption of new fashion features of speech. This can be seen in that, for example, new borrowings have constantly been adopted into Uralic languages from Indo-European languages even within the vocabulary the Uralic speakers already possessed (**śäcä* → **veti* > Fi. *vesi* 'water' [a likely Proto-Indo-European borrowing], *piŋe* → **šampas* > Fi. *hammas* 'teeth' [a Baltic borrowing], **emä* → **äitei* > *äiti* 'mother' [a Germanic borrowing]), etc.

This kind of change should typically make the language somehow more complex, e.g. by increasing the amount of synonyms or by introducing new linguistic patterns. Needless to say, borrowing occurs also when there is need for cultural loans in those domains previously unknown to Uralic speakers. Borrowings related to culture according to the *Wörter und Sachen* principle do not, however, explain most of the borrowing that takes place within the lexicon in language contacts.

Another way language contact changes the languages involved is when the language is accommodated for the purposes of inter-group communication. This does not occur only by imperfect learning of L2 (substrate interference, as defined by Thomason & Kaufman, see sections 1.1. and 1.7) but it may also

involve borrowing, change by negotiation or koineisation. Typically the overall complexity of language tends to diminish when it is accommodated for communication between two or more speech communities. This is reflected in that languages with large numbers of speakers have, quite probably, typically less marked features than languages with only average or a small number of speakers. The overall complexity of a language thus seems to be loosely connected with the size of its speech community. This is because widely spoken languages had more language contacts as they typically expanded at the cost of the other languages. It is also general knowledge in linguistics that those languages which have few or no contacts with other languages change slowly (e.g. Icelandic).

## 1.7. Substrate vs. borrowing?

As already noted above in section 1.1, some scholars have described the mechanisms involved in the spread of linguistic innovations in a case of language change.

From the point of view of substrate studies it is interesting to note that Thomason and Kaufman (1988) use the notion of substrate interference of a cross-linguistic interference type that occurs in connection with the imperfect learning of L2. Although the effects of imperfect learning are not exclusively restricted to a language shift situation, they are likely to occur in the case of a rapid shift. If the social circumstances in the speech community favour the innovations that originate in this way, the language changes caused by imperfect learning may last for generations. They may spread even further if some parts of the speech collective learn the target language of the shift from people who have themselves learned it imperfectly as a second language.

Typically, language shifters strive to learn first and foremost the vocabulary of the culturally dominating language. This is because the lexicon is the most essential subsystem of the language for the needs of communication. A proper pronunciation or mastering of complex morphosyntactic structures is less important and learners' errors are usually tolerated to some extent. It is also these subsystems of a language in which the L2 learners make most mistakes. Thomason and Kaufman thus assume that the substrate interference affects first and foremost the phonetics/phonology and morphosyntax. Substrate interference is presumably opposed by borrowing interference that affects first and foremost the lexicon. This borrowing interference occurs in a language maintenance situation, when the language community enriches its language by taking into use features from other languages, but no language shift takes place (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 46–50). This view on substrate interference by Thomason and Kaufman is quite influential what can be seen, among other things, in that it is cited in ELL (4396–4397) as a part of the definition of the keyword *substratum.*

Later, Thomason (2001: 129–156) has proposed a more elaborate typology of linguistic mechanisms involved in language change under second language influence. She now distinguishes code-switching, code alternation, passive familiarity, second-language acquisition strategies, bilingual first-language acquisition and change by deliberate decision. Any boundaries between these interference types are difficult to draw, however. Thus, according to Thomason, the emergence of a stress pattern existent neither in the source, nor in the target language in Serbian spoken on formerly Hungarian soil is the result of negotiation (ibid. 143) although it could, quite likely, have been classified as an effect of second language acquisition strategy, also. The emergence of a separate partitive genitive case in Russian under possible Uralic influence (see below section 1.8) has been classified as second-language acquisition strategy with a negotiation component although one could also argue that the code alternation or second-language acquisition strategies would have been involved in such a development.

In article 1 of this volume as well as in section 6.1 of this introduction, it will be demonstrated that in most cases the effects of assumed interference types of this kind are not distinguishable in historical time-depth, when trying to point out the effects the language shift of the Finno-Ugrians might have had on Russian dialects in the area under consideration. Furthermore, somewhat similar criticism has recently been presented briefly by Campbell (2006: 22, note 1,). This does not mean, however, that the distinction between imperfect learning and borrowing would be a useless one. It was argued above that in the language contact, the language change may occur either because of efforts by some members of speech community to use the language resources of others in order to express themselves more interestingly and clearly, or because there has been a need to communicate over the language barrier and the members of one or another speech community accommodate their speech by simplifying it. These processes roughly correspond to borrowing and negotiation in the terminology of Thomason. It is also probable that imperfect learning of L2 has indeed played some role in many instances of language change. However, the two speech community events referred to earlier differ from Thomason and Kaufman's mechanisms of language change in that they seem to be, at least in some cases, more easily distinguishable even in the historical time-depth.

## 1.8. Linguistic aspects of contact-induced language change

Although language change ultimately is a social phenomenon, there are particular linguistic structures and features that are more likely to change than others. In linguistic typology, much attention has been paid to the fact that languages typically change in a particular direction. Thus, it is typical for postpositions to develop into case endings while the opposite only very rarely happens (cf., however, Sámi postposition *haga* / *-taga* 'without' which

originates in an abessive case ending, Proto-Sámi **ptaGek* < Proto-Uralic **pta / ptä* [→ Finnish *–tta / ttä,* abessive case], Sammallahti 1998: 247). In a similar manner, motion verbs typically develop into future tense markers, perfects into evidentials, the names of body parts into postpositions, etc.

Such more or less universal tendencies of language development are present also in the case of contact-induced change. However, the fact that these developments are widely attested in the world's languages makes it hard to demonstrate that, in a particular case, they have occurred as the result of language contact. It can be assumed that, in a language contact situation, the spread of unmarked and typologically common features is connected with those cases in which L2 learning is involved. Features may spread either as a result of accommodation of speech via negotiation or as a result of imperfect learning. The fact that many substrate features often are typologically common and unmarked and its consequences for the study of linguistic substrate are further discussed in article 1 of this study where examples are also given.

According to Thomason (2001: 60), among the linguistic factors which affect language change, the most important are universal markedness, the typological distance between the contacting languages and the degree to which linguistic features are integrated into the grammar of contacting languages.

Thus, the replacement of marked features not present in the substrate language by unmarked features often occurs in the case of contact-induced language change. These kinds of changes may include simplification of complex morphosyntactic structures such as merger of declination or conjugation types, replacement of synthetic structures by analogical ones, simplification of phoneme paradigms by abolishing oppositions not present in the substrate language, etc. Most notably, tendencies towards unmarked and iconic structures are discernable both in L2 learning as well as in accommodating the language for intergroup communication.[3] The structures of L2 that cause learning difficulties for language shifters may also be used in a hypercorrect way and this may result in structural changes in L2 (Veenker 1967: 13–14; Tkačenko 1985: 16–42). In addition to imperfect learning, the process of negotiation or merging of two closely related languages by koineisation would also be expected to lead to the loss of marked features and increasing iconicity.

As for the typological distance between the contacting languages, it has been claimed that contact-induced changes are most typical in those structures which are relatively close to each other in the contacting languages. The mutual transparency of the structures makes it possible for the bilingual language community to integrate features from one language into another. Thus, one can speculate that the distinction between total and partial object in Russian (*хочу хлеб* 'I want bread' [patient in accusative case] vs. *хочу хлеба* 'I want some

[3] One should note, however, that even highly marked features usually are not eliminated in language contact if they are present in all of the languages participant in the contact situation.

bread' [patient in genitive case]) may have originated under Uralic influence, since in Russian the object occurs in the genitive case when it is animate (cf. Veenker 1967: 86–87). This means that the new contact-induced structure fits well into the already existing grammatical pattern.

Those structures which are deeply embedded in the language structure and involve complex morphological processes are harder to integrate into another language system. For example, it is hard to imagine a language that would have borrowed an accusative-marker from North Sámi, where the accusative case is derived by complex morphophonological alternations (consonant gradation) which belong to several different types. Some cases of borrowing of complex morphosyntactic features have been described in contact linguistics, however. Thus, Mednyj Aleut has borrowed its entire verb morphology from Russian, while retaining the Aleut noun morphology. In Michif, nouns and adjectives are declined according the rules of French grammar, but verbs, together with verbal inflection are from Cree (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 228–238). However, most types of language change are unlike these, in that features which have originated under the influence of the substrate language are typologically common and unmarked. Moreover, the distinction between borrowing of an entity and pattern replacement (see below section 1.9) should be taken into account in recognising the effects of the language shift.

The third factor mentioned, the degree to which linguistic features are integrated into the grammar of the contacting language determines that the substrate interferences – or any contact-induced interferences – are more likely to occur in peripheral than core systems of a language. Thus, in Finnic languages some local nouns may be used with comparative suffixes which usually combine only with adjectives (*ranta* 'shore' → *ranne-mma-lla* 'closer to the shore' [comparative + adessive, outer local case], *laita* 'edge' → *laidempana* 'closer to the edge' [comparative + essive, a local case]). This typologically relatively rare feature is without parallel in Slavic with the exception of northern Russian dialects, where some nouns may be used with the comparative in a similar manner (*река* 'river' → *речае* 'closer to the river', *берег* 'shore' → *бережее* 'closer to the shore'). It seems probable that this feature has spread into Russian as a contact-induced (substrate) feature (Veenker 1967: 90; Vostrikov 1990: 41). As the comparative forms of nouns are restricted to few words with local meanings, this feature can be described as peripheral and introducing it into Russian has not brought about large scale restructuring of linguistic patterns. This has probably been one of the reasons why transfer of the pattern has occurred.

## 1.9. Borrowing vs. pattern replacement

In the case of linguistic substrate, one observes a particular variant of language in which contact-induced language change has occurred. The linguistic investigation of contact-induced phenomena takes place separately in the sphere of phonemes, words and affixes on the one hand and linguistic patterns and structures on the other. The origin of the former can be studied by the standard historical-comparative method while the origin of the latter is studied by various methods which often cannot yield results with the same degree of certainty as traditional comparativistics. The reasons for this are well described in Fox (1995: 104–105): the history of words and phonemes is history of entities which can be identified as identical in the course of time, while the replacement of some features in a linguistic pattern influences the whole pattern.

Thus, although linguistic structures develop from other structures, they are not entities which can be identified as identical in the course of time. For this reason, it is difficult to distinguish between the amount of inherited and borrowed in the case of a pattern change.

This is reflected in that in the case of contact induced morphosyntactical change one is usually dealing with structures that are not identical in the source and target languages. This is demonstrated in Sarhimaa's research (1999). She studied the Karelian necessive construction formed with the borrowed Russian auxiliary *должен* 'must; be obliged'. Since Karelian lacks the grammatical categories which are present in Russian and used with the auxiliary *должен* (such as gender, verbal aspect and predicative clause formed without a copula) the Karelian constructions which have emerged around the borrowed auxiliary differ remarkably from their Russian counterparts. Thus, while it is clear that the necessive auxiliary *должен* is a borrowing from Russian, it is much less easy to say whether the new necessive construction that has emerged in Karelian is also a borrowing. Structures like this imitate structures in their source language but are formed within the grammatical categories and constraints of the language they belong to. In these cases it is difficult to prove that substrate interference has occurred if no borrowing of a grammatical function word or an affix has been connected with substrate interference.

## 1.10. Substrate as predominantly lexical interference

In the past, much debate concerning linguistic substrate has concentrated on the presumed substrate origin of phonetic/phonological and morphosyntactic patterns. The idea that linguistic substrate in a particular language comprises mainly features that have emerged through imperfect learning, i.e. as an outcome of the substrate interference as suggested by Thomason and Kaufman, is also reflected in handbooks.

For the reasons described above searches for such substrate phenomena will not always be fruitful, however. It is thus no wonder that a characteristic feature of the debate concerning linguistic substrate seems to be that there is no unanimity in the scope and extent of substrate interference even in those cases in which language shift has occurred with absolute certainty (cf. a discussion concerning particular phonological changes in Romance languages, ELL 4397). This state of affairs reflects the vagueness of the methods of substrate studies and the uncertainty of the results.

As already noted in section 1.1, from the point of view of historical-comparative linguistics, a reasonable way to define the linguistic substrate is that it is the residue of an extinct language form that is discernable in another language spoken in the same area. Linguistic substrate is thus connected to both the history as well as to the geography of a language. If defined in this way it will not, however, be connected to linguistic processes that may occur during language shift. It follows from this historical and areal approach, that those linguistic substrate interferences that can be meaningfully identified and studied have been lexical in the first place. This is because, as noted earlier, the lexemes as well as morphemes have a genetic identity, in the linguistic meaning of this notion, and therefore their source language can, in most cases, be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty. Also when the identification of a particular vocabulary layer is not possible, one may assume that it has been borrowed from a source language that has become extinct. In such cases, however, the exact number of borrowings from the substrate language is likely to remain an open question (Aikio 2004: 9–10).

The view that those substrate interferences which are meaningful from the viewpoint of historical linguistics are predominantly lexical has been presented even by Aikio (ibid.), whose arguments follow the lines presented here (cf. also article 1 of this study; somewhat similar viewpoint has also been presented by Matveev [2001: 102–103]). Tkačenko (1989: 41–42) and Myznikov (2004: 19–23) even distinguish between substrate and borrowing in the lexicon. In their terminology, lexical substrate is a residue of the extinct language that has been preserved in a speech community through language shift, typically because it denotes concepts which were nonexistent in the target language of the shift. Some other words have been retained as they have developed new meanings. The borrowed vocabulary, in turn, has been transferred from one speech community to another and it represents a principally different contact linguistic process.

It is indeed possible to make this kind of distinction in some cases, for example, when some borrowings are located in a dotted area of distribution or where a particular borrowing occurs in several slightly different phonological shapes in different dialects. Such cases point to the fact that the borrowings have been preserved through a language shift (cf. article 5 and it's commentaries). If linguistic substrate is to be understood primarily as a historical and areal phenomenon, however, it is not always necessary to make such distinc-

tions. Thus, Richards (2003) identifies the oldest layer of Slavic borrowings in Hungarian that, quite certainly, has been borrowed from extinct Slavic dialects. Nevertheless, he does not implement any methods which would be characteristic for substrate studies only but bases his argumentation solely on the careful implementation of the historical-comparative method.

In the lexicon, the substrate borrowings are typically found in domains related to a particular region such as vocabulary connected to geography, ecology, climate, flora, fauna and the local forms of livelihood. This kind of vocabulary includes concepts that cannot be replaced by the vocabulary of a language that has not been spoken in the contact area for a longer period of time and therefore has not developed an adequate terminology to describe its characteristics. Moreover, substrate vocabulary can be found in taboo and affective words, presumably because such vocabulary is continuously in the need of renewal and new affective words are coined out from all the sources available in the speech community.[4] The third, and in most cases likely the most important domain of substrate vocabulary which is treated in detail in all of the articles of this study is the substrate toponymy. Thus, the domains of substrate borrowings are clearly different from the domains of cultural borrowings, which usually include names for cultural innovations, terminology related to agriculture, religion, administration, etc.

Substrate interference may also be found in some morphological elements which spread with the vocabulary and may in some cases become productive morphemes. For example, some Finnic deverbal derivational suffixes have been adopted into northern Russian dialects via borrowed vocabulary (*-андать* ← **-nta- / ntä-* and *–айдать* ← **-aita- / -äitä*, Veenker 1967: 152).

It is also likely that in many cases substrate languages have played an important role even in the development of phonetic/phonological and morphosyntactic patterns of a language in which the lexical substrate is discernable. As noted above in section 1.9, the identification of such substrate interferences is, however, seriously hindered by the fact that changes in phonetics/phonology and morphosyntax are typically pattern replacements in which the role of inherited and borrowed is difficult to distinguish. One needs to note, however, that this is not true of *all* of the morphosyntactic innovations. It is possible that new morphosyntactic patterns enter from substrate languages, such as the comparison of nouns referred to in section 1.8 above. It is also possible for a morphosyntactic innovation to be based on a borrowed element that introduces a pattern that somehow resembles that of the source language but is not identical with it, such as the Karelian *должен*-constructions referred to above in section 1.9. Because the core of such structures is the borrowed lexeme, they can easily be identified.

[4] A related sphere of lexical substrate interferences are also the secret languages (Tkačenko 1989: 34).

Also, phonetics and phonology are natural spheres of substrate interference, especially if language shift has occurred rapidly, or the target language has spread via people who have learned it as a second language. In cases such as these, the linguistic mechanism involved in the emergence of phonetic/ phonological innovations is similar to substrate interference as defined by Thomason and Kaufman, i.e. imperfect learning. Typically phonetic/phonological contact interference affects the whole class of phonemes. They may represent changes in accentuation, neutralisation of phonological oppositions that are nonexistent in the substrate languages or reduction of the phoneme inventory of the interfered language by abolition of phoneme classes or phonological features nonexistent in the substrate language.

In northern Russian dialects there are various, almost certain, phonetic and phonological substrate features: initial syllable stress has become general, voiced stops have become voiceless in certain positions, diphthongs have appeared in the first syllable, etc. (cf. Venkeer 1967: 22–76). Such features should receive separate treatment that would also implement the typological knowledge concerning the development tendencies of phonological systems in the world's languages.

The fact that substrate interferences may be found in most of the subsystems of a language does not mean, however, that all of them are equally important. From the point of view of the identification of a situation in which a language shift has taken place it is clearly the lexical substrate interference which is crucial. Moreover, this is the most reliable source of information concerning the characteristics of the substrate languages.

# 2. Ethnic history of northern Russia prior Slavs

## 2.1. The Dvina Basin and the diffusion of the Uralic languages

The Arkhangelsk and Vologda regions are the only North European areas without a Uralic-speaking population and also the largest exclusively Russian-speaking gap in an otherwise relatively uniform Uralic language area. It is therefore not surprising that scholars studying Uralic languages have always assumed that this area was also once Uralic-speaking

Together with its surroundings the Dvina basin divides the Uralic language family into two geographically distinct areas. The western area consists of the Finnic and Sámi languages which have had long-lasting and intensive mutual contacts. According to a traditional theory these two branches of Uralic share a common intermediate protolanguage within the Uralic family (E. Itkonen 1966; Korhonen 1981) but nowadays this theory finds less support (cf. T. Itkonen 1998; Koivulehto 1999; Saarikivi & Grünthal 2005). The five other groups of Uralic languages are spoken east of the Russian enclave in a geographically

more or less united area. The only exception is Hungarian, which has spread to Central Europe as a result of medieval migration. In other words, the areal distribution of Uralic languages alone is a sufficient argument to assume that Uralic languages must have been spoken even in the present-day Arkhangelsk Region for some period of time.

## 2.2. Scandinavian documentary sources

There is direct historical evidence proving that there was a Finno-Ugrian population in North Russia. Various medieval documentary sources, both Slavic and Scandinavian, mention non-Slavic tribes in this territory.

The Scandinavian medieval literary tradition concerning the pre-Slavic tribes in the north of Russia can be classified into sagas, i.e. historical accounts, rune inscripts, poetry and geographical literature. In these accounts, the north of Russia is called *Biarmia* (Old Norse *Bjarmaland*) and its inhabitants the *Biarmians* (*bjarmar*). The much cited account by Ottar (Oththere) from Halogaland that has been published in Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred the Great around 890 also belongs to the Scandinavian tradition. It reports that the Norwegian merchant Ottar, who lived in northernmost Norway sailed along the Norwegian coast, passed the North Cape and after several days' voyage arrived at a great river. There he found a rich and populous land whose white-haired settlers were sedentary, cultivated land and practiced cattle-breeding unlike the nomadic Finns (probably Sámi people in this context). Ottar did not know the language of the Biarmians, but it reportedly resembled the language of the Sámis. The Biarmians told Ottar about their country and other countries that bordered it (Glazyrina 1996: 37–38; Tallgren 1931: 101–103; SHD1: 20–22).

Another account in *Heimskringla* and King Olafs Saga contains a description of an expedition made by the merchant Tore Hund together with some friends to Bjarmaland, to the mouth of the River *Vína*. These people started to trade with the inhabitants and bought a great many pelts, whereupon they pretended to leave. Later, they returned in secret, and plundered the burial site where the Biarmians had erected an idol of their god *Jomali*. This idol had a bowl on his knees containing silver, and a valuable chain around his neck. Tore and his men managed to escape from the pursuing Biarmians with a rich booty (Haavio 1965: 176–187; 232–233; SHD1). The name of the deity in this account is, according to already generations of scholars, connected with the Finnic word *jumala* 'God'[5] (cf. Porthan 1982: 51–52).

There are around fifteen other accounts on Biarmia and Biarmians in Scandinavian literature. The last part of the Edda, *Háttatal* includes a report of

[5] This word (< **juma*) has cognates in Sámi, Mordvinian and Mari and is likely an Aryan borrowing (< **dyumān,* Koivulehto 1999b: 228) as are many other words related to religion.

an expedition to Biarmia, from where the viking Ogmundr continued to Suz'dal in 1217. This and also some other accounts on Biarmia point to the fact that this area had regular connections with the central Russian principalities. There are also accounts in the sagas which include information that the Biarmians paid taxes to the Slavs. According to the sagas, the last expedition to Biarmaland took place in 1222. After that, in 1238, some groups of Biarmians fled to Norway in order to escape the Tatars (i.e. Mongols). They were given land and baptised by the Norwegian king (Bulatov 1997: 28–29; Haavio 1965: 238–240).

Etymologising the toponym *Biarmia* from the toponym *Пермь* is a centuries-old tradition in historiography (Olaus Magnus 1973: 19; Bulatov 1993: 18; Haavio 1965: 22–24; Jackson 1993: 249). This ethnonym, in turn, has been explained as a Finnic borrowing from the toponymic composition *perämaa* 'hinterlands' (Bubrih 1947: 30), although this is quite uncertain. The connection between the ethnonyms *Пермь* and *Biarmia* also remains speculative as we do not know enough about the background of these ethnonyms.

The sagas also contain some other toponyms which can be localised in the north of Russia. The most important are *Gandvik*, which has been identified as *Кандалакша* (Fi. *Kantalahti,* the bay in the south of the Kola Peninsula), and *Vína,* which is most likely to be identified as the Dvina. However, both of these toponyms have also been explained in other ways, *Gandvík* as a denomination for the Arctic Ocean (Tiander 1906: 73; Jackson 1993: 251–252) and *Vína* as a general denomination for a river (Jackson 1992: 126).

## 2.3. Slavic documentary sources

The beginnings of the Slavic settlement in the Dvina basin are connected with the colonisation activities of the Russian principalities after the Fall of Kievan Rus' in 1137. The most important of the principalities in the north was Novgorod, which rivalled the central Russian states for control over the northern peripheries.

Since Nasonov (1951), the colonisation of the north of Russia has been divided into two main currents. One of them conveyed a Slavic population from the vicinity of Novgorod to the northern peripheries via the water route along the Svir' to the White Sea, while the other connected the Upper Volga region and its Slavic principalities Suz'dal, Rostov and Vladimir to the Dvina basin. These principalities were seized by Moscow in the 13th and 14th centuries, while Novgorod retained its independence until 1471.

Russian sources on the Finno-Ugrian people in the Dvina basin are numerous. They include Chronicles, hagiographies, juridical documents and birch bark letters. Of these, the most important are the Chronicles. They contain information on the spread of Christianity and the rule of the Slavic principalities. In this connection, conflicts between Slavs and the indigenous people of the Dvina basin are continuously mentioned.

The first Slavic source which mentions Finno-Ugrian tribes in the Dvina basin is the Russian Primary Chronicle (NL). It contains a list of tribes which paid taxes to Russia. Besides the present Uralic people, extinct tribes are also mentioned: *мерья, мурома, мещера, чудь* and *заволочская чудь*. The last of these has traditionally been considered a denomination for the Finnic tribe living in the Dvina basin (see article 2, section 2.2 for the etymology and a discussion of this ethnonym). The same ethnonym figures also in some other chronicles. The notion of *Заволочье* has in a later period been used as a denomination for that part of the principality of Novgorod which was situated in the Dvina basin (on the etymology of the toponym see article 2, section 1.3). Because the ethnonym *чудь* has been used of Finnic tribes (Veps and Estonians), it has traditionally been assumed that the *Заволоцкая чудь* was also a Finnic tribe. According to the *Двинская летопись* (a chronicle), the *Заволоцкая чудь* would have been called *двиняне* (from the river name *Двина*) after they were baptised (Rybakov 1993: 540). *Чудь* also figures as an ethonym for the legendary pre-Slavic people in northern Russian folklore. Also this oral tradition is briefly considered in section 2.2 of article 2.

Another ethnonym mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle which has attracted attention among historians is *весь*. This ethnonym has been etymologically connected with an ethnonym for the Veps (cf. Grünthal 1997). According to the primary chronicle the *весь* lived by the Beloozero. It has, therefore, been suggested that the present Veps population by Lake Onega and south of the River Svir' is only the residue of a far larger area inhabited by the Veps in the past. As some groups of Veps have used the ethonym *чудь* of themselves, it has been suggested that prior to the Slavs most of northern Russia was inhabited by the Veps (Haavio 1965; Pimenov 1965).

Among the other ethnonyms which figure in the Russian chronicles and scholarly literature concerning northern Russia is *емь*. Some early scholars such as A. J. Sjögren and J. J. Mikkola were of the opinion that the *емь*, a denomination for the Finnic tribe *Häme* (in central South Finland), had also lived in the Dvina basin. This theory was supported even in the second half of 20th century (Kirkinen 1963: 26–27), although it has since been severely criticised by John Lind (1977) and nowadays it can be considered abandoned. Most likely, in all cases in which the Russian chronicles mention the tribe name *Jem'*, the connection is with present-day Finland.

Some Russian chronicles also mention other pagan tribes with ethnonyms derived from toponyms. Among these are the *тоймичи погане, сура поганая, пинежане, важане, белозерции*, etc. Most of these ethnonyms derive from river names and it has been proposed that at least some of them refer to mixed Slavic-Uralic populations (Bernštam 1973). While this certainly is possible in some cases, there are historical sources which explicitly mention that the tribes in question are pagan and hostile. Thus, there are accounts of the conflicts between the Novgorodians and the *сура поганая* in the 15th and the *тоймичи погане* in the 13th century.

Documents of a political and juridic nature also contain information on Finno-Ugrian tribes in the north of Russia. The *Уставная грамота князя Святослава Ольговича* lists 26 settlements (Ru. *погост*) which pay taxes to Novgorod. Most of these have Finno-Ugrian names and it appears that their inhabitants were also largely non-Slavic by the time the document was written. In view of A.N. Nasonov's (1951) localisation of these settlements, it would seem that the Dvina basin was the most prosperous region of Novgorod since it paid most taxes. Another juridical document from 1315 mentions Finnic personal names (*Ровда, Азика, Харагинец*) among the foremen of the Vaga district, by now an entirely Russian speaking area (Haavio 1965: 58; Bulatov 1993: 64–65).

The versatile information included in the Novgorod birch bark letters confirms that the Finnic tribes constituted a considerable ethnic group in the principality of Novgorod. These documents include many Finnic personal names and toponyms. Some birch bark letters also include some Finnic vocabulary and one is written in a Finnic language (Helimski 1986; Laakso 1999). In the birch bark letters, the people with Finnic personal names figure as normal Novgorodians, i.e. there are no accounts of hostile relationships or conflicts between the Finno-Ugrians and the Slavs (cf. however Laakso 2005 who presents a different interpretation of birch bark letter 600). This fact indicates that at least some sections of the Finnic speaking population integrated into the the social order of the principality of Novgorod. This integration process ultimately led to Slavicisation.

## 2.4. Archaeological evidence[6]

The area of the present-day Arkhangelsk Region has been subject to various waves of archaeologically discernable influences from the south. This area itself, in turn, has never been a cultural centre, which would have radiated influences in other directions.

In the Ice Age the western parts of the present-day Arkhangelsk Region and Karelia were under an ice sheet, while the eastern part was a tundra plain which, most likely, was uninhabited. The oldest remnants of humans in the Dvina basin are from the mesolithic period and date from approximately 7000–6000 BC. The first ceramics in the area date from around 5000 BC, Approximately 3900 BC typical Comb Ceramics appear in northern Europe. They originated in the Upper Volga region and diffuse in a wide northern European zone including most of the area where Finnic and Sámi languages are spoken today. In the Dvina basin, most of the cultural area related to Comb Ceramics is called the Kargopol' Culture which subsequently developed into the Late Kargopol Cul-

[6] The following sketch on the archaeological cultures in Northern Europe is based on the following references: Carpelan 1999; Carpelan & Parpola 2002, Manjuhin 2002.

ture. This cultural area spreads from the River Onega to the upper course of the River Sukhona.

Around 2000 BC, at the same time as the Late Kargopol Culture emerged, a new cultural innovation, textile ceramics, begun to spread from Central Russia to the north and northwest. East of this area another Bronze Age culture, the Ananyino Culture, with connections to the Iranian people of the steppes emerged. A simultaneous cultural innovation is also the Seyma-Turbino Transcultural Phenomenon, probably a network of traders who transmitted bronze artefacts from the Urals to the west and east.

The diffusion of the Uralic languages to their present territories has been connected with these archaeological cultures in various ways. Traditionally, Comb Ceramics have been related to Proto-Uralic. This view was first presented by Harri Moora (1956) and in the 1980s it became a standard theory for the spread of Finno-Ugrians into present-day Finland and Estonia. This theory was based on the facts that the Uralic protolanguage is traditionally dated approximately to the period when Comb Ceramics emerged and to the fact that there are no other cases where an archaeological culture spreading from central Russia covered the whole Finnic language area. Recently, a new theory has placed the Uralic linguistic homeland in the area of the Lyalovo Culture which also belonged to the Comb Ceramics area (Carpelan & Parpola 2002). The most recent interpretation suggests that the spread of Uralic to the west should be connected with the later Seyma-Turbino Transcultural Phenomenon (Kallio 2006). The Ananyino Culture, in turn, has been connected with the Permian group of Uralic languages by several scholars. One needs to note, however, that the area of Ananyino culture is so large that it cannot have been linguistically homogenous. Therefore, one has to assume that the Permian languages emerged only in some part of the area covered by this archaeological culture.

There are various problems related to the identification of the languages of archaeological cultures mentioned above. Similar difficulties related to ethnic and linguistic identification of an archaeological culture are known from most of the world (in Finnish context, see discussion in Taavitsainen 2002). Palaeolinguistic evidence is of little help here because the Uralic protolanguage and many of the intermediate protolanguages of the Uralic family include little vocabulary that would point to archaeologically identifiable types of artefacts (cf. however Kallio 2006 that refers to a few palaeolinguistically meaningful words of Proto-Uralic). It is clear, however, that Uralic languages were spoken in the archaeological cultures referred to above and well-founded attempts to unite archaeological and linguistic material will be necessary.

It is likely only in the Iron Age archaeological material, where it is possible to follow the spread of cultural innovations which can be connected with language forms with a reasonable degree of certainty. Especially can the archaeologically discernable cultures which emerged in north-eastern Europe in the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages be clearly connected to the predecessors of present Uralic tribes and language forms.

In the period 600–1000 BC there were two cultural innovation centres at the shores of Lake Ladoga. The southwestern centre has been connected to the emergence of the Veps ethnos and the northeastern is considered to have been the original home of the Karelians (Uino 1997). In the east of the Dvina basin the Vyčegda Perm' Culture connected with the origins of the Komi-Zyryan people took shape, while in the Jaroslavl and Kostroma regions on the Upper Volga an archaeological culture connected with the extinct Merya emerged (Leont'ev 1996).

The Iron Age archaelogical findings in the Dvina basin do not belong to any of these archaeological cultures, but form local groups with different cultural connections. Thus, on the Middle Vaga, the findings resemble most the Karelian and Veps settlements, but also include artefact types of Vyčegda Perm' origin (Ovsyannikov 1978; Rjabinin 1997: 141–142). In the Sukhona basin the ethnical indicators of the findings relate them more to the Meryan settlements of the Kostroma and Jaroslavl regions. The cremations in the Kokšen'ga river basin resemble findings from the area inhabited by Permian tribes. On the other hand, the artefact types found from these burial grounds are closer to Slavic than Permian types (Rjabinin ibid. 142–143). In the Pinega district, the burial ground findings of Verkola shows close resemblance to those from territories inhabited by Finnic tribes (Kolpakov & Ryabtseva 1994). Even Tallgren (1931) made a similar observation concerning the Vajmuša burial ground in the same district.

Makarov (1993, 1997) emphasises the qualitative difference in the findings of the Late Iron Age compared to those of previous periods. In his opinion, the first permanent settlements in the Dvina basin emerged only a few hundred years before the Slavicisation of the area. The considerable change in the size of the population and in the means of livelihood is probably connected with the relatively mild climate that prevailed in northern Europe in 800–1200 AD. Another factor which attracted people to these northern peripheries was the fur trade which was expanding quickly in medieval Europe. Thus, the colonisation of the Dvina basin by Finno-Ugrians and Slavs in this period may be related to the simultaneous spread of Finnic and Permian tribes to the North to their present areas.

Detailed archaeological analysis by Makarov (1997) based on materials collected from *voloks,* the watersheds where boats were dragged from one river basin to another, testifies to Slavicisation of northern Russia. In the Middle Ages, the watershed areas were populated by people who had trade connections with the Slavic centres and who formed a network that played a crucial role in the colonisation of the Dvina basin. In their early phase these settlements had probably a mostly Finnic or other Uralic speaking population, but in 13th and 14th century the findings connected with the Slavs increase. Makarov cites Bernštam (1973) who emphasised the mixed ethnical nature of the Iron Age population in *Заволочье.* In his opinion, the Finnic tribes moved inside the principality of Novgorod and had an active role in the colonisation of the Dvina

basin. Thus, the emergence of permanent settlements in the Dvina basin cannot easily be split into Slavic and Finno-Ugrian population streams.

## 2.5. Komi-Finnic contacts

One of the most important pieces of evidence for the Middle Age presence of Finnic tribes in the Dvina basin is the fact that there are Finnic borrowings in Komi, the Finno-Ugrian language spoken east of the Arkhangelsk Region. This layer of Komi vocabulary has been investigated by Wichmann, Uotila, Lytkin (1967), Turkin (1985) and other scholars.

According to the handbooks, the number of Finnic borrowings in Komi is around 70. Most of these are dialect words related to agriculture, cattle breeding, household accessories, etc. Most of them are known only in the western Komi-Zyryan dialects of Ižva, Luza-Letka and especially Vaška. This westernmost dialect of Komi-Zyryan accounts for around two thirds of the borrowings cited in handbooks (cf. Turkin ibid.). About 20 Finnic borrowings have a wide areal distribution in Komi-Zyryan dialects.

Hausenberg (1983: 16–17) has proposed that there may be two layers of Finnic borrowings in Komi-Zyryan. Even older contacts between Finnic and Permian have been proposed by Koivulehto (1981; 1983:124–125; 1989; 177–178) who has argued that several Germanic and other early western Indo-European borrowings (e.g. *katras* ‘herd’, *joukko* ‘group; crowd’, *otsa* ‘forehead; end’, *kypsä* ‘cooked; baked’, *ehtiä* ‘reach; arrive in time’) have spread from Finnic and Pre-Finnic to Permian languages and Proto-Permian. He has argued that, in addition to a loan etymology from Germanic or other western Indo-European source, the irregular phonological correspondences between Finnic and Permian suggest that these words have spread as borrowings.

This line of argument can be supported by some new etymologies. It seems that many of the “irregular” Finnic-Permian cognate words cited in etymological dictionaries (SSA, SKES, UEW) are in fact borrowings from Finnic and its predecessors into Permian languages and Proto-Permian. In a lecture delivered to the Finno-Ugrian Society, (19th January, 2005) the author of this study presented several new cases of this kind. Like the borrowings pointed out by Koivulehto, these too include words with Germanic and other loan etymologies. As this lecture has not yet been published some relatively clear cases are presented here.

**A.** Borrowings from Finnic to Komi

1. *tal'-ny, tal'-alny tal'-avny*[7] 'trample' (different derivatives) < Proto-Finnic **talla-* 'trample' (> Finnish *tallata*).

The Finnic and Komi words have been treated as cognate words in KESKJ (278) and as insecure cognates in SKES, SSA (the latter two both add two question marks), NSES and UEW. The last one of these also adds an obscure explanation concerning the problems related to this *Gleichsetzung*: "Falls die Etymologie akzeptiert werden kann, wurde das für die FP Zeit erschlossene **a* der ersten Silbe unter dem Einfluss des moullierten *l'* im Frühurpermischen zu **ä* und später entwickelte sich das auf diese Weise entstandene urperm. **ä* regelmässig zu *a*. Das geminierte *ll* in den Osfi. Sprachen ist unregelmässig". It should be clear that a loan etymology would be a much more appropriate explanation for the Finnic *–ll–* (which cannot occur in old words and only came about as a result of the Finnic sound shift **-ln-* > *-ll-*), especially as the Finnic word seems to have an etymological explanation within Finnic: the word is a likely derivation from *talla* 'sole of a shoe or the bottom of a sleigh', which in turn, is a Germanic borrowing (cf. Old Norse *stallr* 'base', SSA III: 262).

2. *lik-my-ny* 'come; reach' < Proto-Finnic **liikku-* 'move' (> Finnish *liikkua* 'move').

The Komi word is an *-m*-derivation that could, in principle, be derived both from a noun and a verbal stem (cf. *iz'* 'stone' > *iz'myny* 'petrify', *todyny* 'know' > *todmany* 'point out; remark'). The Finnic word cannot be old as it has phonological features which are Finnic innovations (long vowel followed by a geminate, second syllable *u*). In some older handbooks Finnic and Komi words are cited as cognates (Collinder 1955; KESKJ 160) but this *Gleichsetzung* is rejected by SKES and SSA (II: 73).

3. *pal'-avny* 'recover (fainted)' < Proto-Finnic **pala-* (Finnish > *palata*) 'return', in dialects also 'heal, recover'.

Some etymological dictionaries cite this comparison, though with a question mark (KESKJ 215, SSA II:229). According to NSES (861), "äänne-historiallisten ongelmien takia rinnastus ei kuitenkaan tunnu uskottavalta, kun merkityskään ei ole sama" ["the idea that the words are cognates does not seem credible because of the problems related to historical phonology; moreover, even the meanings are different"]. The phonetic problem (Finnic *a* ~ Komi *a* instead of regular *o* or *u*) could be explained by assuming that the Komi word is

[7] In the following *y* is used for Komi and Udmurt high back vowel (*ị* or *ï*) and *ö* for middle vowel (*ẹ*). This is a convention that is also used in several publications by the Finno-Ugrian Society.

a borrowing from Finnic. As in etymology 1, here also the Komi *l′* corresponds to the Finnic *l*.

4. *kuröd* ‘bad; inappropriate’, in compound *kikuröd* ‘untidy; careless; inaccurate’ (the first part of this compound is *ki* ‘hand’ [< PU **käti* > fi. *käsi* id.], *-öd* is a derivational suffix) < Proto-Finnic **kura* ‘bad’ (> Estonian, Votian *kura* ‘left’, Finnish dialectal *kurakäsi* ‘left-handed’; the word also appears in Sámi).

The Finnic and Komi words cannot be cognates because of the irregular vowel correspondence (Komi *u* instead of *y*). In both Finnic and Komi the word is used in similar compounds, which makes a loan explanation even more probable.

5. *vad* (*: vadj-*) ‘small lake in a forest; damp or swampy place’ < Finnic **vataja* ‘damp place; a deep place in a river’.

According to UEW, the Komi word is probably a derivation from *va* ‘water’. This does not seem possible as there is a *–j–* in the oblique stem of the Permian word (cf. *vadjyn* ‘in a swampy place’). A borrowing from Finnic seems a likely explanation especially as the word *vataja* is attested both in the substrate toponymy and appellative borrowing in North Russian (*вадега* ‘a deep place in a river’). A somewhat similar explanation for the Komi word has recently also been given in MSFSZ (46–47).

6. *pel’k* ‘casual, accidental’ < Finnic **pelkkä* ‘only; mere; pure; sheer’ (> Finnish *pelkkä*).

The Finnic and Komi words have been compared with each other in KESKJ (219) which also refers to Mari *pelkə* ‘gentle; honest’ in this connection. SKES, UEW (728) and NSES consider this *Gleichsetzung* unlikely and SSA (II: 333) rejects it. The assumption that the Komi word is a borrowing from Finnic seems most likely from the point of view of phonology. In any case, these words cannot be cognates on phonological grounds. The Finnic word has a surprisingly narrow distribution in Finnic dialects and it represents a new phonotactic type (with a string of three consonants in the middle of the word). Therefore, it is likely a borrowing or a derivation.

**B.** Borrowings from Finnic to Komi and Udmurt

7. Komi and Udmurt *kysky-ny* ‘pull; jerk’ (< Proto-Permian **kys- (:kysk-)* < Finnic **kisko-* id.)

Finnic *kiskoa* has earlier been compared with Komi *kośny* ‘jerk; pull; peel’ and Udmurt *keśny* ‘jerk; pull; cleave’ (further cognates of these are mdM *kəśkərams* ‘nip’ and saN *gaikut* ‘jerk; pull’). If this comparison is correct (the vowels are slightly irregular), it would enhance the credibility of the borrowing:

the Uralic word would have been borrowed again inside the language family. The back vowel in the Komi and Udmurt words seems to be a regular reflex of the Finnic front vowel in cases where Finnic has a combination of a front vowel in the first syllable and a back vowel in the second.[8]

8. Komi *lya* Udmurt *lyo* ‘sand’ (< Proto-Permian **lya* ‘sand’) < Finnic **liiva* ‘sand’; this, in turn, is a Baltic borrowing, cf. Latvian *glīve* ‘mud or clay’, Lithuanian *glyvas* ‘slime’; the same Finnic word has also been borrowed into Russian (> *лыва* ‘mud’, Kalima 1919: 157–158), but this word cannot be the loan original of Permian words as there are no Slavic borrowings in Proto-Permian.

As with borrowing 7, the Permian *y* in the first syllable corresponds to the Finnic *i* which appears before the second syllable back vowel in the loan original. The Finnic and Permian words have previously been considered cognates. UEW (p. 250) even adds an explanation to the irregular sound correspondences: “perm. Vokale sind durch den labialisierenden Einfluss des inlautenden *v* zu erklären”. Even if this were so – which seems unlikely as there are no parallels for the labialising influence of **v* between first and second syllable in Permian – both the Finnic and Permian words would belong to new structure types (the former includes a combination of a first syllable long vowel and second syllable low wovel, the latter has two syllables. Moreover, the Finnic word has a very credible loan etymology. All this makes the idea that the Permian word is a Finnic borrowing a most likely explanation.

9. Komi *vargös* ‘disobedient, lazy; shrewd, treacherous, sly’ Udmurt *vargas-* in compounds *vargasnylpi* ‘disobedient, spoiled child’ *vargasʒaʒeg* ‘a lonely goose’ < Proto-Permian **vargVs* < Finnic **varkas* (> Finnish *varas*) ‘thief’.

The Finnic word has been explained as a Germanic borrowing < **wargaz* ‘wolf; thief, robber’ (SSA III: 409). – The Permian words cannot be cognates of the Finnic word because of their phonological structure; moreover, the Finnic word has a credible loan etymology.

10. Komi *kok-av-ny* ‘hoe’(v.) *kok-an* ’hoe’, ud *kukčo* ’hoe’, *kukčany* ‘grub with a hoe’ (all these are probably derivations from Proto-Permian **kǫk* ‘hoe’) < Finnic **kōkka* (> Finnish *kuokka* id.). This word, in turn, is a Germanic borrowing (< **hōka* ‘crook’ > English *hook*).

The Finnic and Permian words have been compared in several etymological dictionaries, but the comparison has been considered irregular and, therefore, uncertain (UEW 669; SKES). According to SSA (I: 439), the phonetic shape of the Finnic word does not fit in well with the Finno-Permian period and it is

[8] A similar vowel correspondence also occurs in Finnic borrowings in North Russian. See article 2, section 4.1.

likely of Germanic origin. Also, NSES considers the word a Germanic borrowing. If this is correct – and there is every reason to believe that this is the case – the Komi and Udmurt words should be explained as borrowings from Finnic.

**C.** Borrowings from Pre-Finnic to Komi and Udmurt

12 ko *yš-myny* 'be excited; feel lust or desire' *yš-ödny* 'fascinate, lure' < pre-Finnic **iša* > su *iha* 'cheerful, glad, merry; pleasant, agreeable, lovely' (> Finnish *ihailla* 'admire'*, ihana* 'lovely'*, ihastua* 'be delighted' – this word also exists in other Finnic languages and Mordvinian [mdM *ožəlgədəms, ežəlgədəms* 'cheer']). The Finnic and related words have been explained as a Proto-Iranian borrowing < **i(s)tsā* 'wish, hope or long for' (Koivulehto 2001). Permian and Finnic words have been compared in SKES under a question mark. Such a comparison has been considered insecure, probably because of the irregular vowel correspondence. This comparison has also been recently rejected by Rintala (2003) who has investigated words belonging to this connection in detail. An assumption that the word is a Pre-Finnic borrowing, explains these irregularities. As in the borrowings numbered 7 and 8, here also the *y* corresponds to the Finnic *i* in a combination of the first syllable front vowel and second syllable back vowel.

13 *kaj-ny* 'climb; rise' < Pre-Finnic **kaja-* 'become visible' (> Finnish *kajo* 'sunrise', *kajastaa* 'shimmer; clear up' ~ saN *guojetit* 'clear up' ~ mdE *kajems* 'become visible (sprout)' ~ mariL *kaja-* I *koja-* 'to be visible; appear' – the word has other cognates in Samoyed).

This Komi word has previously been presented as a cognate of the Finnic *kaja-* (KESKJ 115; SKES), but new handbooks are more suspicious. SSA (I: 278–279) adds a question mark and UEW (p. 643) rejects the comparison altogether. These suspicions are justified because the Finnic *a* usually corresponds to *o* and *u* in Komi. The assumption that the word is a loan would explain the irregularity.

There are few phonological criteria to determine the age of the borrowing. In light of the wide distribution of **kaja* in Uralic languages, this borrowing could be old, but the absence of the word in Udmurt suggests it is a more recent borrowing. Because of the sound structure of the word and its distribution in various Uralic languages, the borrowing cannot be considered Finnic in the strictest sense of the word.

In conclusion: cases 1–6 above fit in well with the traditional pattern of Finnic borrowings in Komi. They are restricted to Komi-Zyryan and have a Finnic loan original. Cases 6–12, however, suggest that contacts between Komi and Finnic

are older and more extensive than a traditional view supposes. They include borrowings from Finnic both in Komi and Udmurt and also one case (11) which seem to have been adopted before the Finnic sound shift *š* > *h*.

The Finnic and Pre-Finnic borrowings in Permian thus point to the conclusion that there have been long-lasting contacts between these two branches of the Uralic languages after their independent development began. The situation regarding Finnic and Permian would thus resemble the mutual relations between Finnic and Sámi in some extent, with the exception that only borrowings in one direction (from Finnic to Permian) have been identified so far (probably because those Finnic languages which adopted borrowings from Permian have disappeared). Many of the "irregular" sound correspondences between Finnic and Permian could be explained by assuming that the words have spread from west to east as borrowings. This agrees with the fact that many of words of this kind have well grounded loan etymologies. It also helps to eliminate numerous phonological irregularities in Finnic–Permian cognates and is thus a step forward in examining the complicated historical vocalism of Permian.

The fact that there are Finnic borrowings in Komi is also of great importance from the point of view of northern Russian substrate toponymy and the numerous Finnic borrowings in northern Russian dialects. This proves that the speaking areas of these two groups of Uralic languages must have been situated next to each other. As there are different layers of Western Uralic loanwords in Permian and some of them are old, it seems likely that also some layer of Finnic or "Finnic-Sámi" substrate toponyms (cf. section 6 of article for discussion) in the Finnic-Permian contact zone must be of high age.

As the newest layer of borrowings is restricted to individual Komi-Zyryan dialects, the latest contacts between Finnic and Permian must have taken place in the period when Komi-Zyryan had already dispersed into dialects. This fact seems especially important from the standpoint of dating Finnic-Permian contacts. Namely, many Komi dialects with Finnic borrowings originated fairly late. Thus it has been suggested that the Udora dialect with over 50 attested Finnic borrowings originated in the 14th century (Lašuk 1972: 115–116). In a similar manner, the Komi population by the Ižva originated as late as the 16th century as some groups of Komis moved north. According to a legend these Komis encountered the *чудь* in the Ižva basin as they arrived (Efimenko 1869). The fact that there are some Finnic borrowings which occur only in the Ižva dialect seems to suggest that this legend may have some historical grounds.

## 2.6. Other sources on Pre-Slavic population

In addition to linguistics, history and archaeology, some other disciplines may also contribute to the study of the Pre-Slavic past of Russia. Most notably, folklore and oral history include information on pre-Slavic inhabitants of the

Russian north. The folklore tradition connected with the *чудь* is considered in some detail in section 2.2 of article 2.

In ethnology, numerous parallels have been pointed out between Finnic and northern Russian material culture. These are related to the forms of livelihood, architecture, handicrafts and accessories, etc. The Slavic peasant culture changed remarkably when it spread to the north and Finnic influence played a significant role in this process. In physical anthropology, some attempts have been made to investigate the parallels between the Finnic people and the northern Russians. According to M.V. Vitov (1964), there are three anthropological types among northern Russians, one of which is also distributed among the Karelians and Vepsians. It has also been found that the anthropological characteristics of the western Komis are similar to Finnic people and this has been interpreted to mean that the Finno-Ugrian tribes of the Dvina basin have transmitted genes from west to east (Hausenberg 1983: 9; Žerebcov 1982).

# 3. A brief history of the study of Finno-Ugrian substrate in northern Russian dialects

Contacts between Finno-Ugrian languages and Russian have been studied from various points of view for already over two hundred years. From the viewpoint of substrate studies, there are three fields which are of interest, namely, loanword studies, studies on contact-induced change in grammar and the study of toponymy.

## 3.1. Studies on the northern Russian dialectal vocabulary

The systematic study of Finnic-Slavic contacts most likely begins with H. G. Porthan, who identified several dozens of Slavic loanwords in Finnish dialects. On the basis of Scandinavian and Slavic historical sources, he was also aware of the fact that tribes linguistically close to the Finns had formerly been living in North Russia. These sources were first systematically studied by A. J. Sjögren who also referred to toponymy, folklore and etymologies for Russian dialectal words and argued that the *Заволоцкая чудь* and *емь* had been Finnic tribes who had lived in the Dvina basin prior to the Russians (Sjögren 1832a & b). Sjögren also collected Finnic borrowings in Russian[9] and pointed to the fact that there had been contacts between the Komi people and the Finnic tribes. After him,

[9] In Sjögren's notes there is also a list of Finnic borrowings in the Pinega dialect, which is likely collected during his journeys in Northern Russia. This list has never been published and the author of this volume discovered it in the microfilms of Sjögrens notes which are preserved in the Slavonic library of Helsinki.

M. A. Castrén (1844) also discussed this theme in a small study and, in addition to Finnic, referred to Sámi influence in northern Russian dialects.

The first comprehensive treatise of Russian borrowings in Finnic was written by J. J. Mikkola (1894), who argued that the oldest Slavic borrowings in Finnic would have been adopted before 800 AD, in a period when the Finnic protolanguage had already dispersed, but borrowings could still have spread to all of the Finnic languages. In this study, as well as in its later version (1938) Mikkola also treated some central Russian toponyms from the point of view of the Finnic languages and assumed that large Russified areas of northern Russia must have been linguistically Finnic.

The first studies on Finno-Ugrian borrowings in Russian were published in the 19th century (Butkov 1842). As the collecting of lexical materials from Russian dialects proceeded and the first large dictionaries were published (Dal'; Podvysockij), the possibilities to study the dialectal vocabulary improved. The first more or less comprehensive treatise of Finnic loanwords in Russian dialects were written by Veske (1890), who also handled the Russian borrowings in Finnic. Pogodin (1904) published another list of Finnic borrowings in North Russian, which consisted of over 200 etymologies, many of which are outdated at the present.

Veske and Pogodin were soon followed by Jalo Kalima, whose work *Die Ostseefinnischen Lehnwörter der Russischen Sprache* (1919) has retained its value as a standard work in this field up to the present day. Kalima investigated over five hundred words most of which he considers Finnic borrowings into Russian. Most of them occur in the dialects of the former Olonec and Arkhangelsk Gubernijas i.e. in present-day Karelia and in the Dvina basin. Smaller layers of borrowings are attested in Novgorod, Pskov and other dialect groups, also.

In the latter half of the 20th century notable contributions in the study of Finnic borrowings in Russian dialects have been made by A. I. Popov, A. K. Matveev, L. A. Subbotina, O. A. Teuš, V. O. Vostrikov, Irma Mullonen, N. N. Mamontova and others. Most notably, a recently published lexical atlas and monograph by Myznikov (2003, 2004) substantially enhances the etymologies presented by Kalima by specifying the distribution of lexemes and presenting areal groups of Finnic borrowings in Russian dialects. Another important contribution to the study of the Finno-Ugrian substrate in North Russian is the etymological dictionary of Uralic borrowings in the dialects of the Dvina basin and the neighbouring territories (MSFZRS) that is currently being prepared in Yekaterinburg. In addition to Finnic borrowings, these sources also discuss some North Russian words which point to a substrate language close to Sámi. The number of borrowings of this kind is quite limited, however, and the question of the characteristics of the substrate languages in which they originate is related to the origin of those North Russian toponyms which have common features with Sámi languages (this issue will be discussed

in article 4). Komi and Nenets borrowings, in turn, are much less common in the dialects of the Arkhangelsk Region.

Some studies of northern Russian substrate vocabulary have specified typical areal distributions of borrowings. Thus, the lexical atlas by Komjagina (1994) demonstrates that most of the Finnic borrowings occur in the same area as those Slavic words which have spread to the historical area of the principality of Novgorod. Koževatova (1997) has demonstrated that there is a group of borrowings from Finnic which is found in the north-eastern periphery of the Arkhangelsk Region (Pinega, Lešukon'e and Mezen' Districts) and, in addition, in western dialects of Komi. This lexical distribution pattern roughly corresponds to "northeastern" distribution pattern of vocabulary by Komjagina (Komjagina ibid. 228). As the distribution of this vocabulary layer does not cover the western half of the Arkhangelsk Region, it seems likely that those words belonging to it were adopted from extinct Finnic languages which were spoken in the Dvina basin.

### 3.2. Studies on grammatical substrate

The second approach for studying the Finno-Ugrian substrate in Russian has been to search after phonetic/phonological and morphosyntactic substrate phenomena. It has been argued by various scholars that Finno-Ugrian language shifters could be responsible for the outcome of various phonetic/phonological and morphosyntactic features of Russian. The first scholar to propose this was probably J. Dobrovsky (Stipa 1990: 238). Also such eminent slavists as Baudoin de Courtenay and Šahmatov pointed to the influence of Finno-Ugrian languages to Russian.

Lewy (1961 [1925]) was first one to propose Finno-Ugrian influence on particular features of Russian. Some phonetic/phonological and grammatical features of possible Finno-Ugrian origin were also presented by Kuznecov (1949). The main reference for this approach is Veenker (1967), in which 52 probable phonetic/phonological and structural substrate features of Russian are discussed from various points of view. These include both central features of the literary language such as *akanje* (first proposed as a Mordvinian substrate feature by Stipa 1953 and again by Lytkin 1966), the palatal correlation of consonants or the alternations in Russian object marking (total vs. partial object) as well as the dialectal features with a restricted distribution such as the sound shift *l* > *w, okanje* or *cokanje* (merging of *c* and *č* to become a single affricate).

Although Veenker makes his case for phonetic/phonological and morpho-syntactic substrate interference carefully, many features which he regards as substrate phenomena are not convincingly argued, at least from the point of view of present-day research. Thus, in the light of linguistic typology, the rise of palatalised consonants or reduced vowels – both considered as probable Finno-Ugrian substrate in Russian by Veenker – seem to be phenomena which

may easily have come about even without contact interference. The main arguments of Veenker are scrutinised by Vostrikov (1990), who regards many cases of substrate interference proposed by Veenker unlikely. In the opinion of Vostrikov, the Finno-Ugrian substrate is restricted to northern and central Russian dialects and is best discernable in the vocabulary. Similar criticism is presented also by Myznikov (2004: 259) who argues that the assumption of 'Finno-Ugrian substrate in Russian' is far too general. It is the individual Uralic languages which have influenced Russian dialects. This criticism could also fit in with the very general discussion on the assumed grammatical and phonetic/phonological substrate features in Russian presented by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 238–251).

The debate on the phonetic and morphosyntactic substrate in Russian resembles many other cases of possible substrate interference in that there is no unanimity on the scope and amount of substrate interferences. The reasons why this is typical in the case of grammatical substrate were discussed in sections 1.8 and 1.9 above. At this state of the research, the possible substrate features found in Russian phonology and grammar should be treated anew by taking into account typological information concerning the rise of grammatical categories and the direction of linguistic pattern change. Also, the distribution of the features in dialects and their correlation with the appellative lexical and toponymic substrate should be taken into account in this connection. Such a treatise would be likely to prove the existence of Finno-Ugrian interference, at least in the case of some dialectal innovations in Russian.

### 3.3. Remark on the history of the study of toponymy

As the scholarly history concerning Finno-Ugrian substrate toponymy of northern Russia was considered in some detail in section 2.1 of article 2, it is not treated here. The reader is advised to consult that article and its commentaries.

### 3.4. Remark on the methodology of the studies in this volume

The articles in this volume are methodologically orientated, i.e. they focus on the question of how the Finno-Ugrian residue in the northern Russian dialects can be identified and interpreted ethnically. For this reason, the methodology of the substrate studies is discussed in all of the individual articles, most notably in section 3 of article 2 and in section 3 of article 4. Some methodological conclusions are also presented in the concluding remarks. It was therefore considered unnecessary to include a methodological treatise here.

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KarSc = Российская ададемия наук. Карельский научний центр. Институт языка, литературы и истории. Научная картотека топонимов. Петрозаводск.

# ARTICLES

# ARTICLE 1:

## Kontaktilähtöinen kielenmuutos, substraatti ja substraattinimistö

JANNE SAARIKIVI

# KONTAKTILÄHTÖINEN KIELENMUUTOS, SUBSTRAATTI JA SUBSTRAATTINIMISTÖ

## ARTIKKELIN TAVOITE

Yksi viime vuosien vilkkaimmista kielitieteellisistä keskusteluista on koskenut kontaktilähtöistä kielenmuutosta ja kielellistä substraattia. Fennougristiikan alalla huomiota ovat herättäneet muun muassa Kalevi Wiikin ja Ago Künnapin laajat germaanisia ja baltto-slaavilaisia kieliä koskevat suomalais-ugrilaiset substraattihypoteesit sekä Jan-Ola Östmanin ja Jarno Raukon esittämät Itämeren kielialuetta koskevat areaalilingvistiset pohdiskelut (Esim. Wiik 1996, 1999; Künnap 1997, 1998; Raukko ja Östman 1994, 1995).[1] Mainittava on myös viime vuosien ansiokas suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten ja venäjän kontaktialueita koskeva empiirinen tutkimus, jota esimerkiksi Anneli Sarhimaa ja Arja Ahlqvist ovat harjoittaneet (esim. Filppula ja Sarhimaa 1994; Sarhimaa 1995, 1999; Ahlqvist 1992, 1998).

Tämän artikkelin[2] tavoite on pohjoisvenäläisen aineiston pohjalta osallistua kontaktilähtöistä kielenmuutosta ja kielellistä substraattia koskeviin periaatteellisiin keskusteluihin. Kyseessä on teoreettinen pohdinta, ei varsinainen empiirinen tutkimus. Esitettävät

[1] Esimerkiksi Johanna Laakso (1999), Petri Kallio (1999) ja muut ovat kritisoineet Wiikin näkemyksiä lähinnä historiallis-vertailevan kielitieteen standarditeorian näkökulmista. Laakso on kritisoinut myös Raukon ja Östmanin näkemyksiä (Laakso 1995). Tämän artikkelin tarkoitus ei ole liittyä suoraan näihin keskusteluihin. Se, millaisia seuraamuksia tässä esitetyllä tarkastelulla on Wiikin ja Künnapin teorioiden uskottavuuden ja tulkintojen kannalta, tulee kuitenkin esille jäljempänä.

[2] Artikkelin esimuodot ovat olleet esillä yleisen kielitieteen tutkijaseminaarissa syksyllä 1999 ja kielentutkimuksen tutkijakoulu Langnetin areaali- ja kontaktilingvistiikan seminaarissa Mekrijärvellä keväällä 2000 sekä Jekaterinburgin Uralin yliopiston toponymistiikan laitoksella keväällä 2000. Virikkeen julkaisemiseen antoi Anneli Sarhimaa. Kiitän häntä sekä Riho Grünthalia, Arja Ahlqvistia ja Ulla-Maija Kulosta artikkelia koskevista kommenteista. Artikkelin taustalla olevien materiaalien keruuseen olen saanut taloudellista tukea Suomalais-Ugrilaiselta Seuralta ja Suomen Kulttuurirahastolta, mistä niin ikään kiitokset.

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ajatukset ovat kuitenkin syntyneet konkreettisia tutkimusmateriaaleja työstettäessä.

Lähtökohtanani on nimistön- ja sanastontutkimus ja Pohjois-Venäjän kielitilanne.[3] Näistä käsin arvioin kielen fonetiikkaa ja morfosyntaksia koskevia substraattiteorioita. Pääpaino artikkelissa on nimenomaan kuolleiden kielten substraattivaikutuksissa, mutta osaa siinä esitetystä tarkastelusta voi soveltaa myös elävien kielten välisiin kontaktilingvistisiin ongelmiin. Artikkelissa käsitellään lähinnä sitä, miten kuolleiden kielten substraattivaikutukset voidaan tunnistaa, miten substraattikieli voidaan luotettavimmin identifioida ja missä määrin kielellistä substraattia voidaan käyttää etnisen historian lähteinä.

Toinen artikkelin tavoite on muistuttaa kontaktilingvistejä paikannimistön olemassaolosta ja etsiä nimistölle paikkaa kielikontaktiteorioissa. Nimistöntutkijat ovat tunnetusti jo kauan analysoineet menestyksellisesti substraattinimistöä sekä etymologisesti että järjestelmänä.[4] Toisaalta lingvistit ovat luoneet kontaktilähtöisestä kielenmuutoksesta monia eri tutkimusperinteisiin liittyviä teorioita, joissa nimistöä ei kuitenkaan ole otettu huomioon. Tämä artikkeli pyrkii antamaan virikkeitä, jotka voisivat johtaa näiden tutkimussuuntien nykyistä parempaan integraatioon.

## SUBSTRAATTITEORIA

### Kielellinen adstraatti, substraatti ja superstraatti

Eräässä perinteisessä kielikontaktien luokittelussa erotetaan *adstraatti*, joka ei johda (tai ei ole vielä johtanut) toista kieltä puhuvan väestön assimiloitumiseen, *substraatista* ja *superstraatista*, joissa on kyse kahden väestön kielellisestä assimilaatiosta. Kielellinen substraatti on — karkeasti ottaen — alkuperäisväestön kielenvaihdon seurauksena heidän kielestään tulokasväestön kieleen siirtyneet tai siinä syntyneet piirteet. Vastaavasti kielellinen superstraatti on lukumääräisesti vähäisen, mutta kulttuurisesti merkittävän (tulokas)väestön kielenvaihdon seurauksena alkuperäisväestön kieleen siirtyneet tai siinä syntyneet piirteet (esim. Veenker 1967: 13–15; Vostrikov 1990: 12; Sarhimaa 1999: 46). Esimerkkinä adstraatista voi toimia suomen ja ruotsin kaksisuuntainen kontakti Suomessa, superstraatista ranskan vaikutus englantiin ja substraatista vaikkapa kelttiläisten kielten vaikutus ranskaan tai baskin vaikutus espanjaan.

Tällainen kontaktitilanteiden jako ei sano mitään kontaktissa tapahtuvista kielellisistä prosesseista, eikä se oikeastaan olekaan mikään kielitieteellinen jako, sillä se perustuu ainoastaan kieliä käyttävien väestöjen kontakteihin (tätä korostaa esim. Tkačenko 1989: 5).

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[3] Pohjois-Venäjällä tarkoitan Euroopan puoleista Pohjois-Venäjää eli lähinnä Karjalan ja Komin tasavaltoja, Arkangelin, Leningradin, Murmanskin ja Vologdan alueita (oblasteja). Koko tätä aluetta yhdistäviä piirteitä ovat seuraavat: 1) alue on ns. Kiovan Venäjän hajottua vuonna 1137 kuulunut lähinnä Novgorodin ruhtinaskunnan vaikutuspiiriin, minkä takia 2) seudun venäläismurteet ovat muinaisnovgorodilaisen kielimuodon jatkajia ja 3) alueella joko on tai on ollut suomalais-ugrilainen alkuperäisväestö.

[4] Täydellisin tämänsuuntainen Suomea koskeva tutkimus on Ritva Liisa Pitkäsen Turunmaan saariston suomalaisnimistöä koskeva tutkimus (1985). Tunnettu on esimerkiksi myös T. I. Itkosen saamelaisnimistöä koskeva katsaus (1948: 88–107). Erityisen pitkä on Venäjän suomalais-ugrilaisen substraattinimistön tutkimushistoria, jota tässä ei tarkemmin käsitellä. Mainittakoon kuitenkin, että merkittävimpiä aihetta käsitelleitä tutkijoita ovat aikajärjestyksessä A. J. Sjögren, M. A. Castrén, August Ahlqvist, D. E. D. Europaeus, Jalo Kalima, Max Vasmer, A. I. Popov, A. K. Matveev ja Arja Ahlqvist.

Jaon kannalta keskeinen kysymys on, assimiloituvatko väestöt toisiinsa ja kumman väestön kieli assimilaation tapauksessa jää jäljelle. Koska luokittelu ei ole lingvistinen, se ei ennusta kielikontaktissa tapahtuvia kielellisiä prosesseja, ja kontaktilingvistiikan tutkijoilla on varsinkin varhemmin ollut hyvin erilaisia käsityksiä siitä, minkälainen vaikutus on luonteenomaista millekin kontaktitilanteelle. Varsin monien kontaktialueille ehdotettujen substraattivaikutusten kohdalla ei ole ollut mahdollista päästä konsensukseen, jonka useimmat tutkijat voisivat hyväksyä.

## THOMASON JA KAUFMAN: LAINA VS. SUBSTRAATTI

Lingvistisesti kunnianhimoisempi kielikontaktien luokittelu on Sarah Grey Thomasonin ja Terrence Kaufmanin esittämä melko vaikutusvaltainen kontaktiteoria (1988; teoriaan esitetyistä täydennyksistä ks. Sarhimaa 1999: 71–72 ja Romaine 1995: 71–72). Se on saamastaan kritiikistä huolimatta edelleen sopiva lähtökohta erilaisten kielikontaktilanteiden tarkasteluun, koska sen tausta-aineistona on laajahko otos eri kielikontaktialueiden materiaaleja kaikkialta maailmasta. Lisäksi ainakin Kalevi Wiik on tehnyt teoriaa tunnetuksi Suomessa (Wiik 1996, 1999).

Myös Thomason ja Kaufman jakavat kielikontaktitilanteet kahteen ryhmään sen mukaan, ovatko kummatkin kontaktoivat kielet säilyneet vai onko toinen kielistä kadonnut. He edellyttävät kuitenkin, että säilymis- ja assimilaatiotapauksissa kielikontaktit vaikuttavat kielen eri osajärjestelmiin toisistaan poikkeavilla tavoilla.

Kielen säilyessä pääasiallinen kielestä toiseen tunkeutuvien vaikutusten integrointitekniikka on lainavaikutus. Lainavaikutukset koskevat kielen osajärjestelmistä herkimmin sanastoa ja sen jälkeen intensiivisempien kontaktien tapauksessa foneettisia, fonologisia ja syntaktisia piirteitä. Vähiten herkästi lainavaikutus ulottuu morfologiaan, josta herkimmin lainautuvat johtomorfeemit ja vähimmin herkästi taivutusmorfeemit.

Jos kielikontaktiin liittyy kielenvaihto, ovat kielestä toiseen tunkeutuvat vaikutukset substraattivaikutuksia. Substraattivaikutus on puutteellisesti uutta kieltä hallitsevien kaksikielisten puhujien kautta kielestä toiseen leviävää vaikutusta, oikeastaan L2-oppijoiden virheiden muuttumista kielen normiksi (Thomason ja Kaufman 1988: 119–121).[5] Substraattivaikutusten hierarkian oletetaan olevan erilainen kuin lainavaikutusten. Ne koskevat ensisijaisesti fonetiikkaa/fonologiaa ja kielen morfosyntaktista rakennetta ja vasta toissijaisesti sanastoa. Tämä johtuu siitä, että sanasto on kielenkäyttäjien keskinäisen ymmärrettävyyden kannalta keskeisin kielen osajärjestelmä, jonka L2-oppijat (eli substraattiväestö) pyrkivät omaksumaan täydellisimmin.

Thomasonin ja Kaufmanin mukaan kaksi perustavaa laatua olevaa erilaista kielikontaktitilannetta[6] voidaan siis kuvata näin:

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[5] Luennoidessaan Helsingissä marraskuussa 1999 Sarah Thomason tuntui jossain määrin lieventäneen kantaansa tässä suhteessa. Hän tuntui painottavan, että myös pitkäkestoisessa kielikontaktissa, jossa väestöassimilaatiota ei tapahdu, syntyy substraattipiirteitä. Kuten jäljempänä käy ilmi, pohjoisvenäläinen materiaali tukee tätä ajatusta.

[6] On jossain määrin epäselvää, ajattelevatko Thomason ja Kaufman lainaamisen ja substraattivaikutuksen ensisijaisesti kahdeksi eri prosessiksi vai kahdeksi erilaiseksi kielikontaktitilanteeksi. Esipuheessaan he ottavat jälkimmäisen kannan, mutta yksittäistapausten käsittelyssä he näyttävät silti noudattavan ensimmäistä tulkintaa.

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| kontaktityyppi | vaikutus leksikossa | vaikutus fonetiikassa ja morfosyntaksissa |
|---|---|---|
| lainautuminen | ensisijainen | vähäinen, todennäköinen vasta intensiivisissä kontakteissa |
| substraattivaikutus | vähäinen, todennäköistä lähinnä paikallisen erikoissanaston omaksuminen | ensisijainen |

Kaavio 1. Lainavaikutus ja substraattivaikutus Thomasonin ja Kaufmanin mukaan.

Thomasonin ja Kaufmanin teoria pyrkii kontaktitilanteessa tapahtuvien kielellisten prosessien systemaattiseen ryhmittelyyn ja siinä mielessä se eroaa edukseen perinteisestä kielikontaktien ryhmittelystä. Sen avulla on mahdollista ainakin jossain määrin ennustaa minkälaisia kielellisiä seurauksia erilaisilla kontaktitilanteilla saattaa olla.

Valitettavasti teoria on kuitenkin hyvin yleisellä tasolla liikkuva skeema, joka pohjaa heterogeeniseen aineistoon. Se ei tarjoa kielenvaihdon tulosten tarkastelulle samanlaista säännönmukaista pohjaa kuin historiallis-vertailevan kielitieteen perusmetodi tarjoaa kielikunnan sisäisten muutosten tarkastelulle. Thomason ja Kaufman itsekin kirjoittavat (1988: 212–213), että kielikontaktissa voimakkaat sosiaaliset syyt saattavat syrjäyttää minkä hyvänsä kielellisen tendenssin. Edelleenkään ei siis ole käytössä metodia, jonka avulla voitaisiin ennustaa hyvin, mitä tapahtuu, kun kielellinen jatkuvuus katkeaa ja kieltä käyttävä väestö hyppää yhden kielikunnan »sukupuun» oksalta toisen kielikunnan »puuhun».

Yritän seuraavassa kuvata suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten ja venäjän kontaktia Pohjois-Venäjällä muun muassa Thomasonin ja Kaufmanin kontaktiteorian avulla. Haluan osoittaa, että sen avulla ei ole mahdollista löytää sellaisia kielikontaktin jälkiä, jotka kelpaisivat etnisen historiantutkimuksen lähteeksi. Samalla yritän esittää, millä tavalla kielellinen substraatti Pohjois-Venäjällä voidaan parhaiten hahmottaa ja miten Thomasonin ja Kaufmanin substraattiteoriaa sen valossa oikein olisi tulkittava.

## SUOMALAIS-UGRILAINEN SUBSTRAATTI POHJOISVENÄLÄISISSÄ MURTEISSA

### Historiallista ja demografista taustaa

Pohjois-Venäjä soveltuu erittäin hyvin substraattiteorioiden kokeilukentäksi. Tämä johtuu siitä, että toisin kuin esimerkiksi kantagermaanista tai kantaslaavista, pohjoisvenäläisistä murteista tiedetään varmasti, että niiden syntyaikana niiden puhujat ovat olleet kontaktissa suomalais-ugrilaisia kieliä puhuneiden väestöjen kanssa. Nämä kontaktit ovat alueittain jatkuneet tähän päivään asti, kun taas toisilla alueilla tiedetään suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten kadonneen niiden puhujien assimiloiduttua venäläisiin.

Pohjois-Venäjällä voidaan siis tarkastella, miten substraattivaikutus tosiasiassa ilmenee ilman, että tarvitsisi ainoastaan hypoteettisesti pohdiskella, onko sellainen ylipäätään ollut mahdollinen. Historiallisesti varmojen substraattialueiden materiaalien tulisi olla avainasemassa, kun esitetään muita, hypoteettisempia substraattioletuksia. Siksi on syytä selvittää, mitä nämä materiaalit sisältävät ja mitä eivät.

Seuraavissa luvuissa käsiteltävien lingvististen faktojen historiallinen tausta on lyhyesti esitettynä seuraava. Venäjän kielen esimuoto kantaslaavi levisi nykyisin yleisimmän käsityksen mukaan Venäjän ydinalueelle 700–900-luvuilla ja Pohjois-Venäjälle muutamia satoja vuosia myöhemmin (esim. Selirand 1992).[7] Muinaisvenäläistä kirjallisuutta on säilynyt 900-luvulta alkaen ja siinä mainitaan pitkin keskiaikaa useita pohjois- ja keskivenäläisiä suomalais-ugrilaisia väestöjä (esim. *korela* 'karjalaiset', *jeḿ* 'hämäläiset', *suḿ* 'suomalaiset', *perḿ* 'permiläiset' *siriane* 'syrjäänit', *jugra* '(obin)ugrilaiset', *tčeremis* 'marit' jne.), jotka ovat kuuluneet ensin venäläisten ruhtinaskuntien, lähinnä Novgorodin, Rostovo-Suzdalin ja Vladimirin sekä sittemmin Moskovan Venäjän yhteyteen. Lisäksi mainitaan väestöjä, jotka ovat kadonneet ja joiden oletetaan assimiloituneen venäläisiin (esim. *merjalaiset*, *muromalaiset*, *meščeralaiset*, *taipaleentakaiset tšuudit*, *toimalaiset* ym.). Näitäkin kansoja on lähinnä niiltä säilyneiden paikannimien ja murresanojen sekä naapurikielten todistuksen takia pidetty suomalais-ugrilaisina (esim. Häkkinen 1996: 189–193). Suomalais-ugrilaisesta asutuksesta on monilla nykyisin venäläistyneillä alueilla, muun muassa Valkeajärven seudulla, Viena-joen vesistössä ja Ylä-Volgalla, myös aivan kiistattomia arkeologisia todisteita (täydellisin yhtenäisesitys aiheeseen liittyvistä arkeologisista lähteistä lienee Rjabinin 1997).

Suomalais-ugrilaisten kansojen assimilaatio venäläisiin on jatkunut viime vuosisadoillakin. Kun esimerkiksi 1500-luvulla Venäjän väestöstä oli kieleltään suomalais-ugrilaisia varmasti yli 10 % ja 1700-luvullakin noin 8 %, niin nykyisin luku on jossain kahden–kolmen prosentin tietämillä (esim. Bátori 1980: 61). Etnisen historian kannalta edellytykset kontaktilähtöiselle kielenmuutokselle ja kielellisen substraatin syntymiselle ovat siis olleet suotuisat, sillä paikoittain ilmeisesti äkillistäkin kielenvaihtoa on tapahtunut. Epäilemättä kontaktit uusien asuinalueiden kielten kanssa olivat yksi niistä tekijöistä, jotka johtivat venäjän kielen ja sen murteiden kehittymiseen sellaisiksi kuin ne nyt ovat.

## FONETIIKAN JA MORFOSYNTAKSIN EHDOTETTUJA SUBSTRAATTIPIIRTEITÄ

Venäjän kielen mahdollisten substraattipiirteiden tutkimushistoria on oikeastaan yhtä vanha kuin slavistiikka ja fennougristiikka itsenäisinä filologian haaroina (tutkimuksen alkuvaiheista esim. Venkeer 1967: 6–13; Stipa 1990: 230; parhaan tutkimushistoriallisen katsauksen sisältänee Matveev 1970, jota on valitettavasti kuitenkin lähes mahdoton saada käsiinsä). Parin vuosisadan aikana on suomalais-ugrilaisiksi substraattipiirteiksi ehditty ehdottaa miltei jokaista piirrettä, joka erottaa venäjän muista slaavilaisista kielistä.

Koska tämän tarkastelun lähtökohdaksi valittu Thomasonin ja Kaufmanin kontaktiteoria olettaa substraattivaikutuksen koskevan ensisijaisesti fonetiikkaa ja morfosyntak-

[7] Vaihtoehtoisen, vanhemman käsityksen mukaan slaavilainen kieli olisi saapunut Länsi-Venäjälle jo 500–600-luvuilla (tätä käsitystä edustaa yhä esimerkiksi Sedov 1994). Tutkijoiden keskuudessa vallitsee yksimielisyys siitä, että slaavit saapuivat Venäjälle lännestä, lähinnä Veikselin ja Oderin altaiden alueilta suuren kansainvaelluksen nimellä tunnetun tapahtumasarjan jälkimainingeissa.

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sia, listaan seuraavassa muutamia venäjän foneettisia ja morfosyntaktisia piirteitä, joita useimmin on ehdotettu suomalais-ugrilaisiksi substraattipiirteiksi (samankaltaisia listoja esittävät esim. Veenker 1967: 163–169 ja Sarhimaa 1995: 213–214). Lista ei pyri olemaan täydellinen, vaan se sisältää ainoastaan keskeisimpiä piirteitä ja rakenteita (Lyhenteet: YK = piirre esiintyy venäjän yleiskielessä[8], PM = piirre esiintyy ainoastaan venäjän pohjoismurteissa.)

Fonetiikka/fonologia: akanje (= painottomien vokaalien redusoitunut ääntämys, YK), okanje (= painottomien vokaalien redusoitumaton ääntämys, PM), konsonanttien palataalisuuskorrelaation synty (YK), äänteitten kvantiteettioppositioitten synty (PM), alkupainoisuuden laajentuminen ja siihen liittyvät painotusjärjestelmän muut muutokset (PM), konsonanttiyhtymien yksinkertaistuminen erityisesti sanan alussa ja muutenkin (PM), klusiilien soinnillisuusoppositioitten heikkeneminen (PM), affrikaattojen ja sibilanttien oppositioitten heikkeneminen ja yhteenlankeamiset, mm. cokanje (c ja č > c) (PM).

Morfosyntaksi: uudet marginaaliset sijat (ns. *locativus interior* ja *genetivus partitivus*, näistä rakenteista ks. Veenker 1967: 86–87) (YK), objektin ilmaiseminen kahdella eri sijalla (YK), nominaalisten lauserakennetyyppien yleistyminen (YK), analyyttisen omistusrakenteen käyttö *habeo*-verbin asemesta (YK), partiaalisen objektin syntyminen (YK), instrumentaalin avulla muodostettava komitatiivikonstruktio (YK), instrumentaalissa oleva väliaikaista tilaa ilmaiseva predikatiivi (YK), nominatiiviobjektilliset lauseet (PM), kopulalliset konstruktiot (PM), predikatiivirakenteet, joissa ei ole genuskongruenssia (PM), nesessiivirakenne jossa on subjekti (PM), substantiivien komparaatio (PM), nominintaivutuksen yksinkertaistumiset (YK, PM), lukuisten vanhojen indoeurooppalaisten sijojen säilyminen (YK).

On itse asiassa yllättävää, että huolimatta tällaisista mahdollisten substraattipiirteitten pitkistä listoista venäjän dialektologiassa ei perinteisesti ole juuri uskottu suomalais-ugrilaiseen substraattivaikutukseen. Suomalais-ugrilainen alkuperä on kiistetty lähes jokaisen ehdotetun foneettisen ja kieliopillisen piirteen kohdalla. Venäjän murteita erottavien foneettisten ja morfosyntaktisten piirteiden kehityksen kuvaus voidaan ja on tapana esittää ilman viittausta kontaktivaikutukseen (pohjoismurteiden osalta esim. Obrazovanie 1970, Gorškova 1968). Tutkimustilanteen kannalta kuvaava on tunnetun venäläisen tutkijan A. K. Matveevin huomautus, että »fonetiikan ja kieliopin piirteiden yhteydessä substraattivaikutuksen *todistaminen* on erittäin vaikeaa niissäkin tapauksissa, joissa substraattikielen ja venäjän rakenteiden välillä vallitsee täydellinen vastaavuus» (Matveev 1970: 6, kursivointi kirjoittajan).

## Substraattivaikutuksen todistamisen vaikeuksia

Substraattivaikutuksen todistamisen vaikeuksien taustalla on laaja historiallis-vertailevan kielitieteen perusperiaatteista seuraava ongelmavyyhti. Yritän seuraavassa havainnollistaa metodeja, joilla kielenmuutoksen kontaktiselitys on perinteisesti tapana todistaa tai kumota.

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[8] Koska Venäjän kielialueen ja kirjakielen normin kehittymisen keskus on vanhalla suomalais-ugrilaisella alueella Keski-Venäjällä, useimmat venäjän yleiskielen muista slaavilaisista kielistä erottavat piirteet sopisivat maantieteellisesti hyvin suomalais-ugrilaisiksi substraattipiirteiksi (esim. Anhava 1998: 49).

Substraattipiirteeksi tunnistettavan piirteen tulee täyttää se historiallis-vertailevasta standardimetodista seuraava ehto, että se on ollut esi-L1:ssa, mutta puuttunut esi-L2:sta. Lisäksi tulee arvioida kyseiseen piirteeseen johtanutta kehitystä kontaktiin osallistuvien kielten murteiden, niiden kielikuntien tyypillisten piirteiden, yleisen tunnusmerkkisyyden ja typologisen yleisyyden kannalta.[9] Tällainen arvio on annettava sekä syntyneestä uudesta piirteestä itsestään että siihen johtaneesta kehityksestä. Seuraava kaavio kuvaa tällaista arviontiprosessia. Kontaktivaikutukseksi voidaan kaikkein helpoimmin todistaa sellainen piirre, joka jokaisen arvioitavan parametrin muodostamalla jatkumolla on mahdollisimman kaukana oikealla.

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|---|---|
| typologisesti yleiset piirteet | typologisesti harvinaiset piirteet |
| yleinen sisäinen kehitys | harvinainen sisäinen kehitys |
| tyypilliset slaavilaiset (indoeurooppalaiset) piirteet | tyypilliset suomalais-ugrilaiset piirteet |
| venäjän murteissa yleiset piirteet<br>tunnusmerkittömät piirteet | venäjän murteissa harvinaiset piirteet<br>tunnusmerkkiset piirteet |
| FU-kielten vaikutus helpompi todistaa →→→→→→ | |

Kaavio 2. Suomalais-ugrilaisen substraattivaikutuksen arvioinnissa huomioon otettavia parametreja.

Esimerkkialueellamme Pohjois-Venäjällä suomalais-ugrilainen substraattivaikutus on siis helpoin todistaa silloin, kun substraattipiirteeksi ehdotettu piirre 1) on maailman kielissä epätyypillinen, 2) edustaa historiallis-vertailevan kielitieteen kannalta epätyypillistä kielensisäistä kehitystä, 3) esiintyy yleisesti suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä, mutta ei ole yleinen slaavilaisissa kielissä eikä venäjän murteissa, ja 4) on tunnusmerkkinen eli kompleksinen, jolloin sen syntyminen pelkästään kielijärjestelmän sisäisistä syistä on epätodennäköistä. Vastaavasti mitä useamman muuttujan kohdalla piirre sijoittuu vasemmalle, sitä vaikeampi on sitovasti osoittaa, että kyseessä on vieras vaikutus. Keskeistä on, että vieras vaikutus ei vasemmalle sijoittuvien piirteiden tapauksissa ole todellisuudessa yhtään vähemmän todennäköinen — ainoastaan sen todistaminen on hankalampaa.

Luonnollisista syistä on varsin vähän sellaisia piirteitä, joiden kohdalla suomalais-ugrilainen substraattivaikutus näyttää erittäin todennäköiseltä, kun sitä tarkastellaan venäjän kielen sisäisen kehityksen valossa kaaviossa kuvatulla tavalla. Asiaa voi havainnollistaa muutamalla esimerkillä.

[9] Typologinen yleisyys ja tunnusmerkkisyys ovat läheisiä käsitteitä ja joissain yhteyksissä ne voivat tarkoittaa samaa asiaa. Seuraavassa ne pidetään kuitenkin erillään, koska ne liittyvät eri tutkimustraditioihin ja sisältävät erilaisia korostuksia. Tunnusmerkkisyys kuvaa lähinnä piirteen tai rakenteen kompleksisuutta yhden kielijärjestelmän sisällä, typologinen yleisyys tarkoittaa rakenteen levinneisyyttä maailman kielissä.

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## Konsonanttien palataalisuuskorrelaatio

Palataalistuneiden ja palataalistumattomien konsonanttien fonologinen oppositio on olemassa useimmissa suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä ja se on jo kantauralilaista perua (esim. Janhunen 1982: 23 rekonstruoi kantauraliin parit *s* ~ *ś*, *n* ~ *ń*, ja *δ* ~ *δ́*). Itämerensuomalaisista kielistä ja myös suomesta vanha palataalisuuskorrelaatio on myöhemmin kadonnut (esim. Laanest 1982: 98).[10] Koska palataalisuuskorrelaatio puuttui kantaslaavista, monet tutkijat ovat pitäneet sitä vahvana ehdokkaana suomalais-ugrilaiseksi substraattivaikutukseksi venäjässä.

Perinteisessä venäjän kielihistoriassa palataalisuuskorrelaation synty on kuitenkin tapana nähdä yhteydessä venäjän redusoituneitten vokaalien 1000–1200-luvuilla tapahtuneeseen katoon (esim. Vostrikov 1990: 28–29; Vlasto 1986: 53–55). Venäjän palataalistuneet konsonantit esiintyvät nimenomaan muinaisen redusoituneen konsonantin edellä. Toinen venäjän palataalistuneiden konsonanttien esiintymisympäristö, etuvokaalin etinen asema, taas on foneettisesti hyvin luonnollinen. Palatalisaatio voinee syntyä tässä asemassa spontaanisti miltei missä tahansa kielimuodossa ja myöhemmin foneemistua, jos jokin antaa siihen kimmokkeen.

Kysymyksen selvittelyä vaikeuttaa se, että niin suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä kuin venäjän murteissakin on hyvin suuri joukko erilaisia palataalisuuskorrelaatiojärjestelmiä. Vielä suurempi on järjestelmien kirjo, jos näiden kielimuotojen rekonstruoidut kantakielet otetaan mukaan kuvaan. Esimerkiksi eräiden Pohjois- ja Keski-Venäjän murteiden heikosti kehittyneen palatalisaation on arveltu johtuvan itämerensuomalaisesta tai sitä lähellä olevasta substraattivaikutuksesta (esim. Sarhimaa 1995: 214; Ahlqvist 1992: 65–72). Vastaavasti toisella puolen kielirajaa, itämerensuomalaisten kielten itäryhmässä, voi palataalisuuskorrelaation arvella levinneen venäjän vaikutuksesta.

Kaikkiaan suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten ja venäjän murteiden palataalisuuskorrelaatiot muodostavat moneen suuntaan aukeavan ongelmavyyhden, jossa kummallakin puolella kielirajaa on etäännytty omaperäisistä lähtökohdista kohti naapurin mallia. Kysymykseen suomalais-ugrilaisesta vaikutuksesta venäjän palataalisuuskorrelaation synnyssä — tai pohjoismurteiden osalta sen osittaisessa katoamisessa — ei voi vastata yksiselitteisesti.

## Soinnillisten konsonanttien soinnin heikkeneminen pohjoismurteissa

Eräiden Arkangelin alueen venäläismurteiden fonetiikan erityispiirteen, soinnillisten konsonanttien ja erityisesti klusiilien soinnin heikkenemisen (esim. Kuznecov 1949: 32), voi nähdä itämerensuomalaisen ääntämistavan vaikutuksena, sillä suurimmassa osassa itämerensuomea ei ole soinnillisia konsonantteja, eikä niitä ollut myöskään itämerensuomalaisten kielten yhteisessä kantakielessä kantasuomessa.

Kehitys soinnillinen > soinniton on kuitenkin tunnusmerkkisen piirteen kato ja tunnusmerkkisyysteoria ennustaa, että juuri tällaiset muutokset ovat »luonnollisia» kehityksiä, joita voi olettaa tapahtuvan ilman vierasta vaikutustakin erityisesti, jos katoavan op-

[10] Esimerkiksi suomen murteissa ja muuallakin itämerensuomessa tavattava palatalisaatio on myöhempää perua.

position funktionaalinen kuormitus on pienehkö. Kehityksen ymmärtämistä kontaktilingvistiikan näkökulmasta vaikeuttaa myös se, että juuri niissä itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä (karjalassa ja vepsässä), jotka maantieteellisesti lähinnä olisivat voineet vaikuttaa venäjän pohjoismurteiden ääntämykseen, on kehittynyt soinnillisia konsonantteja, ainakin osittain ilmeisesti juuri venäjän vaikutuksesta (esim. Sarhimaa 1995: 212; Laanest 1982: 124).

Soinnillisten konsonanttien kuvio muistuttaa siis palatalisaation yhteydessä esiteltyä. Kummallakin puolen kielirajaa on päädytty naapurikielen kantaa muistuttavan normin syntymiseen, mutta kielenmuutoksen kontaktialkuperää ei kummallakaan puolella ole helppo todistaa sitovasti.

## ANALYYTTINEN OMISTUSRAKENNE

Venäjän *habeo*-verbiä vastaavalla *imet'*-verbillä muodostettavan omistusrakenteen korvautumisen useimmissa yhteyksissä analyyttisellä lokatiivista, kopulasta ja subjektista koostuvalla omistusrakenteella (esim. *u menja est' deńgi* PREP-luona minä-GEN kop raha+NOM+PL 'minulla on rahaa') on ajateltu olevan suomalais-ugrilaista vaikutusta, koska suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä on yleensä käytössä vastaava omistusrakenne (vrt. suomen *minulla on raha(a),* komisyrjäänin *menym em śęm* ja monet muut analogiset rakenteet, esim. Veenker 1967: 117–121).

Slavistiikan puolella samainen rakenne on kuitenkin haluttu osoittaa vanhaksi slaavilaiseksi rakenteeksi, koska sen jälkiä on havaittavissa muun muassa kirkkoslaavissa ja muinaisserbissä (Vostrikov 1990: 49–50). Itse asiassa kyseessä on indoeuropeistiikan kannalta jo indoeurooppalaisesta kantakielestä peräisin oleva rakenne, joka on ollut olemassa rinnan habitiivisen verbin kanssa (Martti Leiwon suullinen tiedonanto). Myös typologiselta kannalta lienee lokatiivilla muodostettava habitiivikonstruktio maailman kielissä varsin yleinen.

Tämänkin piirteen tapauksessa substraattivaikutuksen vedenpitävä todistaminen siis kohtaa ylittämättömiä vaikeuksia.

## INSTRUMENTAALISSA OLEVA PREDIKATIIVI

Venäjän väliaikaista olotilaa ilmaisevat instrumentaalin avulla muodostettavat predikatiivirakenteet tyyppiä *on byl soldatom* (hän oli sotilas-INSTR 'hän oli sotilas ~ sotilaana [jonkin aikaa]') muistuttavat itämerensuomen essiivirakenteita, minkä takia niitä on haluttu pitää itämerensuomalaistyyppisen substraattikielen vaikutuksena venäjässä.

Samanlaisia rakenteita on kuitenkin indoeurooppalaisella taholla esimerkiksi venäjän lähisukukielessä puolassa ja arkaaisessa liettuassa, joka sekin on suhteellisen läheistä sukua slaavilaisille kielille. Lisäksi rakenne yleistyi venäjässä melko myöhään, vanhan kirjavenäjän todistuksen mukaan ilmeisesti vasta 1500-luvulta alkaen, mikä ei ajallisesti sovi kovin hyvin yhteen Venäjän ydinalueen suomalais-ugrilaisen väestön kielellisen assimilaation kanssa (Vostrikov 1990: 48; Vlasto 1986: 217–219).

Vaikka itämerensuomen ja venäjän rakenteet muistuttavat toisiaan aina täydelliseen rakenteelliseen isomorfiaan asti, jää substraattivaikutus todistamatta. Itse asiassa rakenteen substraattialkuperää on vahvasti syytä epäillä.

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Edellä esitettyä listaa olisi helppo jatkaa muilla esimerkeillä. Venäjän dialektologian historiassa — ja kontaktilingvistiikassa laajemminkin — on käyty melko paljon keskustelua, jossa toistetaan samankaltaisia, kielikuntien sisäisiin paralleeleihin, typologiseen yleisyyteen ja tunnusmerkkisyyteen pohjaavia argumentteja ehdotettua kontaktivaikutusta vastaan.

Valinta kontaktilähtöisen selityksen puolesta riippuukin yleensä siitä, minkälaisia selitysperusteita tutkija pitää vakuuttavampina, ulkoisia vai sisäisiä, ja siitä, kuinka paljon ja minkälaatuista evidenssiä hän vaatii voidakseen hyväksyä kontaktiselityksen.

Voidaan esittää ainakin seuraavia syitä, miksi substraattivaikutukset eivät käy selvästi ilmi:

1. Todellisuudessa substraattivaikutus on aivan yhtä todennäköistä typologisesti yleisten ja vähemmän tunnusmerkkisten piirteiden kohdalla kuin harvinaisten ja tunnusmerkkisten, mutta tällaisissa tapauksissa sen tunnistaminen on hankalaa. Substraattivaikutusta vastaan voidaan aina esittää, että kyseessä on yleinen tai »luonnollinen» sisäinen kehitys. Tähän mahdollisten substraattivaikutusten ryhmään kuuluvat esimerkiksi äänteiden tunnusmerkkisten piirteiden katoamiset ja monenlaiset taivutusjärjestelmän yksinkertaistumiset.

2. Tunnusmerkkisten rakenteiden muuttuminen vähemmän tunnusmerkkisiksi on paitsi »luonnollinen» kielikunnan sisäisen kehityksen suunta, myös prosessi joka todennäköisesti tapahtuu L2:n oppimisessa. Siksi on odotuksenmukaista, että kielimuodossa, jossa on kielenvaihdon myötä kielestä toiseen siirtyneitä piirteitä, on myös ainakin jonkin verran rakenteita, jotka ovat kehittyneet pikemminkin tunnusmerkittömämpään suuntaan kuin substraattikielen omaan käytäntöön päin (kaksikielisissä puheyhteisöissä tapahtuvista yksinkertaistavista kontaktivaikutuksista ks. esim. Romaine 1995: 72–73).

Hyvin intensiivisten kielikontaktien seurauksena näyttäisi olevan siirtyminen analyyttisiin ja kontaktoivissa kielissä isomorfisiin rakenteisiin. Näin näyttää käyneen esimerkiksi Balkanin kieliliittoon kuuluvissa kielissä (esim. Lindstedt 2000)[11], kolmikielisessä Kupwarin kylässä Intiassa ja nelikielisessä Fort Chipewyan puheyhteisössä Kanadassa (Romaine 1995: 69–70). Myös kreolisoituminen tuntuu tarjoavan tukea ajatukselle, jonka mukaan kielikontaktit hävittävät tunnusmerkkisiä ja synteettisiä rakenteita.[12] Uusien analyyttisten rakenteiden todistaminen nimenomaan kielikontaktin vaikutukseksi on kuitenkin hankalaa, sillä yleisen käsityksen mukaan analyyttiset rakenteet ovat vähemmän tunnusmerkkisiä kuin synteettiset ja typologisesti erittäin yleisiä. Erityisen hankalaa kontaktivaikutuksen todistaminen on silloin, jos kielenmuutoksen lähdekieli on kadonnut ja siksi tarkemmilta ominaisuuksiltaan tuntematon.

Venäjän tapauksessa ehdokkaita L2:n oppimisen yhteydessä tapahtuneiksi yksinkertaistaviksi substraattivaikutuksiksi voisivat olla esimerkiksi nominintaivutuksen yksinkertaistumiset, joita on murteittain monenlaisia (ks. esim. Kuznecov 1949: 37–38; Veenker

[11] Lindstedt analysoi Balkanin kielitilannetta pitkäaikaisen monikielisyyden aikaansaamana kielten lähentymisenä ilman varsinaista kielenmuutosten lähdekieltä.

[12] Thomasonin ja Kaufmanin (1988: 194) mukaan pidgineissä on ainoastaan sellaisia tunnusmerkkisiä piirteitä, jotka ovat kaikissa kielissä, jotka ovat pidginin aineksina. Tämä tuntuisi viittaavan siihen, että kielikontaktissa ei koskaan synny uusia tunnusmerkkisiä rakenteita.

*1967: 80–82). Todennäköisesti nominintaivutuksen yksinkertaistumista tapahtuu L2:n op*pimisen yhteydessä varsin usein — ainakin sellaista voi olettaa tapahtuvan suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten puhujien opiskellessa kieliä, joiden deklinaatiossa on genusoppositioita.

3. Substraattivaikutus saattaa heijastua tunnusmerkkisten piirteiden kadon lisäksi myös tunnusmerkkisten piirteiden ja rakenteiden hyperkorrektina laajentumisena uusiin ympäristöihin. Tällaisetkin muutokset syntyvät substraattikielen vaikutuksesta, mutta näyttävät usein päinvastaisilta kuin olisi odotuksenmukaista, jos substraattikielen piirteet siirtyisivät suoraan L2:een.

Esimerkiksi Keski-Venäjän murteiden fonetiikassa tavataan soinnillisuusopposition kumoutumisen asemesta soinnillisten ja soinnittomien konsonanttien käytön epäjohdonmukaisuutta, jota on pidetty suomalais-ugrilaisten kielenvaihtajien hyperkorrektin ääntämistavan seurauksena (Ahlqvist 1992: 58–70; Vostrikov 1990: 35). Toisella puolen kielirajaa vepsän kielen vanhojen omaperäisten sanojen sporadisia sananalkuisia soinnillisia konsonantteja on mahdollista pitää venäjän kontaktivaikutuksesta syntyneen hyperkorrektin ääntämistavan seurauksena (Tunkelo 1946: 40–44).

Hyperkorrektisuutta voi tulkita monella tavalla. Perinteinen tulkinta on, että alkuperäisväestö on tavoitellut vierasta ääntämystä, jolla on »prestiisiä». Neutraalimpi tulkinta olisi, että kaksikielisillä henkilöillä molempien kielten äännejärjestelmät vaikuttavat toisiinsa ja introdusoivat muutoksia, joista osa saattaa jäädä pysyviksi (myös Romainen esittämä psykolingvistinen koeaineisto tukee käsitystä, jonka mukaan kaksikielisen henkilön kumpikin kielijärjestelmä on puheentuottamisessa aktiivinen. Ks. 1995: 92–107).

4. Kontaktilähtöinen kielenmuutos näyttää olevan todennäköisin silloin, kun kontaktoivat kielet muutenkin ovat melko samankaltaisia. Tällöin L1:n kategorioiden on helpompi kotiutua L2:een, jossa ne täyttävät järjestelmän »aukkoja» (esim. Romaine 1995: 74). Esimerkiksi kielen foneettisessa järjestelmässä jo olemassa olevien allofonien foneemistuminen vieraan kielen vaikutuksesta on tyypillinen esimerkki tällaisesta kontaktilähtöisestä muutoksesta. Morfosyntaksin alalla esimerkki tällaisesta vaikutuksesta voisi olla vanhan suomalais-ugrilaisen asyndeettisen rinnastuksen korvautuminen venäjästä lainatuilla rinnastuskonjunktioilla useissa Venäjän suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä. Tässä tapauksessa sekä rakenne että siihen liittyvät konjunktiot on lainattu samalta taholta ja ne ovat korvanneet alkuperäisen samaa funktiota täyttäneen rakenteen.

Ilmeisesti kontaktivaikutukset ovat suhteellisesti harvinaisempia typologisesti kovin kaukana toisistaan olevien kielten välillä. Tätä näyttäisi osoittavan esimerkiksi se, että Balkanin muinainen valtiollinen valtakieli, agglutinatiivisiin kieliin kuuluva turkki, on jäänyt Balkanin kieliliiton (jossa on vain indoeurooppalaisia kieliä) ulkopuolelle. Toisaalta kontaktoivien kielten typologinen samankaltaisuus vaikeuttaa edelleen substraattivaikutusten siivilöimistä esiin.[13]

5. Substraattivaikutus voi myös säilyttää vanhoja omaperäisiä piirteitä. Säilyttävä substraattivaikutus ei useinkaan joudu lingvistien huomion kohteeksi, jos lähtökohtana on yksinomaan kielikunnan sisäinen historia. Tällaisessa yhteydessä lienee asiallista puhua ainoastaan tukevasta kontaktivaikutuksesta. Esimerkiksi se, että venäjä on säilyttänyt run-

[13] Johanna Laakso on hiljan käsitellyt muutamia suomalais-ugrilaisen kielihistorian ongelmia, joissa kontaktivaikutus ja omaperäinen kehitys vaihtoehtoina hämärtyvät. Myös Laakso ottaa kannan, jonka mukaan kontaktivaikutuksina siirtyy lähinnä rakenteita, jotka sopivat hyvin yhteen kielessä jo olevien rakenteiden kanssa, mikä vaikeuttaa kontaktivaikutusten identifioimista (Laakso 2000).

▷

saasti sijoja verrattuna muihin indoeurooppalaisiin kieliin, voidaan haluttaessa nähdä osittain Venäjän alueen lukuisten agglutinatiivisten kielten vaikutuksena[14] (ks. Vostrikov 1990: 43; Veenker 1967: 81).

Koska yksittäisten substraattipiirteiltä vaikuttavien piirteiden todistaminen kontaktivaikutukseksi törmää monenlaisiin vaikeuksiin, kirjoittavat Thomason ja Kaufman varsin järkevästi, että substraattivaikutuksen todennäköisyys kasvaa, jos substraattipiirteiltä näyttäviä piirteitä löytyy useista kielen eri osajärjestelmistä (1988: 58). Itse asiassa Thomason ja Kaufman analysoivat edellä esitetyn kaltaista aineistoa siten, että kunkin yksittäisen muutoksen substraattilähtöisyyden todistamisvaikeuksista huolimatta mahdolliset substraattipiirteet todistavat kokonaisuutena suomalais-ugrilaisesta vaikutuksesta venäjän kielen fonetiikassa ja morfosyntaksissa (mts. 239–251).

Tällainen analyysi ei kuitenkaan kykene ratkaisemaan kielenmuutoksen lähdekielen määrittelyn ongelmaa. Se ei myöskään auta poimimaan kadonneiden kielten substraattivaikutuksia erilleen elävien suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten vaikutuksesta syntyneistä piirteistä. Koska suomalais-ugrilaisia kieliä puhutaan hyvin monin paikoin Venäjällä ja koska niiden keskinäinen diversiteetti on varsin suuri, juuri kielenmuutoksen lähdekielen tarkempi määrittely on keskeinen haaste, jotta kielellistä substraattia voitaisiin menestyksellisesti käyttää etnisen historian lähteenä.

## LEKSIKAALINEN SUBSTRAATTI MORFOSYNTAKTISEN JA FONEETTISEN KIELENMUUTOKSEN LÄHDEKIELEN MÄÄRITTÄJÄNÄ

### Leksikaalinen substraatti Pohjois-Venäjän murteissa

1 300–1 000 vuotta sitten, kun kantaslaavi levisi nykyiselle Venäjän ydinalueelle, suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten sisäiset erot olivat jo hyvin syviä. Nykyisten suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten eri ryhmien kantamuodot olivat jo olemassa. Suurin osa ehdotetuista venäjän kielen morfosyntaktisista ja foneettisista substraattipiirteistä on kuitenkin ainoastaan hyvin yleisessä mielessä suomalais-ugrilaisia. Jos etsimme suomalais-ugrilaista substraattia ainoastaan venäjän fonetiikasta ja morfosyntaktista, ei löytämämme substraatti anna kovin paljon tietoa suomalais-ugrilaisten ja venäläisten kontakteista. Useimpien ehdotettujen piirteiden tapauksessa ei saisi tietää venäläisten ja suomalais-ugrilaisten kontakteista edes sitä, minkä suomalais-ugrilaisten väestöjen kanssa venäläiset ovat kontaktoineet.

Millainen kielellinen substraatti sitten voisi kertoa jotakin suomalais-ugrilaisten kansojen ja venäläisten kontakteihin osallistuneista väestöistä? Millainen kielellinen substraatti voisi toimia etnisen historian lähteenä? Ainakin kaikki sellainen aines, jolla on etymologisesti tuon tai tämän suomalais-ugrilaisen kielimuodon yhteyteen kuuluva materiaalinen muoto. Kysymykseen tulee siis lähinnä sanasto, mukaan lukien nimistö ja morfeemit. Sivulla 398 esitettyä listaa venäjän ehdotetuista suomalais-ugrilaisista substraattipiirteistä voisikin jatkaa seuraavilla morfologian ja leksikon piirteillä:

[14] Mikään ei tietenkään pakota tällaiseen ratkaisuun, sillä myös monissa venäjän lähisukukielissä on runsaasti sijoja.

Morfologia: Murteittain on lainattu johtimia, esimerkiksi verbien kausatiivi- ja frekventatiivijohtimia sekä sanan- ja nimenmuodostussuffikseja.

Appellatiivit: yleiskielen suomalais-ugrilaisten sanojen määrä on melko vähäinen, (muutamia kymmeniä sanoja), mutta murteissa tavataan useita tuhansia eri suomalais-ugrilaisista kielistä peräisin olevia sanoja enimmäkseen melko spesifeissä merkityskentissä (klassinen lähde on esimerkiksi Kalima 1919, mutta sen jälkeen on tullut useita satoja uusia etymologioita; parhaillaan on valmisteilla myös venäjän murteiden suomalais-ugrilaisten lainasanojen sanakirja, josta antaa näytteitä Kabinina ym. 1999).

Paikannimistö: Keski- ja Pohjois-Venäjän nykyisin täysin venäläistyneillä alueilla on erittäin paljon suomalais-ugrilaisista kielistä peräisin oleva paikannimiä, esimerkiksi A. K. Matveevin mukaan jopa yli 100 000 nimeä pelkästään Arkangelin ja Vologdan alueilla (suullinen arvio). Alueittain substraattikielistä peräisin olevat paikannimet muodostavat jopa 10–15 % koko nimistöstä ja 80–90 % hydronyymeistä (esim. Simina 1980: 18–19).

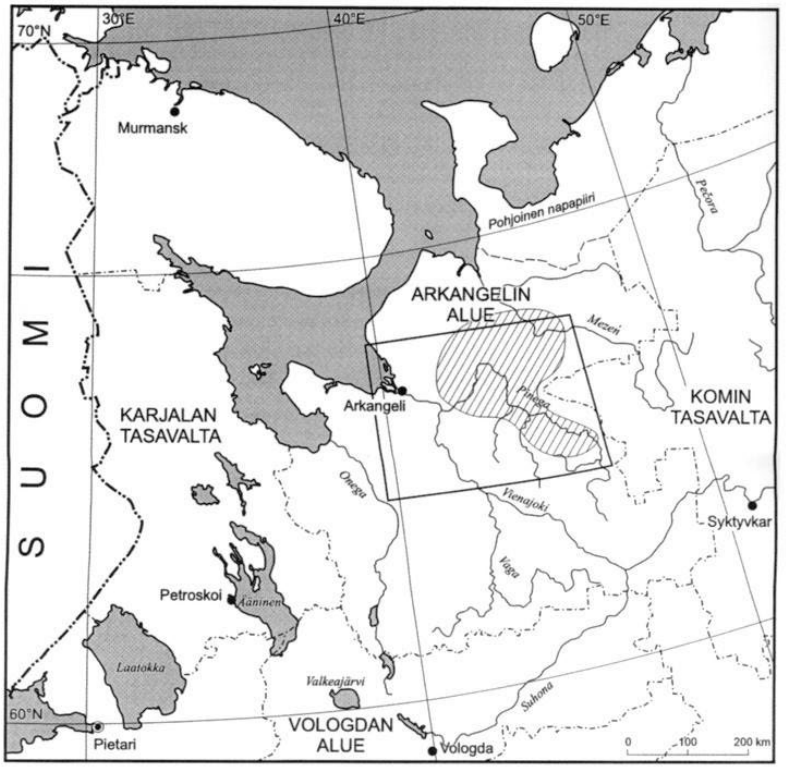
Useimmat venäjän kielen suomalais-ugrilaisista kielistä lainatut morfeemit, murresanat ja varsin suuri osa paikannimistäkin on etymologioitavissa joko jonkin nykyisen suomalais-ugrilaisen kielen tai kieliryhmän tai sitten sen historiallisesti melko läheisten kantamuotojen yhteyteen. Tämä onkin odotuksenmukaista, kun tiedetään, että suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten ja venäjän kontaktit ovat vanhimmillaankin vain noin 1 300 vuotta vanhoja.

Substraattinimien ja murresanojen avulla voidaan monissa tapauksissa melko eksaktisti vastata kysymykseen, miten venäjään eri alueilla vaikuttaneet substraatti- ja adstraattikielet suhtautuvat suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten sukupuuhun. Tähän foneettisen ja morfosyntaktisen substraatin analyysi ei useimmissa tapauksissa yllä.

## ESIMERKKI: VIENAJOEN VESISTÖN ITÄMERENSUOMALAINEN SANASTO JA NIMISTÖ

Venäjän pohjoismurteissa tavataan ryhmä itämerensuomalaisia lainasanoja Vienajoen vesistössä, lähinnä sen alajuoksulla ja itäisen sivujoen Pinegan sekä Jäämereen virtaavaan Mezenin varrella. Tällaisia sanoja ovat esim. *káska* 'niitty, nuori metsä' < ims., vrt. suomen *kaski*, *tájbola* 'metsätie' < ims., vrt. suomen *taival*, *taipale*, *sálma* 'salmi' < ims., vrt. suomen *salmi*, *újta* 'märkä paikka metsässä, jossa kasvaa heinää' < ims., vrt. suomen *uittu* 'heinää kasvava notkelma', *šélja* 'vaara, selänne' < ims., vrt. suomen *selkä*, *sel(j)änne* ja monet muut. Kartta 1 osoittaa tällaisten sanojen summittaisen levikin. (Levikkilähteenä on käytetty Arkangelin murresanakirjan *Arhangel'skij oblastnyj slovarin* materiaaleja, joita säilytetään Moskovan valtionyliopiston filologisen tiedekunnan venäjän dialektologian laitoksella; myös Komjagina (1994: 228) puhuu Arkangelin »koillisesta sanastoalueesta», joskaan hän ei käsittele ainoastaan suomalais-ugrilaista lainasanastoa vaan Arkangelin alueen murteiden sanastoa laajemminkin.)

Näitä itämerensuomalaisia lainasanoja ei joko tavata missään nykyisten itämerensuomalaisten kielten naapurustossa puhuttavissa venäläismurteissa tai sitten niiden merkitys tai muoto ovat muilla alueilla siinä määrin erilaisia, että on syytä olettaa Vienajoen alueen lainasanojen lainautuneen nykyisistä itämerensuomalaisista lähteistä riippumatta. Sanojen levikki kaukana nykyisistä itämerensuomalaisista kielistä antaa aiheen olettaa, että kyseessä ovat paikalliset lainat alueen substraattikielistä, jotka ovat olleet itämerensuoma- ▷



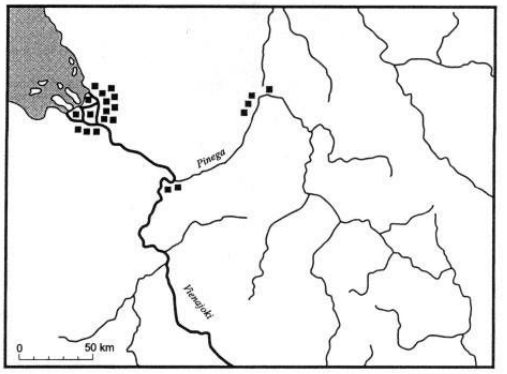

Kartta 1. Itäisen itämerensuomalaisperäisen substraattisanaston summittainen levikki Arkangelin alueen venäläismurteissa on varjostettu, neliö osoittaa pienemmän kartan alueen.

laisia (olen käsitellyt aihetta tarkemmin pro gradu -työssäni (1998), jossa myös esitellään enemmän kerrostumaan kuuluvaa sanastoa. Samaa sanastokerrostumaa on hieman eri näkökulmasta tutkinut myös Koževatova 1997).

Lisätodisteita Vienajoen vesistön muinaisen itämerensuomalaisen asutuksen puolesta antavat Vienan altaan naapurissa puhuttavan komisyrjäänin kielen Udoran ja Ižvan murteiden itämerensuomalaiset lainasanat[15] sekä alueen muinaiseen, mahdollisesti karjalaiseen asutukseen liittyvät *korela*-etnonyymit (kartta 2 s. 407, lähde Popova 1999).

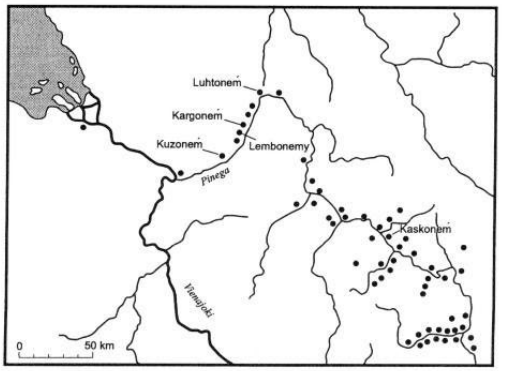
Merkittävin kielellinen jäänne Vienajoen altaan muinaisesta itämerensuomalaisesta asutuksesta on kuitenkin suhteellisen runsas itämerensuomalaista alkuperää oleva appellatiivikantainen paikannimistö, josta seuraavien sivujen kartat 3, 4 ja 5 sisältävät joitakin esimerkkejä.

[15] Se seikka, että komisyrjäänin läntisissä murteissa on itämerensuomalaisia lainasanoja, on yleisesti tunnettu. Eniten niitä on Vienan sivujokeen Pinegaan rajoittuvassa, Vaška-joen altaassa puhuttavassa Udoran murteessa; tästä ks. esim. Turkin 1985: 57.




Kartta 2. Vienajoen vesistön *korela*-nimet (lähde: Popova 1999).

Kartta 3 kuvaa *-neḿ, -nema, -mina, -mena* ja *-meḿ*-päätteisten nimien levikkiä Matveevin (1970) mukaan. Nämä nimet ovat valtaosassa tapauksia saaneet alkunsa itämerensuomalaisten kielten *niemi*-sanueesta ja ne nimeävät ensisijaisesti joen mutkia sekä niissä sijaitsevia heinämaita. Karttaan on merkitty muutamia edustavia itämerensuomalaisperäisiä määriteosia todennäköisine etymologioineen.[16]

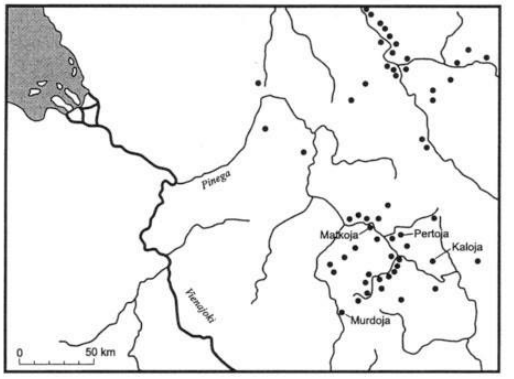



Kartta 3. Pinegan ja lähialueiden *neḿ/meḿ*-päätteiset nimet (lähde: Matveev 1970). Karttaan on merkitty muutamia itämerensuomalaisperäisiä määriteosia: *Kuzoneḿ* < **Kuusiniemi*, *Kargoneḿ* < **Karhiniemi*, *Lembonemy* < **Lempiniemi*, *Luhtoneḿ* < **Luhtaniemi*, *Kaskoneḿ* < **Kaskiniemi*.

[16] Tässä artikkelissa ei ole tarkoitus esitellä Pohjois-Venäjän paikannimien etymologioinnin kysymyksiä yksityiskohtaisesti. Valittu esimerkkiaineisto on tarkoituksellisen »läpinäkyvää». Mainittakoon kuitenkin, että esimerkiksi *neḿ*-nimissä esiintyy myös alkuperältään vähemmän yksiselitteisiä määriteosia.

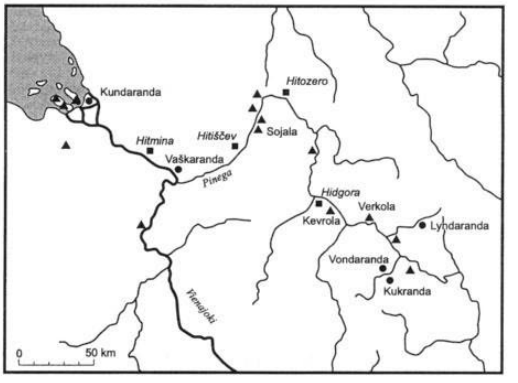
▷

Kartassa 4 esiteltyjen *-oja* ja *oj*-päätteisten hydronyymien taustalla lienee useimmissa tapauksissa itämerensuomalaisten kielten *oja*-sanue. Ne nimeävät pieniä puroja. Karttaan on myös merkitty muutamia edustavia itämerensuomalaisperäisiä määriteosia.




Kartta 4. Pinegan ja Mezenin *oj-/oja*-päätteiset nimet (lähde niin ikään Matveev 1970). Itämerensuomalaisperäisiä määriteosia ovat muun muassa *Matkoja* < **Matkaoja*, *Pertoja* < **Perttioja* (vrt. karjalan *pertti* = *pirtti*), *Kaloja* < * *Kalaoja*, *Murdoja* < **Murto-oja*.

Kartta 5 esittelee vielä muutamia muita tyyppejä edustavia, yksittäisiä itämerensuomalaisista kielistä peräisin olevia nimiä: *randa*-päätteiset maastonimet (< ims. *ranta*-sanueesta), kolme *hit/hid*-kantaista nimeä, jotka liittynevät itämerensuomalaisten kielten *hii-*




Kartta 5. Pallolla on merkitty *randa*-päätteisten rantojen nimet, neliöllä *hit*-kantaiset nimet, joiden taustalla on itämerensuomalainen *hiisi*-sanue, ja kolmiolla *la*-suffiksilliset asutusnimet, joista muutamia esimerkkejä (lähde Matveev 1970; *hit*-nimien osalta kartta on täydennetty Uralin yliopiston paikannimikokoelmasta (Substratnaja kartoteka severno-russkoj toponimičeskoj ekspedicii Ural'skogo universiteta).

*si*-sanueeseen, sekä *la*-päätteiset asutusnimet.[17]

Kun tiedämme edellä esitetyt sanaston ja nimistön faktat, on helpompi asettaa oikeisiin puitteisiin myös alueen venäläismurteiden foneettiset erikoispiirteet, esimerkiksi edellä mainitut soinnillisten klusiilien soinnin ja palataalisuuskorrelaation heikkous. Todennäköisesti niidenkin synnyssä itämerensuomalaistyyppisellä substraattikielellä on ollut osuutensa.

## NIMISTÖN ASEMA KIELIKONTAKTITEORIASSA

Esimerkin tarkoitus on osoittaa kaksi asiaa. Ensinnäkin helpoimmin kielellisiä substraattipiirteitä voi Pohjois-Venäjällä löytää sanastosta ja ennen kaikkea nimistöstä. Toiseksi juuri sanastomaantieteellisellä nimistöntutkimuksella ja sanastomaantieteellä on Pohjois-Venäjällä avainasema argumentoitaessa myös muiden kielen osajärjestelmien suomalais-ugrilaisen substraatin puolesta. Jos leksikaalista evidenssiä ei olisi, substraattioletus jäisi helposti leijumaan ilmaan todistamattomana — kuten se itse asiassa venäjän fonologian ja morfosyntaksin kehityksen kuvauksessa on jäänytkin venäläisen dialektologian valtavirrassa.

Leksikaalisen substraatin avainasema johtuu ennen kaikkea siitä, että lekseemien (ja morfeemien) alkuperästä ei voi yleensä nousta sellaisia epäilyjä kuin foneettistesta ja kieliopillisesta substraatista — näistä annettiin edellä esimerkkejä. Nimien lisäksi myös murresanat tarjoavat yleensä hyviä mahdollisuuksia erotella varsinaisia substraattikielistä peräisin olevia elementtejä niistä leksikaalisista elementeistä, jotka ovat peräisin elävistä suomalais-ugrilaisista kielistä. (Keskeinen kriteeri on yleensä lekseemin tai jonkin sen variantin levikki. Aiheesta tarkemmin esim. Ahlqvist 1998: 6–7.)

Thomason ja Kaufman esittävät, että substraattivaikutus rajoittuu lähinnä fonetiikkaan ja morfosyntaksiin siksi, että sanat ovat ihmisten välisessä kommunikaatiossa kaikkein keskeisin kielen osajärjestelmä ja siksi L2-oppijat (substraattiväestö) painottavat niiden omaksumista. Nimien kanssa lienee kuitenkin päinvastoin: ihmisten kommunikaatiota kielirajan yli helpottaa, jos kontaktoivat väestöt eivät luo kahta toisistaan riippumatonta erikielistä nimijärjestelmää.

Nimien helpon siirtymisen kielirajan yli mahdollistaa se, että nimet ovat yksiviitteisiä ja että ne voivat olla semanttisesti tyhjiä (näistä nimien ominaisuuksista ks. esim. Ainiala 1997: 17 ja siinä mainittu kirjallisuus). Siksi onkin odotuksenmukaista, että paikannimet ovat sisältämiensä leksikaalisten elementtien osalta toisaalta konservatiivisia, toisaalta innovatiivisia. Koska nimi voi olla semanttisesti tyhjä, nimistössä voi säilyä merkityksettömiksi käyneitä vanhentuneita appellatiiveja. Toisaalta nimen semanttinen tyhjyys mahdollistaa myös sen, että lekseemejä voi siirtyä kielestä toiseen kun niiden status muuttuu appellatiivista propriksi.

Kielikontaktissa paikannimet siirtyvät kielestä toiseen sikäli kuin paikoista, joita ne nimeävät, on syytä puhua kielirajan kummallakin puolen. Nimien yhteys paikkoihin, joita ne nimeävät, on hyvin kiinteä, ja kielikontaktissa niiden käytös muistuttaakin paikalli-

[17] Vaikka *la*-lokatiiviaines on olemassa useimmissa suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä, tunnetaan *la*-aineksinen oikonyymisuffiksi ainoastaan itämerensuomalaisista kielistä (esim. Mullonen 1994: 74–75). Vienajoen vesistön *la*-asutusnimistä ainakin osa saattaa kuitenkin kuulua johonkin muuhun nimityyppiin, lähinnä venäjän *a*-päätteisiin feminiineihin omaksuttuihin *l*-loppuisiin joennimiin, joiden taustalla lienee useimmiten komisyrjäänin sana *jel'* 'puro'.

▷

siin luonnonmuodostelmiin ja elinkeinoihin liittyvää sanastoa, joka yleensä niin ikään omaksutaan kielestä toiseen sanojen tarkoitteen tullessa tutuksi. Edellä esitellyt Vienajoen vesistön venäläismurteiden lainasanat ovatkin valtaosaltaan tällaista sanastoa.

Summaan edellä esitetyn seuraavasti: Kontaktilingvistiikassa yleinen käsitys kielellisestä substraatista, jota muun muassa Thomason ja Kaufman edustavat, kuuluu: kielellinen substraatti näkyy ensisijaisena fonetiikassa ja morfosyntaksissa ja vain vähäisemmässä määrin leksikossa. Tätä vastaan voidaan edellä sanotun valossa esittää: Foneettisten ja morfosyntaksin piirteiden substraattialkuperän osoittaminen on harvoin yksiselitteisesti mahdollista. Sen sijaan leksikaalisen substraatin, ennen kaikkea nimistön, alkuperä on yleensä helppo osoittaa, jos elävissä kielissä on olemassa vertailukohtia.

Koska uusien lekseemien alkuperä on useimmiten kiistattomampi kuin foneettisten ja kieliopillisten muutosten, ne voivat toimia eräänlaisena foneettisen ja morfosyntaktisen substraatin indeksinä. Substraattinimistön olemassaoloa voidaan pitää kriteerinä, joka antaa konkreettisen taustan muunkinlaisen kielellisen substraatin olettamiselle. Jos substraattinimistöä ei ole, tällainen konkreettinen tausta tulisi löytää muuten, esimerkiksi arkeologian tai genetiikan avulla.

## Onko Pohjois-Venäjän kielellinen substraatti kielenvaihdon tulos?

Sellainen samasta lähteestä peräisin oleva foneettinen, morfosyntaktinen, leksikaalinen ja paikannimistöä koskeva vaikutus, jonka Pohjois-Venäjällä tapaamme, asettaa kyseenalaiseksi, kuinka hyvin lainan ja substraattivaikutuksen välinen jyrkkä ero soveltuu alueen kuolleiden kielten vaikutusten tutkimiseen. Tällä kysymyksellä on keskeinen merkitys esimerkiksi Wiikin ja Künnapin substraattiteorioiden arvioinnin kannalta ja laajemminkin.

Venäjän pohjoismurteiden synnyn taustalla on hyvin monimutkainen todellisuus: siihen on kuulunut eriasteista suomalais-ugrilais-venäläistä kaksikielisyyttä, sanojen, nimien, äänne- ja morfosyntaksin piirteiden lainaamista puolin ja toisin sekä myös alueellista kielellistä assimilaatiota ja kielenvaihtoa, joka sekin on varsinkin varhaisina aikoina ollut todennäköisesti kaksisuuntaista. Tästä kielikuntien välisen kontaktilingvistiikan tarpeisiin piirretystä kuvasta puuttuu vielä venäjän murteiden välinen interferenssi, joka sekin levittää alun perin substraattipiirteinä omaksuttuja vaikutuksia murteesta toiseen — ja peittää niitä, ainakin nykyisenä yleiskielen voimakkaan leviämisen aikana. Yksinkertainen ja »siisti» kielenvaihdon malli ei sovellu kovin hyvin Pohjois-Venäjän murteiden substraattipiirteiden synnyn tarkasteluun.

Samankaltainen kombinaatio intensiivisiä lainakontakteja ja kielenvaihtoa lienee myös esimerkiksi germaanisten ja itämerensuomalaisten kielten vuosituhansia jatkunut kontakti, ja myös saamen ja suomen kontakteissa on tällaisia piirteitä.[18]

[18] Kuten tunnettua Lauri Posti (1953: 88) halusi selittää joukon yhteisitämerensuomalaisia äänteenmuutoksia ja muun muassa astevaihtelun synnyn germaanisesta vaikutuksesta aiheutuneeksi. Hiljattain Petri Kallio on arvioinut hänen teoriaansa uudemman tutkimuksen valossa ja todennut, että teorian revisioitua versiota on mahdollista puolustaa tänäänkin (Kallio 2000). Todettakoon tässä yhteydessä ohimennen, että myös paikannimistö todistaa suomalaisiin assimiloituneista, vanhoista germaanisista superstraattiväestöistä Länsi-Suomessa (esim. Vahtola 1983). Saamen kielestäkin on Sisä-Suomen murteisiin jäänyt sekä paikannimiä että sanastoa (paikannimien osalta esim. T. I. Itkonen 1948, sanaston osalta esim. Korhonen 1979 ja Itkonen 1993). Hiljan (1998: 187) on Pekka Sammallahti esittänyt, että saamelainen substraatti on saattanut vaikuttaa myös tiettyjen suomen murteiden foneettisten erityispiirteiden, kuten savolaismurteiden diftongien, syntymiseen.

Tässä esitetyn kaltaisen pohdinnan tulisi asettaa suitsia kevyesti tehtailluille kielenvaihtoteoriaan pohjautuville substraattioletuksille. Esimerkiksi Kalevi Wiik ja Ago Künnap ovat Thomasoniin ja Kaufmaniin nojautuen ja sivulla 398 esittämäni kaltaisten pitkien listojen avulla yrittäneet todistella, että germaanisissa ja slaavilaisissa kielissä on suomalais-ugrilainen substraatti, joka näkyy erityisesti fonetiikassa ja morfosyntaksissa. Olen halunnut osoittaa, että ainakin venäjän suomalais-ugrilaisen substraatin tapauksessa tällaiset listat ovat melko hedelmättömiä. Ne todistavat venäjän kielen suomalais-ugrilaisen substraatin puolesta ainoastaan yhdessä sanaston ja nimistön kanssa.[19]

Empiirinen substraattitutkimus ei voi nojata ainoastaan fonetiikan ja morfosyntaksin piirrelistoihin, sillä sen on arvioitava jokaisen piirteen kontaktilähtöisen synnyn todennäköisyyttä melko ankaralla metodiikalla. Viime kädessä todistusvelvollisuus substraatin puolesta näyttää joissakin tapauksissa olevan sanastolla ja nimistöllä — vaikka sanastoa sitten siirtyisikin vähemmän kuin lainakontakteissa, kuten Thomason ja Kaufman teoriassaan edellyttävät. Toisaalta substraattinimistön ja -sanaston olemassaolo tarjoaa usein lisäargumentteja kontaktilähtöisen kielenmuutoksen puolesta sellaisissa tapauksissa, joissa pelkkä foneettisten ja morfosyntaktisten uudennosten analyysi ei kykene todistamaan kielenmuutosta kontaktilähtöiseksi.

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[19] Petri Kallio (1999) onkin huomauttanut, että germaanisten kielten substraattisanasto ei ole suomalais-ugrilaista alkuperää. Pohjoisvenäläinen materiaali antaa aiheen olettaa, että sikäli kuin germaanisten kielten fonetiikassa ja morfosyntaksissa on substraattipiirteitä, niiden alkuperää ei ole etsittävä suomalais-ugrilaisista kielistä vaan tietenkin samalta suunnalta kuin näiden kielten leksikaalisia substraattivaikutuksiakin.

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## CONTACT-INDUCED LINGUISTIC CHANGE, LINGUISTIC SUBSTRATE AND SUBSTRATE PLACE NAMES

The article focuses on contact-induced linguistic change, using as an example Finno-Ugrian substrate features in North Russian dialects.

In contact linguistics and substrate research the practice has been to refer principally to the theory presented by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and to distinguish a loan effect and a substrate effect, which influence the subsystems of the language in a different hierarchical manner. The loan effect is seen as affecting primarily the lexicon, and the substrate effect as affecting phonetics and morphosyntax. In practice, however, it is difficult to distinguish the morphosyntactical and phonetic innovations created by the effect of the substrate language from the language-internal development.

The writer considers the difficulties of verifying the contact effect using the material from northern Russia. Regarding the phonetic and morphosyntactical features, it is found that the substrate effect is easiest to prove for marked and typologically rare structures, which are, however, generally few. It is further stated that the substrate language effect may be reflected as a loss of markedness in the once marked structures of the L2 language; as a transfer to a more analytical manner of expression; or as a hypercorrect application of marked features lacking in the substrate language. In the case of the North Russian dialects, the substrate effect on phonetic and morphosyntactical features is often disputed, because Slavic or Indo-European parallels have been shown for these features. In contrast to what the Thomason and Kaufman theory would suggest, the writer proposes that, in verifying the substrate effect in North Russian, it is the lexicon and above all place names that are the key. Place names and the areal distribution of lexemes in the dialects provide a concrete historical background against which the proposed phonetic and morphosyntactical substrate features seem more probable than before. ■

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# English summary of the contents of article 1

Because the article 1 was published in Finnish, a brief summary of its contents is presented here in English.

This article discusses the possibilities of demonstrating Finno-Ugrian substrate interference in the northern Russian dialects, laying special emphasis on the verifiability of morphosyntactic and phonetic/phonological substrate interference. These are contrasted with the lexical substrate phenomena, most notably the borrowing of geographical vocabulary and toponymy.

To begin with, the overall social and historical context of Russian-Finnic language contacts in the area is described. After that, the reader is presented with the notion of linguistic substrate both in the classical meaning and in the meaning used by Thomason and Kaufman. It is found that in northern Russia all the usual preconditions for linguistic substrate interference to take place exist. Several proposed substrate features from both literary Russian and the northern dialects are listed and some of them are scrutinised in detail.

It will be observed that the case of the devoicing of voiced stops in some northern Russian dialects represents the development of a marked feature in an unmarked direction and it is therefore not obvious that the Uralic substrate language caused this change in northern Russian. It is further argued that in the neighbouring Finnic languages an opposite change has occurred: a series of voiced stops has originated. In the scholarly literature, this has often been connected with Russian interference. Thus, it is doubtful how well the geographically closest Finnic languages fit into the characteristics of the proposed substrate.

It is further noted that while a Finno-Ugrian substrate has been considered to lie behind Russian palatisation, this same innovation has also continuously been explained without the assumption of a substrate interference. The fact that palatisation in Russian occurs before a front vowel is that feature of palatisation most common in the languages of the world and probably no additional explanation for it needs to be given. Fonemicisation of palatisation would thus be connected with the disappearance of the yers.

In case of the Russian *habeo*-construction (*у меня есть X* pro *я имею X*+Acc.) it is noted that although this structure is similar to that of the Finno-Ugrian languages, parallel structures exist also in the other Slavic languages. It is thus not imperative to argue that this feature has come about due to language contact and, in fact, the Finno-Ugrian influence in this particular case has been explicitly denied by some scholars.

The fourth example scrutinised is the use of Russian instrumental case in constructions which express a temporary state (*Он был учителем* ‘he was a teacher’ literally: “he was as a teacher”). The similarity of this construction to Finnic essive-constructions has been demonstrated by several scholars but the assumption of Finno-Ugrian substrate has remained unproven even in this case.

This is because of the late appearance of this construction in literary Russian (16th century) and the fact that there are analogical constructions in other Slavic languages.

After these sceptical remarks, some reasons why linguistic substrate features are not easily discernable are listed. It is noted that the proposed substrate features have traditionally been denied on the basis of the fact that there are parallels for them in other dialects of Russian or in other Slavic languages. Many sceptics have also observed that such developments are also found in other contexts, where they are not related to substrate interference in any way. Furthermore, it is often argued that the assumed substrate phenomena are typologically common or unmarked, or that the developments which led to them are attested in many languages worldwide.

In the verification of substrate interference to explain phonetic/phonological and morphosyntactic developments a paradoxical situation prevails. Substrate interference seems most probable when the proposed substrate features are typologically uncommon (or the developments which led to them are uncommon), if they are marked, or if they are without parallels in other Russian dialects or Slavic languages. It is, however, clear that there are not many substrate features like these as most of the structures and developments in the languages of the world are by definition unmarked and typologically common and as it is only natural that most of the Russian dialectal features will have parallels somewhere else in Slavic.

In fact, most of the probable substrate features of phonetics and morpho-syntax are indeed not uncommon in the world's languages and they represent developments that have parallels in other Russian dialects and Slavic languages. They may have come about under Finno-Ugrian influence, but this is, in many cases, hard or impossible to prove. Some reasons for this were discussed above in section 1.

It will be further argued that while substrate interference in morphosyntax and phonetics/phonology is often hard to prove, a study of lexical substrate usually yields much more reliable results. In verifying substrate interference in a case where language shift presumably has taken place, the lexicon including the toponymy remains in a key position. The examples to illustrate this are taken from geographical appellatives and Finnic toponyms in the Dvina basin. It is argued that some geographical appellatives with a narrow distribution in dialects far away from living Finnic languages should be considered borrowings from extinct substrate languages of the Dvina basin. In addition, it will be shown that in those dialects with presumed morphosyntactic substrate features there are thousands of substrate toponyms from Finnic languages.

At this point, some theoretical remarks on the status of toponyms in language contact are made. It will be noted that as a toponym refers to a particular place, toponyms are inclined to be maintained by a language shifting population whenever the need to refer to these places remains in the language shifting speech community. This state of affairs is related to the characteristics

of the propria. Although names have lexical semantics when they emerge, this is not of great importance from the point of view of toponym function. They can be used irrespective of their lexical meaning, in their onomastic meaning, when referring to particular locations. If there is need to speak about these locations in the speech community the names will be preserved even through the language shift.

In conclusion, the theory by Thomason and Kaufman referred to above in section 1 above has been criticised for leaving the burden of proving substrate interference for grammatical phenomena which are often of disputed origin and discarding the toponymy, an important part of linguistic substrate in many areas. It is argued that the lexicon, most notably the toponymy, is indeed an important part of the linguistic substrate although lexical borrowing may not be so extensive in a language shift than language maintenance situation. It is further argued that in making a case for substrate interference in morpho-syntactic or phonetic/phonological innovations, the researcher should always check whether or not there is substrate toponymy in the region in which the presumed substrate phenomenon occurs in dialects. It is also argued that, in many cases, the identification of the substrate language is only possible on the basis of lexical substrate borrowings.

## Commentaries concerning article 1

At present, I would make a clear distinction between pattern replacement and the development of the same entity in historical linguistics. This issue was discussed in section 1.9 above and I believe it is important for the study of contact-induced language change. Because morphosyntactic developments are pattern replacements, it is hard to follow the development of a historically discernable entity in these.

The fact that in many cases of morphosyntactic or phonetic/phonological innovation, the verification of substrate interference is a hard task does not necessarily mean that substrate interferences in these subsystems of a language are rare. On the contrary, I would think that they are quite common, even if many of them will probably never be proven. I am not an extreme sceptic, however, and believe that a contact explanation for pattern replacement can be reasonably well grounded even in the case of a common language change or feature. This requires comprehensive material from both the source and target language and a detailed knowledge on the circumstances of the language change. As already noted in section 1 there is often no single reason for a particular change. Developmental tendencies of grammar, grammatical constraints of specific languages, particular social circumstances favouring a language change and the presence of other languages by the time of the language change may all occur simultaneously.

Thus, I am inclined to believe, for example, that devoicing of voiced stops in northern Russian dialects is indeed a Finno-Ugrian substrate phenomenon. Arguments to support this view are the following: devoicing occurs only in dialects which are close to the Finnic language area, or in the area where there are traces of a ceded Finnic population. There are also other likely substrate features in the phonetics and morphosyntax of the same dialects. Moreover, the opposition of voiced and unvoiced stops is of great importance in the Russian phonological system and it seems unlikely that this system would have collapsed without any external force. It seems also probable that many peculiarities and hypercorrectivisms concerning the occurrence of voiced and unvoiced stops in the central Russian dialects (presented by Tkačenko 1985: 16–93) are indeed susbtrate phenomena related to an extinct Finno-Ugrian language and the language shift of its speech community.

In so far as the other main point of the article is concerned, I still think that presence or absence of substrate toponymy should always be taken into consideration when presenting substrate assumptions concerning phonetic/ phonological and morphosyntactic innovation. If ideas regarding phonetic/ phonological and, especially, morphosyntactic substrate interference are presented without any lexical evidence, there will be too much room for imagination. Recently, Kalevi Wiik (2002) has made several daring assumptions related to substrate studies. He claims that most of the central phononological and morphosyntactic changes in the European languages have originated through language shifts. Many of the badly-constructed substrate explanations of Wiik have been pointed out in scientific reviews (Kallio 2004, Lindstedt 2004, Palviainen 2003). It should be added that, in most of the cases, no attention was paid by the author to toponyms, and where this was done, outdated sources were cited without any critical commentaries.

**ARTICLE 2:**

# On the Uralic substrate toponymy of Arkhangelsk region: problems of research methodology and ethnohistorical interpretation

# ON THE URALIC SUBSTRATE TOPONYMY OF ARKHANGELSK REGION: PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ETHNOHISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

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# 1. General

## 1.1. The geographical characteristics of the research area

European North Russia is probably one of the most thoroughly studied areas with a substrate toponymy in the world. Quite naturally, most of the studies concerning it have been published in Russia and in Russian. Therefore, they may have been left unnoticed by many western scholars. Nevertheless, the study of northern Russian substrate nomenclature is of importance for both the history of Uralic languages and the spread of various groups of Uralic peoples, as well as for the mechanisms and chronologies of the Slavicisation of the Russian north.

This article provides an overview of the Uralic (Finno-Ugrian)[1] substrate toponymy of the Arkhangelsk region (Ru. *Архангельская область*) It serves as an introduction to this research field both for Uralicists and Slavists. It also offers a methodological discussion of the possibilities and limitations of the study of substrate toponyms as well as the problems connected with an ethnic interpretation of northern Russian place names. In this connection some new views which deviate from main-stream Russian research are put forward. Throughout the article, special reference is made to the toponymy of the Pinega basin (a tributary of the Northern Dvina), both because fieldwork has been carried out in this area by the author and because the toponymy of the area well characterises several general features and interpretation problems of northern Russian substrate toponymy.[2]

The Arkhangelsk Region (320,000 km$^2$, 1,336,000 inhabitants) is nowadays an overwhelmingly Russian-speaking region. There are various areas with a Uralic speaking population in its vicinity, however: in the west there is the Republic of Karelia and the Leningrad Region with an indigenous Finnic (Karelian and Veps) population, in the east the Republic of Komi with a Permian (Komi) population and in the northeast the Nenets Autonomic District with Samoyed (Nenets) population. Administratively, the Nenets autonomic district is part of the Arkhangelsk Region, but it stands apart from it in geographical, historical and linguistic respects alike. At its southern edge the territory borders on the overwhelmingly Russian-speaking Vologda and Kirov Regions. To the north the area borders on the White Sea and the Arctic Ocean,

[1] In this article, Finno-Ugrian and Uralic are used as synonyms. Traditionally, the notion Uralic is used of seven Finno-Ugrian branches and the Samoyed languages. In this article, only toponymy from Finno-Ugrian branches will be taken into consideration.

[2] A monograph by the author of this article on the toponymy of the Pinega District will hopefully be published in the near future. This will provide a larger material basis for the methodological discussions presented in this article.

but the Kola Peninsula with Sámi (and as a result of 19th century migrations the Nenets and Komi) population is only 60 km away by water.

Most of the Arkhangelsk Region belongs to the Northern Dvina drainage area. To the west, part of the area belongs to the basins of the River Onega and to the north-east to the basins of the Kuloj and Mezen'. All these rivers flow to the Arctic Ocean and the old dwellings in the area are typically situated along them. The landscape is relatively flat. The climate is mostly cold and dry and most of the area is taiga with coniferous forest and marshland. In the extreme north-east the dominant vegetation type is that of the tundra.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Russian peasant population practiced cattle breeding based on the exploitation of flood meadows and agriculture based on the slash-and-burn method. In addition, hunting, gathering of berries and mushrooms, and peasant reindeer herding were practiced. During the 20th century the population has grown rapidly due to industrialisation, the establishment of military bases and, during the Stalin era, due to numerous GULAG prison camps. Simultaneously, forestry has become an important means of livelihood.

In the 1970s it became Soviet policy to abolish the small collective farms. Thousands of villages were declared "pespectiveless" and their inhabitants moved to bigger settlements. This meant considerable changes in the use of the land and in the cultural landscape. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, most of the collective farms have ceased functioning and the concentration of people into larger settlements has been accelerated. These changes threaten to destroy the remnants of the North Russian peasant way of life, which until now has preserved substrate toponyms from the period preceding the Slavic era.

## 1.2. The present language forms of the region

The Russian dialects of the area have a twofold historical background. The dialects of the northern part of the region derive from the Old Novgorod vernacular (*древненовгородское наречие, древненоовгородский диалект*) represented in the Novgorod birch bark letters (cf. Zaliznjak 2004), whereas the dialects of the region's southern border are descendants of the central Russian dialects spoken in the upper course of the Volga (cf. Komjagina 1994: 228–232). This state of affairs reflects the twofold origin of the Slavic settlement in northern Russia. The northern and western parts of the Archangel Region were until 1471 a part of the Principality of Novgorod with the southern and eastern parts being subject to colonisation from the principalities of the Russian central plain – Rostov, Suz'dal, Jaroslavl, Vladimir and – in the later period – Moscow (cf. Nasonov 1951).

The division of North Russian into dialects is quite controversial and is not discussed here. It is enough to note that from the point of view of Russian

dialectology, the Archangel dialects are quite conservative. Most of them share full okanje (non-reduced pronunciation of non-stressed vowels) and cokanje (the merging of two east Slavic affricates into one). They have also preserved *g* between vowels, in a position in which the Russian literary language has *γ* or *v*. Many North Russian dialects also have a sporadic glide *v* before a rounded vowel (cf. *вострый* ; *острый* 'sharp') and they represent the development *l* > *w* in a postvocalic position in a closed syllable (cf. *доугий* < *долгий* 'long'). Uralic, mostly Finnic and, to a lesser extent, Permian substrate interference is discernable in the vocabulary and in some features of prosody and morphosyntax. The scope and amount of these substrate interferences has been subject to debate for decades and there is no unanimity as to what extent certain North Russian dialectal features, such as the nominative object, the postponed article, changes in accentuation, dialectal merger of voiced and voiceless stops, comparative forms of nouns, etc. have come about due to Finno-Ugrian influence.[3]

As noted above, all the other languages in north-eastern Europe are Uralic. Karelian and Vepsian belong to the Finnic branch of the Uralic languages. These are offsprings of an intermediate protolanguage of the Uralic family, Proto-Finnic. This protolanguage was probably spoken approximately 500 BC–500 AD in the vicinity of the Finnish Gulf (newest dating [Kallio 2006]; see p. 2 of the cited article for datings by earlier scholars and also discussion in section 6.5.) The present Finnic settlement of most of inland Finland and Karelia emerged not earlier than the Middle Ages.

The Sámi languages spoken in the Kola Peninsula and northern Fenno-scandia (together approx. 25,000 speakers) are daughter languages of another intermediate Uralic protolanguage, Proto-Sámi. Proto-Sámi has usually been located somewhere in the Onega region and was probably spoken simultaneously with Proto-Finnic. Prior to Finnic, the Sámi languages were spoken in most of Finland and Karelia (cf. T. Itkonen 1948: 88–107; cf. also article by Ante Aikio in this volume). Finnic and Sámi have had considerable mutual contact. According to a traditional view (E. Itkonen 1966; Korhonen 1981), these language groups also share a common protolanguage within Uralic, Pre-Finnic. Today, this hypothesis finds less support (Itkonen 1998; Koivulehto 1999a: see also Saarikivi & Grünthal 2005).

Tundra Nenets, spoken in the Nenets Autonomic District, belongs to the Samoyedic branch of Uralic. The languages of this branch are offsprings of Proto-Samoyed, which likely was an earlier protolanguage than Proto-Finnic: The proto-Samoyed vocabulary reconstruction of Janhunen (1977) includes approximately half as much vocabulary as the reconstruction of Proto-Sámi by

[3] Information on proposed phonetic, phonological and morphosyntactic substrate features with references can be found in Veenker (1967), Vostrikov (1990), Sarhimaa (1995) and Saarikivi (2000).

Lehtiranta (1989) and Proto-Finnic has an even greater common vocabulary (Häkkinen 1985). The area in which Proto-Samoyed was spoken is in western Siberia, whereas the Nenets of the Arkhangelsk Region are medieval newcomers.

Komi-Zyryan, spoken in the Komi Republic and in the area of the former Komi-Permyak Autonomic District, belongs to the Permian branch of Uralic languages. Further, the spread of Komi to the north and east is a relatively recent phenomenon which took place not prior to the 13th century. The original homeland of the Komi was in the Vyčegda river basin in the south of the Komi Republic, and the Proto-Permian homeland was probably even further to the south, in the Kama region (Lašuk 1970; Belyh 1999). The dispersal of Proto-Permian is probably a somewhat later phenomenon than the dispersal of Proto-Finnic, dated approximately 700–800 AD (see Bartens 2001: 10–13). There are Finnic loanwords in the Permian languages and it is therefore obvious that there have been contacts between these two groups of Finno-Ugrian languages (Lytkin 1967, Hausenberg 1983, Saarikivi 2005 see also section 6.5).

In addition to aforementioned languages, extinct Uralic languages may have been spoken in northern Russia. There are historical sources which mention pre-Slavic tribes without parallels among the present-day Uralic peoples (see below 1.3). This issue is discussed in detail in section 6.5.

It is also plausible that prior to or even simultaneously with the Uralic languages, extinct Palaeo-European languages were spoken in northeastern Europe. There is historical (in medieval Russian sources) and archaeological evidence of a tribe called the *печера*[4], who seem to have stood culturally apart from the present northern European populations. These people, who lived in northernmost Europe, may have been referred to as the *sihirtja* in Nenets folklore (cf. Lašuk 1958). In the light of multiple substrate borrowings in Nenets, these people were in all probability linguistically non-Uralic. Moreover, there is vocabulary which is probably of substrate origin in Finnic and especially in the Sámi branches of the Uralic languages (Saarikivi 2004a; Aikio 2004) which suggests contact between these language groups and extinct languages (see section 6.5).

[4] The name of this ethnic group is connected with the name of the River Pečora and is derived form the Russian dialectal variant of *пещера* ‘cave’. According to historical sources, the *печера* lived in the caves at the mouth of the river *Pečora.*

## 1.3. Historical and archaeological sources on Finno-Ugrian populations

There are both Scandinavian (Old Norse) and Slavic literary sources on the Pre-Slavic populations of northern Russia. Certain 11–13th century Scandinavian sources call northern Russia *Bjarmaland* and its inhabitants the *bjarmar*. Some facts on the northern Russian Pre-Slavic population mediated by Scandinavian sources indicate that the people of northern Russia were of europoid appearance, spoke a language close to Sámi and practiced agriculture and cattle breeding. Sagas also contain information showing that the *bjarmar* had constant contact with the Slavic principalities in the 13th century (Haavio 1965; Jackson 1993, Mel'nikova 1986).

Russian chronicles and hagiographies mention several pre-Slavic populations in the present-day Arkhangelsk Region. The tribe name *заволоцкая чудь* which figures in the Russian Primary Chronicle has traditionally been considered the earliest Russian ethnonym of the Finnic population of the Dvina basin (cf. Castrén 1844; Haavio 1965). This name is derived from the word *волок* which has been used as a designation for those places where boats were carried over land from one water system to another. In later centuries, the notion *Заволочье* was used of that part of the Principality of Novgorod which was situated in the Dvina basin, outside the basic administrative units, the *пятины* (the "fifths"). The other component of the ethnonym, *чудь* has been used of several Finnic tribes in the vicinity of the Gulf of Finland (on the use of the ethnonym see Grünthal 1997; on the origins and use Grünthal ibid. and Koivulehto 1997). Besides *заволоцкая чудь* Middle Age Russian sources repeatedly mention the "common" *чудь* in northern Russia. As noted above, there are also historical sources which mention pre-Slavic tribes with no parallels among present northern European populations: *сура поганая, тоймичи погане, пинежане, важане, белозерции*, etc. Most of these ethnonyms derive from river names and it has been proposed that at least some of them refer to mixed Slavic-Uralic populations (Bernštam 1973). Some have been clearly hostile to the Slavs, however, as the Chronicles report armed conflicts of Novgorodians with *сура поганая* and *тоймичи погане* during the Middle Ages.

According to the *уставная грамота князя Святослава Олговича,* a historical document written at the time Novgorod emerged as a sovereign principality, northern parts of the Dvina basin were under Novgorod rule even in 1137 (cf. Nasonov 1951; Makarov 1997: 18–20). By that time, the population was certainly overwhelmingly non-Slavic. This is also reflected in 11–14th century archaelogical findings which point to various local groups of Finno-Ugrians. Material culture among some of them (Vaga basin, individual findings in the Pinega basin) shows similarities with the area populated by the Finnic tribes while some (Kokšen'ga and Sukhona basin) had intensive contacts with

the Upper Volga region and its pre-Slavic settlers (Ovsyannikov 1978; Rjabinin 1997; Kolpakov & Ryabtseva 1994). Western influences from the Ladoga region are noticeable even in medieval archaeological findings in the west of the Komi Republic (Saweljeva 1992), whereas those findings related to Permian tribes in the Arkhangelsk Region are clearly less important.

During the Middle Ages, Novgorod and the central Russian principalities rivaled over the control of the northern peripheries and their resources. The first Slavs in this region were likely tax collectors and fur traders, who were followed by peasant migrants, probably from the beginning of the 14th century. The Slavicisation of the area was accompanied by an influx of new people from areas where Finnic languages were spoken, localities that were already subject to Novgorod rule. Thus, the migration waves to this area cannot easily be divided into Slavic and non-Slavic. This is emphasised by Makarov (1997), who has investigated the development of the trade and communication routes connecting the Dvina basin to Slavic centres by analysing archaeological findings from the major watersheds of the Russian European north. In the 12th century, most of these had both Finno-Ugrian and Slavic components. In subsequent centuries, findings connected with the Slavs increased, which seems to point to (at least cultural) assimilation of the local Finno-Ugrian speaking populations with the Slavs.

The Slavicisation of the Arkhangelsk Region seems thus to have occurred both by Slavic migration and by a language shift of the Finno-Ugrian population. The latter has consisted of several groups, some of which participated in the same population waves as the Slavs within the Russian principalities which colonised the northern European peripheries. The final linguistic assimilation seems to have taken place in the Late Middle Ages, in some places probably as late as the 16th or even 17th century. The population statistics continued to have separate entries for Russians and *чудь*[5] up to the 19th century, however, and even up to the present day there are some bare-foot Russians that consider themselves either as chudes or as the offsprings of the chudes.

[5] This is the most common ethnonym of the pre-Slavic populations of North Russia (see below 2.2).

# 2. Toponym systems in northern Russia

## 2.1 History of the study of northern Russian toponyms[6]

Even prior to the first toponymic studies, Finnish and Swedish scholars such as von Becker, Arwidsson and Porthan were aware of the fact that people linguistically close to Finns had previously lived in a an area that subsequently became Slavic. This conclusion was inevitable on the basis of Scandinavian sagas and medieval Russian literature. Many historicians also demonstrated that there is a rich northern Russian oral tradition concerning the pre-Slavic people of the region (see below 2.2).

Probably the first linguist to treat the problem of northern Russian toponymy was A. H. Vostokov (1812) who focused on the recurring final components of many northern and central Russian river names. He concluded that these had originated in extinct languages and were remnants of geographical terms. After him, the fennougrist A. J. Sjögren (1832a, 1832b) dealt with northern Russian toponymy in several articles dedicated to determining the origin of the Finnic tribes and describing the Uralic peoples. Also, the founder of modern Finno-Ugrian studies M. A. Castrén wrote a small article on northern Russian toponymy (Castrén 1844). He was the first one to point out that, in addition to the Finnish, some toponyms were etymologisable on the basis of the Sámi vocabulary. Some of Castrén's Sámi toponymic etymologies were later mentioned by K. B. Wiklund (1911) in his treatise on the history of Sámi settlement. Minor treatises on Finnic toponymy in northern Russia were also written in the 19th century by August Ahlqvist (1887) and Mihkel Veske (1890).

The first scholar to systematically collect toponymic material from various sources and interpret the distribution of toponymic types as proof of the prehistoric spreading of languages in northern Europe was D.E.D. Europaeus (1868–70). Quite erroneously, however, he assumed that many central hydronyms of northern Russia and Finland were of Khanty origin. The later work of Europaeus on Ob-Ugrian toponymy was continued by Artturi Kannisto (1927) who asserted that the western boundary of Ob-Ugrian toponyms was much farther east, in the Dvina basin. Even Kannisto's views were later rejected by Matveev (2001) who concluded that there is no convincing evidence of Ob-Ugrian toponyms in the Russian north.

During the first half of the 20th century, eminent slavist Max Vasmer (1934–36, 1941) made an attempt to draw the approximate ethnic boundaries of pre-Slavic Russia on the basis of place names. He used only macrotoponymy and, being ignorant of Uralic historical phonology, made haphazard comparisons

[6] The history of the study of northern Russian toponyms is most thoroughly treated by Matveev (2001: 13–47). The sketch presented here relies heavily on this source.

based on first-view impressions of the similarity of Russian toponyms and words of Uralic languages. Although he also implemented modern methods, such as a search for parallels of substrate place names in living languages, his results were no more reliable than those of his predecessors. Another eminent slavist Jalo Kalima made interesting remarks on the structure and adaptation of place names such as the observation that the Finnic *s* is substituted both with Russian *s* (*с*) and š (*ш*) in northern Russian substrate toponyms (cf. Kalima 1944a, see also Kalima 1944b, 1946). Regrettably, he did not continue his studies on this topic.

In the Soviet Union of the 1950s and 1960s the Leningrad scholar A. I. Popov published several articles on the toponymy of Finno-Ugrian origin. He implemented modern methods such as semantic argumentation that referred to those geographical characteristics of the object denoted by the name and took into consideration the role of personal names in toponym formation (for example, Popov 1965). From the beginning of the 1960s the Sverdlovsk (later Yekaterinburg) scholar A. K. Matveev began collecting northern Russian microtoponyms by engaging in fieldwork. Matveev and his pupils (most notably M. L. Gusel´nikova, N. V. Kabinina, V. O. Vostrikov, L. A. Subbotina and O. A. Teuš) have treated the Finno-Ugrian substrate toponyms of the Arkhangelsk Region in numerous dissertations and articles. As a result, the most common types of northern Russian substrate toponymy have by today been described and provisionally analysed.

According to Matveev (1980, 2001, 2004), the main pre-Slavic toponymic layers of the Dvina basin are of Finnic and Sámi origin. It has also been clarified that Permian traces in the toponymy are not numerous and that they are concentrated in the eastern periphery of the region (Matveev ibid; 1999). Substantial parallels between the toponyms of southern parts of the Dvina basin and the area historically inhabited by the Merya (Ru. *мерья*), a Central Russian tribe mentioned several times in Chronicles, have also been demonstrated (Matveev 1996, 1998)[7]. Many interpretation problems concerning the non-Finnic and non-Permian layers of substrate toponymy remain, however. In addition to Sámi, these layers are referred to as Meryan and *севернофинская* ("North Finnic") by Matveev (see discussion in section 6).

An important contribution to the study of northern Russian toponyms has been made by the Petrozavodsk scholar Irma Mullonen. She has studied Finnic and Sámi substrate toponyms along the Finnic-Slavic language boundary in Karelia and adjacent territories (Mullonen 1988, 1994, 2002). Her studies are based on the simultaneous investigation of living Finnic and substrate toponyms and have yielded reliable results revealing a detailed picture of ancient language contact situations. One should also mention G.Ja. Simina (1980) and A. L. Šilov

[7] The views by Matveev concerning the toponyms of this territory have been criticised by Ahlqvist (1997, 2000).

(1999), who have made many interesting remarks concerning substrate toponyms in North Russia.

## 2.2. Russian ethnotoponyms

In addition to the substrate toponyms, some toponymic models of Slavic origin include information on the pre-Slavic settlers of North Russia. These are mainly ethnotoponyms, which point to contacts between Slavs and other ethnic groups in the area.[8]

The most common ethnonym in the place names of the Arkhangelsk Region is *чудь*. The wide distribution of this ethonym in place names does not necessarily mean that the Russian European north was ethnically homogenous by the time of the arrival of the Slavs. Most likely, *чудь* was used as a designation for various Finnic tribes. As noted above, a rich tradition of oral history is connected with the Chudes. According to this, the Chudes were white-haired and white-eyed people, who practised cattle breeding and agriculture. When the Novgorodians arrived, the Chudes refused to convert to Christianity. According to legends, the Chudes either buried themselves under the hummocks or moved to "other rivers". These legends also contain information showing that some of the Chudes assimilated to become Russians (Pimenov 1965; Bulatov 1993). In addition to Russians, the Komis also have similar legends about the Chudes. In the oral tradition of the Sámi, a legendary tribe whose name is etymologically connected to the Russian *чудь,* the *čuhti* (:*čuđ*-) are characterised differently to the Russian and Komi traditions concerning the *чудь*, as a hostile and violent tribe (see T. I. Itkonen 1948: 537–545).

The Sámi, Komi and Russian traditions concerning the Chudes and *čuhti* have likely arisen independently. The fact is that some northern Russians have until these days considered themselves offspring of the Chudes[9], and that the same ethnonym has been used as a self-designation by a group of Finnic people, the Veps. This suggests that *чудь* was probably an endonym of some northern Russian substrate populations.

Other Uralic ethnonyms have a more restricted distribution in toponyms. Toponyms derived from the ethonym *Корела* (former *Кор*ѣ*ла*) 'Karelian' form a couple of clusters in the lower reaches of the Dvina, Pinega and Onega. Toponyms derived from the Nenets ethnonym *самоед* form clusters in the lower reaches of the Mezen', Pinega, Dvina, Onega and even in the extreme

[8] A survey of the distribution of ethnotoponyms in the research area was documented has been by E.Ju. Popova (1999). The following rests mainly on this source.

[9] The author of this article has encountered one man in the village Čakola village of the Pinega District who insisted that he is not Russian but a Chud. This was also confirmed by his neighbours.

southwest of the Dvina basin. There is also a historical record and oral tradition on Nenets in some present-day Russian parts of the Archangel Region, such as the mouth of the Dvina (cf. Kabinina 1997). The origin of the *самоед*-ethnotoponyms in the south of Arkhangelsk Region remains an enigma. They may be connected with individual settlers, or have a motivation not connected to the Nenets.

The ethnonym of the Sámi, *лопарь,* is present in a few toponyms of the Arkhangelsk Region (see Matveev 2004: 192). Even their interpretation is not unambiguous, because the Russians have also referred to the Nenets as the *лопарь*,[10] In addition, there are several dozens of substrate toponyms derived from the stem *lap-,* that is probably related to Finnic ethnonym for the Sámi (Fi. *lappi*). In Finland, ethnotoponyms derived from this stem are commonplace (T.I. Itkonen 1948: 103). The interpretation of northern Russian *lap*-names is not altogether clear, however. One should note that the ethnonym *lappi* has been also used to refer to Ludes and Karelians (see Saarikivi 2004b: 180–181 for discussion).

Ethnotoponyms connected with the Permian people, *зыр(ь)* and *пермь* are found in some eastern areas of the region and, quite surprisingly, also in the basin of the River Ust'ja at the southern edge of the territory. In this area, *зыр(ь)* has also been used as an invective (STE).

## 2.3. Amount, use and systems of substrate toponymy in the Pinega region

Substrate toponyms are common everywhere in the Arkhangelsk Region. Altogether, there must be tens of thousands of primary substrate toponyms in this area (see Matveev 2001: 51). Quite naturally, however, the amount and density of substrate toponyms varies according to district. In the Pinega District (*Пинежский район,* 41.000 km$^2$, 31.000 inhabitants) there are approx. 1200 primary and at least as many secondary substrate toponyms, which is probably around 4–5% of all toponyms (cf. statistics by Simina 1980). In hydronyms, substrate toponyms are more common than Slavic names. The flood meadows situated at the bends in the rivers often have names of substrate origin as well. In cultivation names the substrate toponyms are much less commonplace and many of the existing substrate toponyms were probably connected to geographical rather than agricultural objects in the substrate languages. Also, surprisingly many microtoponyms, such as names of meadows, fields and parts of villages are of substrate origin. In addition, there are surnames, nicknames and invectives of likely Finno-Ugrian origin.

[10] In the dialect of Pinega this is the normal meaning of the word. This state of affairs is a further argument for the late appearance of the Nenets in Europe.

As the oldest layer of toponymy, most of the substrate toponyms are macrotoponyms. From these a substantial amount of Russian microtoponyms has been derived. Thus, the river name *Шарда* denotes a tributary of Pinega (in middle course). The name of the river has apparently served as a base for a group of names even in the substrate language, since there is a village *Шардомень* (variants: *Шардонемь, Шардоменя* etc.) at the mouth of the river. This originated from a name connected with the bend of the river (< Finnic **neemi,* see below section 5.1). Several Russian microtoponyms have been derived from these two macrotoponyms: *Верхняя Шарда* and *Нижняя Шарда* (Upper and Lower *Шарда* river names)*, Шардоменский ручей* (brook)[11], etc.

Substrate and Russian toponyms often have the same motivations. In some cases, toponymic pairs of substrate and Slavic names may be interpreted as Russian translations of a substrate toponym (see section 3.2 below). In other cases it seems that Russian and substrate toponyms have been based on the same naming motivation because it has been a natural choice in the context where the names appear. Thus, two brooks named *Нижный* (lower) and *Верхный* (upper) *Петручей* presumably derive from the Finnic **petäjä* 'pine'. These brooks flow into Lake *Сояльское* through pine woods named the *Бор,* a standard North Russian toponym based on an appellative meaning 'pine woods'. This Russian name is probably not connected to substrate names etymologically, but the connected motivations of the names nevertheless support the proposed toponymic etymology for *Петручей.*

In the Pinega region, settlement names of substrate origin are also commonplace. The northern Russian village typically consists of a lenghty chain of small settlements by a river. Typically, the whole chain and its oldest parts have substrate names, while most of the parts have Slavic names. Thus, the oldest part of the village *Лохново* is called *Хидгора,* a name connected with the Finnic word stem (Finnish form given) *hiisi* (*:hiite-*) (in modern language) 'troll; evil spirit', (originally:) 'a sanctuary, centre of a settlement' (cf. section 5.2). The second component of the name, *-гора,* is a Russian word meaning 'hill', but it has developed to become a sort of settlement suffix in the Pinega dialect. The conclusion that *Хидгора* is an old centre of a village can be further supported by the fact that the neighbouring part of the village is called *Усигорка* (< Finnic **uusi* 'new').[12] Other parts of the village have Russian names.

[11] *Ручей* means 'brook'.

[12] According to an old literary source (MIKHP, p. 93) this part of the village has also been called *Новинка* (< Russian *новый* 'new'). This name can be considered a loan translation of the substrate name. The same source also mentions a parallel name *Чюдикса,* which is connected with the ethnonym *чудь* and serves as a further argument for the pre-Slavic origin of this settlement (Denis Kuzmin, personal communication).

Many settlement names include elements which, even originally, have been connected to permanent settlements. Thus, the suffix *–ла* typically attached to settlement names in the Finnic languages (*-la, -lä*) or the word final name component *–пала* (< ?**palva* 'village' see section 5.1) are commonplace in Pinega settlement names. The fact that many hydronyms are derived from the names of dwelling places (*Воепала* village > *Воепалка* river etc.) and that many of the settlement names are etymologisable on the basis of Finnic personal names also points to a surprisingly old age for many settlements.

Quite naturally, there are substantial differences in the distribution of substrate toponyms between villages. These differences can sometimes be interpreted as the result of dissimilar Slavicisation processes. Thus, in the group of villages situated by the River Sura there are especially many (approx. 80) substrate toponyms. Also, a remarkable percentage of the microtoponyms is of substrate origin. It is thus astonishing that over by the River Pinega only a few kilometres away, in the villages of Gorodeck and Ostrov, just a couple of isolated substrate toponyms are attested. However, a considerable amount of oral tradition on the Chudes has been recorded in these two villages while, in turn, legends of this kind are less characteristic in the villages beside the river. The oral tradition related to the Chudes in Gorodeck and Ostrov differs from that of many other villages in that it contains legends about warfare between the Chudes and the Novgorodians. There are also historical accounts of the conflicts between the Russians and the "heathens of Sura" (*Сура поганая*) in the 14th and 15th centuries. In connection with this correlation a question arises: could the small number of substrate toponyms in Gorodeck and Ostrov and the simultaneous abundance of oral tradition on the *чудь* be interpreted to mean that these villages were originally founded by Russian newcomers who created their own toponyms and encountered a pre-Slavic population mainly in conflict situations? The villages by the River Sura could then be interpreted as settlements of Uralic language shifters, who preserved their old place names through a language shift. This line of reasoning is further supported by the fact that Gorodeck and Ostrov are Slavic dwelling-place names, whereas many old dwelling-place names in the vicinity are of substrate origin.

The above examples demonstrate how the substrate toponyms function together with the Russian toponyms in a network comprising much information about the pre-Slavic settlers in the Russian European north. In most cases, however, this kind of information can only be obtained through fieldwork.

# 3. Some methodological questions concerning the study of substrate toponymy[13]

## 3.1 The semantics of a toponym as an object for etymological study

From the point of view of historical phonology, the methods applied to the etymological study of toponyms are mainly similar to the standard methods of historical-comparative linguistics and, therefore, they are not presented here.

One should note, however, that there are some minor peculiarities in the phonological development of substrate toponyms. For example, phonological reduction and dissimilations are more common in toponyms than in the appellative vocabulary and there is more phonological and morphological variation in substrate toponyms than in appellatives. Moreover, unintelligible toponyms maybe subject to folk etymological interpretation. Toponyms with the same lexical content borrowed from a substrate language thus often occur in numerous, slightly different phonological forms in different areas (cf. the Finnish *Kukasjärvi, Kuukasjärvi, Kuukka*, etc, which all originate from the Sámi, cf. North Sámi *Guhkesjávri* 'long lake' [see Ante Aikio's article in this volume and Ageeva 1989: 94]).[14].

All these pecularities of phonological development are related to the fact that toponyms may loose their connection with the lexemes they are derived from. This is because the main meaning of the toponym is its denotation (in other words: a place) and not its lexical content (see in detail Ainiala 1997: 15–22). Thus, one of the basic criteria for etymological research, looking for related meanings in the source and target language of the language contact, is not applicable to the study of toponyms.

Though secondary from the point of view of their primary function, all toponyms have a lexical content when they emerge. The formation of toponyms is connected to naming models, which in turn are based on syntactic construction types and lexical conventions (for further references see Kiviniemi 1977). This means that the same structure, the same lexemes and the same naming

[13] As is apparent from the aforementioned, at the present there is an established scholarly tradition in the etymological research of the Uralic substrate toponyms of northern and central Russia. The main references for the methods of such studies are Matveev (1986, 2001), Glinskih (1983) and Mullonen (2002). What follows rests mainly on these sources. Such standard methods as the checking of the old forms of the toponym in the written sources available are left aside here. This method, though useful and important, has severe limitations in northern Russia where the majority of substrate toponyms does not figure in with any early documents.

[14] Some of the toponyms which derive from the Sámi *guhkes* have folk etymologically been connected with the Finnic *kukka* 'flower'.

motivations recur in thousands of toponyms. This considerably simplifies the identification of lexemes in the case of unintelligible toponyms.

The main methods of the study of the semantics of substrate toponyms are the following:

1) Comparative study of the structural and semantic typology of toponyms in substrate languages or languages related to them, the aim of which is to determine common naming models and motivations.
2) Study of the geographical characteristics of the objects denoted by substrate toponyms, and checking to confirm that they correspond to the naming models and motivations in the assumed substrate languages.

The succesful comparative study of toponyms usually requires place name material not only from the area under investigation, but also from the assumed substrate languages. In many cases we are not able to tell exactly which language this was and, therefore, are forced to use material from related languages.

The perspectives for comparative toponymic studies of Uralic substrate toponymy are relatively good, as many of the Uralic languages have been studied from the point of view of place name typology. In the Uralic languages toponyms are typically compounds consisting of two parts, a specific and a generic. The latter expresses the type of object denoteed, whereas the former specifies or qualifies the object by describing those characteristics which differentiate it from other objects of the same kind (e.g. Finnish *Kivi/niemi* 'rock/cape', literally 'cape by a rock or with rocky terrain', *Suo/järvi* 'marsh/lake', *Uusi/pelto* 'new/field', etc.). The generic is typically a geographical term whereas the specific can be a noun, an adjective or a semantically opaque element. There are also other structural types of toponymy in the Uralic languages such as toponyms derived from participles of verbal stems in Finnic, toponyms formed from action forms of the verbs in Sámi and toponyms formed with a derivational suffix in several Uralic languages. It seems that in language communities with a greater need for toponyms such as the Sámi and Ob-Ugrian communities, which practise a nomadic way of life and occupy large areas of land, deverbal structure types semantically connected with events tend to be more common than in those communities which use only an average number of toponyms. These in turn, use predominantly denominal toponyms connected with the characteristics of the object. In communities with a greater need for toponyms there also seems to be a tendency to create toponyms which consist of more than two lexemes and toponymic clusters consisting of a large number of toponyms.[15] Deverbal substrate toponyms or substrate toponyms consisting of

[15] The observations concerning interdependency between toponymic types and the size of the toponymic system were made by the author when comparing the remarkably

more than two lexemes are not common in northern Russia, however, and this suggests that the Uralic substrate populaton lived in permanent settlements.

In the course of typological studies of the toponymy of the Uralic languages, the most typical generics and specifics of Finnish (Kiviniemi 1990), Veps (Mullonen 1994), Estonian (Saaremaa and Läänemaa dialects, Kallasmaa 2000, 2003), South Estonian (Faster & Saar 2001) and Inari Sámi (S. Aikio 2003) toponymy have already been clarified and similar information is also available on Udmurt (Atamanov 1988), Komi (Turkin 1989), Mari (Galkin & Voroncova 2002) and Khanty (Dmitrieva 2006) toponymy. This information can be used in identifying the recurring elements of northern Russian toponyms.

Thus, for example, the hundreds of toponyms in northern Russia with the seemingly arbitrary final components *–немь, –мень, –минь, –нема, –мена, –мина*, etc. refer to capes, riversides, and coastal objects. In view of the toponym formation of the Uralic languages, it is obvious that these phonemic chains have originated from a geographical term, more precisely, one that was related to the Finnish *niemi* 'cape' (< Proto-Finnic **neemi*). This word is among the most common generics in most of the Finnic languages (Kiviniemi, Mullonen, Kallasmaa, Faster op.cit.). The metathetic forms (*–мень*, etc.) are explicable in the light of the tendency of Russian to avoid words with a final *–т* while final *–п* is commonplace (Matveev 2004: 205).

In a similar manner, hundreds of substrate toponyms in a wide area with the final components *–ой, –ай, –оя, –ая*, etc. denote brooks. Most of these, quite certainly, originated in Finnic or related Uralic toponyms with the generic **woja* 'brook' (> Finnish *oja*). This word also belongs to the most common generics in all of the Finnic languages. A related generic is also to be found in Sámi (saN *oadji* 'brook' SaK *vuå'jj* 'brook'[16]). In addition, toponyms suggest that a related word has existed even in Udmurtian (Atamanov 1988: 61–62).

In addition to generics, the commonly recurring specifics of the substrate toponyms can also be identified on the basis of the living Finno-Ugrian languages. Thus, for example, the Russian toponyms *Кузонемь, Явронемь,* and *Котонемь* can be compared with the Finnic (only Finnish forms given) toponyms **Kuusiniemi, *Järviniemi* and **Kotaniemi* (from the appellatives *kuusi* 'spruce', *järvi* 'lake', *kota* 'hut; tent'). The specifics of these names belong to those most common in Finnic toponyms. The proposed etymologies are further supported by the fact that these specifics recur in a number of other substrate toponyms as well, although with different endings (e.g. *Кузоя* brook, *Явроньга* river, *Котой* brook).

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different topopnym systems of the reindeer Sámi and the Sea Sámi. It seems to find support in the toponymic system of other Finno-Ugrians practisising nomadism such as the Khantys (Dmitrieva 2006). It is the aim of the author to consider this subject in a future publication.

[16] On the basis of its restricted distribution in North Sámi dialects, the latter word is presumably a borrowing from Finnic (Ante Aikio: personal communication).

The recurring word final elements, which typically originate in the generics of substrate languages are referred to as *(topo)formants* (Ru. *топоформант*) in Russian toponymic literature. The word initial elements of substrate toponyms, in turn, are referred to as *bases* (Ru. *основа*). Both terms are adopted below. This is because the terms specific and generic do not adequately refer to name elements which have lost their lexical and/or morphological nature.

Despite the fact that formants historically often originate in generics and bases in specifics, formant and base are to be understood as primarily synchronic notions. In substrate toponymy, several assimilative changes may namely affect the shape of the individual toponyms and many formants thus occur in positions in which the corresponding generics are not reconstructable in the substrate language. Moreover, many formants are of multiple origins, though from the point of view of the Russian place name system, they all include phonotactic elements which make it possible to understand them as names. Thus, in the terminology of this study, base and formant may be defined as phonotactic types of one-morpheme opaque toponyms. A characteristic feature of the formant is that it often makes it possible to understand the word as a place name, or sometimes as a name denoting a specific kind of place. The bases do not have this characteristic.

## 3.2. Probability and verifiability of toponymic etymologies

Toponymic etymologies can (and should always, if possible) be supported semantically, also. If a place name that presumably includes a substrate language term for 'lake' indeed denotes a lake, or an object close to a lake, this substantially adds to the credibility of the etymology. This is the case with most of the toponyms with the ending *–немь, –мень, –минь*, etc. which denote capes and river bends, or toponyms with the ending *–ой, –ай*, etc. which typically refer to capes and brooks.

Some toponymic etymologies are not verifiable on the basis of language-external facts, however. As for *Котонемь* it is impossible to prove whether the cape denoted by this name has sometimes been used as a temporary settlement without archaelogical investigation. As for *Кузонемь*, these kinds of names denote various bends in the rivers, alongside some of which spruce grow while beside others they do not. The proposed etymology may still be correct. It may be that the characteristics of the place have changed during the centuries.

It is also possible that the proposed etymology does not indicate the existence of any features in the denoted object which could verify or falsify the etymology. For example, *Сетала,* the name of a part of a village *Валдокурье* may be connected with Finnic **setä* 'uncle' as proposed by Matveev (2004: 67). However, there is nothing in the object itself that could verify or falsify this etymology. We have to look at different kinds of sources (historical documents,

other toponyms, etc.) in order to find support for the etymology and even if this kind of search fails, the etymology could still be correct, though somewhat less probable than many other toponymic etymologies.[17]

Another factor that affects the reliability of toponymic etymology is the frequency of toponymic models in languages used as material for comparisons. The toponymic etymologies referred to above are based on the assumption that common toponymic models of present-day languages were also common in the substrate languages to which they are related. While this certainly is likely, it means also that toponyms based on unusual naming motivations cannot be etymologised with the same degree of certainty as those based on frequent motivations.

The probability scale for toponymic etymologies that follows is based on material from the Pinega District and is, quite probably, not generalisable in all contexts. Furthermore, it focuses only on probability problems related to the semantics of the toponyms as the phonogical problems regarding toponymic etymologies can, in the most cases, be accounted for in a similar manner to other etymologies. The toponymic etymologies which fulfill the characteristics for group 1 are, in the opinion of the author, most probable, with the probability diminishing down the scale.

1) Toponyms which belong to toponymic types present in living languages with an etymology that can be verified by language-external facts, cf. *Лимозеро* a lake *Лимручей* a brook < Finnic. *lima* ‘slime’ (the objects are characterised by slime crops), *Летозеро* a lake *Летопала* a village < Finnic **leettek* (> Finnish *liete* ‘sludge’, Karelian *liete* ‘fine sand on a shore’, those places denoted as indeed having a sandy bottom and shores), *Солозеро* a lake < Finnic **salo* or **<** Sámi **suolōj* < **salo(j)* < ?**salaw* ‘island’ (there is an island in the centre of the lake). **lima, *leettek* and **salo(i)* are all terms widely used in toponym formation in Finnic. **salo(i)* is also frequent in Sámi toponyms.
2) Toponyms with semantically well-founded etymologies that can be verified by language-external facts when there is no corresponding toponymic model in living languages, cf. *Кычас* a river, *Кыча* a lake *Кычверетия* a passway

[17] In case of *Сетала,* Matveev (ibidem) has proposed that the nearby toponym *Чучебала,* presumably derived from the Sámi **ćeaci* ‘uncle’ and **palva* ‘settlement’ (see below 5.1) would support this etymology. The toponyms *Сетала* and *Чучебала,* are also used as synonyms in a 16th century document (Matveev 2004: 105–106). The hypothesis concerning of Sámi origins for of this toponym is still incorrect because of the formant which clearly is not Sámi and because of the phonological phonetic shape of the base (this is also admitted by Matveev himself, ibid.). The assumption by Matveev, that the toponym *Чучебала,* derives from the same semantics as *Сетала* may still be correct in principle.

through a marsh[18] < Finnic **kiccas* (> Finnish *kitsas*) 'narrow' All these names denote objects characterised by their narrowness. However, toponyms with a corresponding appellative are rare in Finnic. The same concept is expressed with several other words (Finnish *kapea, kaita, soukka* and their counterparts in other Finnic languages).

3) Toponyms which belong to toponymic types present in living languages when the places they denote are neutral regarding the proposed etymology, cf. *Ристимень* bend in a river < Finnic **risti* 'cross', **neemi* 'cape' (toponyms formed from the appellative *risti* 'cross' are common in Finnic languages, but there is no evidence that there was any kind of a cross in that place, or that the place would have been situated at some kind of crossroads), *Ламбас* two brooks, one lake < Finnic **lampas* 'sheep' (toponyms formed from the appellative **lampas* are common in Finnic languages and the objects denoted are relatively close to old dwellings and could thus have been connected to sheep herding. However, this would seem impossible to demonstrate)[19], *Сергозеро* < **särki* 'roach' (roach is a common fish in luxuriant lakes of northern Europe and it could be a possible naming motivation for a large number of lakes in any district).
4) Names connected to appellatives not used in toponym formation in living languages while the object is neutral in regard to a proposed etymology, cf. *Рачмина, Рачканда* < Finnic **racci* 'mount; riding horse' (Matveev 2001: 63). Etymologies of this kind are extremely uncertain and in many cases probably false.

A fifth group of toponymic etymologies which does not need to be placed in the probability scale is the toponymic etymologies proper, i.e. toponyms which may be connected with each other while no appropriate etymological explanation for them can be given. Thus in the Pinega basin there are two rivers called *Кырас*. On phonological criteria, they may be connected with Finnic hydronyms derived from specific *kyrö(s)-*. In Finland, similar names are connected to several rapids and stony places by rivers, or to fast flowing rivers.[20] The element

[18] *Веретия* is a dialect word that means 'a narrow dry passway through a marsh'.

[19] Matveev (2004: 45–47) has proposed a connection of this toponymic model and the Russian dialectal *ламбас* 'bay of a river', which is, in turn, almost certainly is a borrowing from a Finnic word related to Finnish *lampi* 'small lake'. In the Pinega district, those toponyms derived from **lampas* are not connected to river bays or small lakes, however, and this makes the etymology proposed above more probable in the given context. Similar toponyms connected with the Finnic *lampi* and the Russian *ламбас* exist in other districts.

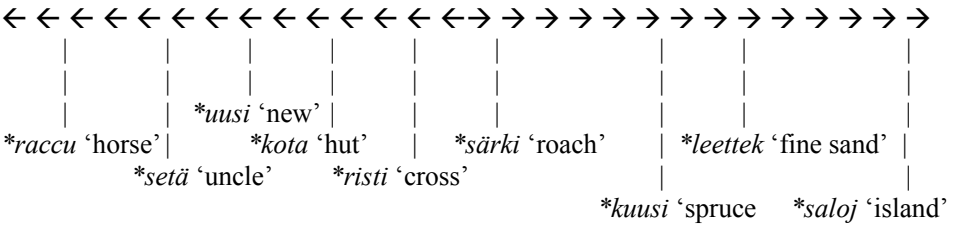
[20] There is also a homonymic western Finnish toponymic type **kyrö(s)* which is derived from **kyðö* 'moorland burnt-over for cultivation' (> Fi. *kytö* id.). The hydronyms derived from the stem **kyrös* have a wider distribution and are not connected with these.

*kyrö(s)* itself, however, is without an etymological explanation. Another example is the river and village name *Турья* that may be connected to several Finnic toponyms with the specific *turja-*. No credible etymological explanations for this have been given. Nevertheless, such correspondencies can point to links between the toponymy of certain regions and thus help to clarify problems related to settlement history.

The probability scale presented above is not an absolute one. Above all, the difference between toponyms which can (groups 1, 2) and which cannot be (3, 4) verified on the basis of language-external facts is not a stable one. There are some toponyms which point to the discernable and stable characteristics of a place (**salo(i)* 'island', **leettek* 'fine sand'). Some point to discernable but unstable charateristics which may change over time (**kuusi* 'fir', **särki* 'roach'). Moreover, some toponyms can be found to be motivated in their geographical context although they do not point to any of the discernable characteristics of an object (cf. the etymology for *Усигорка* above in 2.2). Thus, from the point of view of their semantic probability, toponymic etymologies form a continuum that can be illustrated by the following scheme:

**Table 1.**

less probable etymologies — more probable etymologies




There are still other factors which may enhance the probability of a toponymic etymology, but which do not figure in the scale above. One of them is the length of the etymon. The more there are regular sound correspondences in the toponym and its assumed etymon, the less likely it is that the toponym would be similar to an existing Uralic toponymic type by chance. Another factor is the amount of phonologically possible and semantically credible etymologies for any particular substrate toponym. If several plausible etymologies can be found for an individual toponym, the less likely it is that one of them is correct. The third factor is the "critical mass". The more there are etymologies from a single source, the more they include cases with individual sound correspondences and the more they are connected with the same kind of objects in the same territory, the more likely will be that most of them are correct.

# 4. Adaptation of substrate toponyms to Russian

## 4.1. Phonological adaptation

As in most of the Uralic languages, the accent in substrate names is on the first syllable in the absolute majority of the toponyms. There are also few examples of word initial voiced phonemes. This points to the fact that the substrate languages of this area have been dissimilar to Permian, Mari or Mordvinian branches of Uralic which all have voiced consonants or Udmurtian which follows word final stress pattern.

The phonemes of substrate languages are most easily reconstructed in the first syllable and in the consonant cluster between the first and second syllable. The second syllable of the substrate name typically has reduced vowels, and if this syllable is word final, it also includes the Russian gender ending, which is typically determined by the gender of the geographical appellative that characterises the object. Thus, village and river names are typically feminine (and end with an *а*), because the words *деревня* 'village' and *река* 'river' are feminine while brook names tend to be masculine (< *ручей* 'brook') and lake names neutre (< *озеро* 'lake'). This substantially diminishes the possibility of some vowels occurring in word final position. Thus, the reconstruction of substrate language phonemes in the second syllable can usually be made only at the lexical level when the word the toponym is derived from has been identified with the aid of the first syllable.

The central sound correspondences of Finnic loanwords in Russian were clarified at the beginning of the 20th century (Mikkola 1894; Kalima 1919; see also Myznikov 2004: 345–371). The sound correspondences found in northern Russian substrate toponyms are mainly close to these. They are not completely uniform in the entire Dvina basin, however (see Matveev 2001: 123–151).

The following table includes the most typical sound correspondences of the toponyms in the Pinega district. Some correspondences in other northern Russian areas are discussed in the footnotes. Most of the correspondences included in the table can be supported by several etymologies from groups 1, 2 or 3 in the reliability scale presented above.

**Table 2.**

A CONSONANTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *t* | *t, d* | *Торос-* < Pre-Sámi **toras-* ‘crosswise’’,<br>*Хит- / Хид-* < Finnic **hiiti* ‘sanctuary; centre of a settlement’ |
| *k* | *k g* | *Каск-* < Finnic **kaski* ‘burnt-over clearing’,<br>*Сог-* < Finnic **soka* ‘dirt; litter’ |
| *p* | *p b* | *Палт-* < *palttV-* ‘slope’<br>*Лампас-* < **lampas* ‘sheep’ |
| *tt* | *t* | *Хамар-* < **hattara* ‘bush’ |
| *kk* | *k* | *Азик-* < **Asikka* personal name |
| *pp* | *p* | ??*Луп-* < Karelian *luppo* ‘water lily; Nymphae or Calla palustris’[21] |
| *ć* | *č* | *Чолм-* < Proto-Sámi **ćoalmē* or Pre-Finnic **ćolma* |
| *c* | *č* | *Печ-* < Proto-Sámi **peaccē* or Pre-Finnic **pecä* ‘pine’ |
| *m* | *m, n* | *Лим-* < Finnic **lima* ‘slime’,<br>*Ланбас* < **lampas* ‘sheep’[22] |
| *ŋ* | *n* | *Вонга* < **voŋka* ‘deep place in riverrun’ |
| *s* | *s, š, z, ž* | *Шул-* < *sula* ‘unfrozen’, *Сул-* < **sula,*<br>*Перз-* < **perse* ‘back’ (in modern language: ‘rump’)[23] |
| *h* | *h, g* | *Хит-* < **hiiti* ‘sanctuary’ (see section 5)<br>*Карг-* < *karhi* ‘harrow’ (in toponyms also ‘rough’) |
| *hk* | *ht* | *Пихт-* < **pihka* ‘resin’[24] |
| *Vu* | *Vv* | *Лавд-* < *lauta* ’board’ (in toponyms ‘trap’) |

[21] This etymology is very insecure in that the base *Луп-* only occurs in the toponym *Луптега.* It is not clear what the *–pt-* stands for. However, *Луптега* is a river covered by water lilies.

[22] The correspondence **m* ~ *n* is a rare one and clearly is a result of sporadic dissimilation.

[23] It is not clear, how many sibilants there were in substrate languages (see discussion in section 6.3).

[24] This somewhat surprising correspondence also occurs in some other districts. In most of the dialects, however, *–hk-* has also been substituted as *–hk-* and *–vk-*.

The following substrate language consonants always correspond to parallel consonants in Russian: *l, r, v, n.* The phoneme *j* also corresponds to the vowel prothesis or to *j*.

Russian *p, t* and *k* are regular correspondents of the substrate language **p, t* and *k* in word initial position and next to an unvoiced consonant. Russian *b,d* and *g* are regular correspondents of the substrate language **p, t* and *k* between vowels and next to a voiced consonant. In some cases however, unvoiced *t, p* and *k* also seem to occur in these positions. It is possible that toponyms of this kind originate from derivations. Thus, it seems likely that the brook name *Ремова* (var. *Рёмова*) is related to the Finnic **retu* 'dirt' as this word commonly occurs in Finnic toponyms. The Russian *–t–* hints that it goes back to the substrate language plural stem derivation **retto(i)* – this kind of derivation also appears in Finnish and Karelian toponyms (*Rettoinsuo, Rettuisuo, Retteinnotko* etc. [NA]). The alternation *хум ~ худ* 'sanctuary; centre of settlement' may also have arisen because toponyms with the base *хум-* originated in plural forms (cf. Finnish *Hiittensuo*, etc.), whereas toponyms with the base *худ-* suggest a singular (cf. Finnish *Hiidenvuori*, etc.).

Some occurrences of the phoneme **t* in Finnic originate from the phoneme **δ*, cf. name of the river *Сомка* < Proto-Finnic **sotka* < Pre-Finnic **śoδka* 'wild duck'. It is not clear whether this phoneme was preserved in some substrate languages. In any case, its reflexes are the same as those of **t*.

As the northern Russian dialects are characterised by *cokanje* (i.e. they have only one affricate) it is impossible to trace back the possible different reflexes of two Finno-Ugrian affricates. Although both affricates occur in the etymons of the substrate toponyms, they represent only one phoneme and it is impossible to know whether the two Finno-Ugrian affricates were present in the substrate language (see section 6.4. for further discussion).

The occurrence of *h* and *g* as reflexes of the substrate language **h* depends on the phonological environment. *g* is a regular correspondent of the substrate language *h* next to a back vowel, *h* next to a front vowel.

**Table 3.**

B vowels

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *a* | *a,o* | *Варгас* < **varkas* ‘thief’<br>*Полта* < *paltte* ‘slope’ |
| *e* | *e, ë, a* | *Кёлд-* < **kelta* ‘yellow’,<br>*Падр-* < **petra* ‘wild reindeer’ |
| **ee* | *e* | *Лет-* < **leettek* ‘fine sand’ |
| *i* | *i, ï* | *Пим-* < **pime* ‘dark’,<br>*Кыч-* < **kicca(s)* ‘narrow’ |
| *o, oo* | *o* | *Вонга* < **vonka* ‘adeep place in the river’ *Лод-* < **loo**δ**e* ‘west or south’ |
| *u* | *u* | *Руск-* < **ruske* ‘red or brown’ |
| *y* | *u, ï (į)* | *Кыл(ь)м-* < **külmä* ‘cold’,<br>*Юрома* < **jyrämä* ‘a river that runs through a lake’ |
| *ä* | *ä, e, a* | *Хярг-* < **härkä* ‘bull’, *Серг-* < **särki* ‘roach’, *Сейвас* < **seiväs* ‘(hay) ‘pole’[25] |
| *ö* | *?ï (į)* | *Выр(ь)-* < ??**vöörü* ‘slope’[26] |
| **aj* > *ej* | *?aj* | *Хайн-* < ??**haina* ‘hay’ |

According to the standard interpretation (Matveev 2001: 133–136), the correspondence *a* ~ *o* is older than *a* ~ *a.* The Russian short *a* developed into *o,* but this development may be more recent than generally assumed (Juhani Nuorluoto: personal communication based on a new interpretation of the occurrence of vowel graphemes in the Novgorod birch bark letters). The toponymy of the Pinega district supports this hypothesis in that here the correspondences *a* ~ *o* and *a* ~ *a* occur in the same area.

[25] In the Pinega district, the correspondence substrate language *ä* ~ Russian *a* is limited to the second syllable. It is also attested also in first syllable in some other northern Russian territories.

[26]Because the *ö* is an infrequent vowel in Finnic, this correspondence is quite insecure. In Finnic, there are two close words with the meaning ‘slope’ **veere* (> Finnish *vieri-*) and **vöörü* (> Finnish *vyöry-*). The latter clearly is a labialised variant of the former, but the fact that it is present in both the northern and southern groups of Finnic languages points to its high age. Thus it is well quite possible that the Pinega toponym *Вырполье* which indicates a field situated on a slope in the village of Krylovo may be connected with this Finnic word.

The correspondents of *i* and *e* are determined by the vowel in following syllable. If the second syllable has a back vowel the regular correspondents are *ï* (ortographic *ы*) and *a*. If the second syllable has a front vowel, the correspondents are *e* and *i* (see also Matveev 2001: 137–138; Matveev 2004: 205–210). In southern Finnic, a mid-central vowel (in Estonian ortography *õ*) has emerged in the first syllable of the words which have the combination *e* ~ *a* (Holst 2001). It is not impossible that a similar process might have also occurred in the Finnic substrate languages of the Dvina basin.

## 4.2. Morphological adaptation

Several morphological adaptation techniques are applied in the integration of substrate toponyms into Russian. At least the following morphological integration types can be distinguished.

1) The full adaptations (Finnic **Kuusineemi* 'fir/cape' > *Кузомень, *Haaraniemi* 'branch/cape' > *Харомень, *Kuusioja* fir/brook > *Кузоя*).

In these cases the Uralic substrate name typically consisting of a generic and a specific has been borrowed into Russian as a single-morpheme name. Thus, Finnic **Kuusineemi* is a syntactic construction that consists of two intelligible appellatives, but the Russian *Кузомень* is an arbitrary one-morpheme name which cannot be segmented in the language in which it functions. Thus, although the formants are word final, from the point of view of morphology, they are more like stem types than suffixes.

As the same formants recur in thousands of toponyms, the relationship between them and the types of objects they denote is often more or less obvious. This may have resulted in a limited consciousness by Russian speakers that, for example, the phoneme chain *–мень* usually denotes a cape or a bend in a river. This may lead to a kind of "remorphemisation" of the substrate name what can be observed from the fact that sometimes formants develop analogically in Russian from other word-final elements in order to keep the name in shape with language-external facts (cf. *Торома* > *Торомень* > *Торонемь*, as the object denoted is situated on a cape).

2) Partial translations (**Limajärvi* > *Лимозеро* 'slim/lake', **Petä(jä)oja* > *Петручей* 'pine/brook').

In these cases the generic of the name is translated into Russian while the specific remains untranslated. As a result, the substrate toponym consist of two morphemes, the latter of which is a Russian geographical appellative functioning as a classifier and the former a lexically arbitrary element that carries the denoting function of the name.

The number and types of partly translated names vary according to the type of object and the area. The names of the lakes and marshes tend to be partly translated, whereas the names of rivers hardly ever are, while again, names of brooks are translated in some areas and in some areas they are not (Gusel'nikova 1994). In some cases the phonological similarity between the substrate language word and its Russian counterpart may have favoured partial adaptation (?cf. **vaara* 'hill' > Ru. *гора* 'hill').

As mentioned in section 3.1, some topoformants, especially those connected to river names (*-га, -н(ь)га, -ма*), can to some extent fulfill the function of a generic also in Russian. This is probably the reason why river names are rarely partial translations.

3) Elliptical toponyms (**Kylmäjoki* 'cold/river' > *Кыл(ь)ма, *Lampasjärvi* 'sheep/lake' > *Ламбас*.

With this kind of toponym the generic of the substrate language has disappeared and only the original specific of the name functions as a one-morpheme substrate name. In Finnish onomastics, such names have been referred as elliptical.

In some languages (including Finnish), etymologically opaque toponyms have a tendency to shorten by abolishing the generic (cf. Finnish *Kymijoki* → *Kymi*) . In the Pinega district the borrowing of a substrate name as an elliptical toponym always occurs when the last syllable of the original specific would have yielded, as a result of phonological adaptation, a syllable identical to the common topoformant. Thus, the river name *Кылма* has a final syllable similar to place names with the formant *–ма* (see below section 5.1) and this seems to be the reason why the second component of the river name has disappeared. Sometimes, however, the disappearance of the generic is not connected to the phonological form of the name in any way.

Elliptical shortenings seem to be especially common in river names, probably because these are the most important names in the toponym systems of northern Russia and often serve as bases for other names.

4) Suffixations (**Vihto(j)* personal name > *Вихтово, *Kylmäoja* cold/brook > *Кылмовка*).

In these cases, the substrate name has been adopted with the aid of a Russian suffix. In some cases, the suffix has probably replaced a generic or a derivational suffix of a substrate language.

Many settlement names of substrate origin have been formed with the aid of the suffix *–(o/e)vo* which is typically attached to personal names or to toponyms derived from personal names (**Aino(i)* personal name > *Айново* village (cf. section 5.3), *Toivottu* personal name [< *toivo* 'hope'] > **Toivottula* > *Тойвотолово* village, cf. Saarikivi 2003: 140, note 93). In some cases, these kinds of suffixes may have replaced a substrate language derivational suffix

*–*la* / –*lä* (cf. below section 5.1), other names for this type (probably a majority of them) may be genuine Russian names derived from Finnic personal names.

In addition, many brook names have been adapted to Russian by attaching a deminutive suffix to the name stem. In other names, suffixation rarely occurs. This is apparently due to the fact that topoformants function in northern Russian dialects in a somewhat similar way to suffixes. As to the latter, they also carry the information that the word belongs to the class of names.

5) Translations (calques) (**Seiväsjoki* 'pole/river'> *Сейвас* > *Жердь* 'pole', ?**Rautaveräjät* > *Железные ворота*).

In these cases the whole name has been translated into Russian. Translations can be identified if the substrate language toponym has been preserved in a literary source, or (and what is more common in northern Russian circumstances) if a substrate toponym with similar lexical content has been preserved in the immediate proximity of the Russian toponym. Thus, the Pinega District river name *Жердь* formed from an appellative with the meaning 'balk; pole' and the River *Сейвас* (< Finnic *seiväs* 'pole', probably an elliptical name from **Seiväsjoki*) are situated only one kilometre away from each other. Therefore, it seems quite probable that the Russian name is a translation of the latter. This is further supported by the facts that the Russian name represents a structural type not common in Russian toponymy (the name is composed of a substantive only) and that Slavic river names are otherwise rare in the Pinega district.

Another case in which translations can be identified is when the toponymic model is semantically so unusual that it could hardly have come about in two languages independently. One such case is the toponymic model *Железные ворота* 'iron gates' attested in several northern Russian regions. This model is associated with narrow passways through marshes or rocky terrain. In Karelian, there is a similar toponymic type *Rautaveräjät* (Kuzmin 2004: 154–155) and it is likely that the Russian *Железные ворота* corresponds to this as a translation.

Most likely, many translated toponyms will not be identifiable because of a lack of literary documentation and substrate names with a similar lexical content.

6) Full or partial folk etymology (*Лодозеро* river < **looδesara* 'west/brook', *Рандростров* < **Rantasara* shore/brook).

In these cases the substrate name has been adapted to Russian by mixing it (or a part of it) with a Russian appellative that resembles its phonological shape. The result is an (at least partially) intelligible Russian name that lacks semantic motivation. Thus, *Лодозеро* is seemingly a lake name. The object is not a lake, however, and there is no lake in its vicinity. The name denotes a river that forms the upper end of a water system in the basin of the River Pokšen'ga. A characteristic feature of the River *Лодозеро* is that it flows into the Pokšen'ga straight from the west. This would make it possible, although with reservations,

to connect the name etymologically with the Finnic **looδe* 'west' (in modern Finnish: 'southwest' – this etymology by Denis Kuzmin, personal communication). The Russian second component *озеро* would, in this case, have originated from **sara* 'a river at the top of the water system' (see section 5.1).

In a similar manner, *Рандростров* is apparently an island name. The object it denotes is a brook, however. As all the island names in the Pinega district are partial translations one could, although with reservations, connect this name etymologically with the appellative **sara* 'brook' (see below 5.1). In this case, the phonological similarity of **sara* and **saari* 'island' would have produced an erroneous translation (Gusel'nikova 1994). It is even possible that the folk etymological mixing of **sara* and **saari* has happened in the substrate language and reflects the fact that there were two closely related Finnic substrate languages in the area (see below section 6.3 for discussion).

# 5. Most frequent elements in Russian substrate names

## 5.1. Most common formants and their origin[27]

In what follows some representative toponymic models of north Russian substrate toponymy are presented.

The first list includes the most common formants of the substrate toponymy of the Arkhangelsk Region. As noted above, most of the formants originate from geographic appellatives. Some formants, especially those denoting rivers, seem to be of multiple origins. Thus, those names, which at present include same formants, have not necessarily been of same structure in the substrate languages. This is because in those circumstances in which large amounts of substrate toponymy are borrowed, unintelligible toponyms easily affect the phonological shape of one another. When enough substrate toponyms with similar endings are borrowed, they may turn into a structural toponymic model which, in turn, begins to affect the adaptation of new toponyms. There are cases where substrate names analogically adopt new formants in Russian. This kind of reorganization of the toponymic system is a continual process and sometimes there are concurring forms of many toponyms with different formants used simultaneously (*Торома ~ Торомень ~ Торонемь,* cf. above section 4.2).

For all the formants below, the following information is given: 1) the most common form of the formant and its main variants in brackets, 2) some

[27] The most common formants of northern Russian substratum toponymy are presented and etymologically analysed in several articles, manucripts and a recent monograph by A. K. Matveev, (Matveev 1980; 2001; 2004). The following discussion rests heavily on these sources. In certain cases, however, the views presented below will differ from those of Matveev.

examples of toponyms which include the formant, 3) a relative number of toponyms which include the formant in the Arkhangelsk Region (according to Matveev 2004), 4) the classes of objects the formant is connected to and 5) the proposed etymology.

***-Vн(ь)га*** | *Шиленьга, Покшеньга, Явроньга* | rivers | several hundreds | The formant is of multiple origin. Some names originate in a combination of Uralic genitive **–n* and PU **juka* 'river' or one its successors (as already pointed out by Sjögren). Some are analogical formations and have originated in Russian from toponyms with different word final elements. Some names are possibly connected to Finnish toponyms with the suffixes *–nki, -nko, -nka, -nkä.* Also, this Finnic group is of multiple origin (see Räisänen 2003), but some of the toponyms in this group are probably of considerable age.[28] Furthermore, the somewhat fantastic etymological suggestion by A.L. Šilov that toponyms with this formant could include a Uralic word connected to Khanty (Proto-Khanty form given) **jeŋk* 'water' (< **jeŋi*) could also find some support, in that two other common toponymic types (*ухт-, –пала*) are also connected to Uralic words surviving only in the Ugric languages.[29]

***-мень*** (*–немь, –нема, –мина*) | *Кузонемь, Шуламень, Каскомень, Чухченема* | several hundreds | villages, capes, river bends, flood meadows, coastal objects | < Finnic **neemi* 'cape' (the form *–мень* has come about through metathesis caused by the unusual word final *–мь*) The word **neemi* is without cognates outside Finnic and without a generally accepted etymology.

***-га*** (*-юга, -юг, -уг*) | *Немнюга, Ежуга, Пинега* | rivers | approx. 200 | The formant is of multiple origin. Most of the names with this ending, quite certainly, originate from PU **juka* 'river' and the words related to it (> fi. *joki,* SaN *johka,* Komi *ju*, etc.). Some of the names with this ending originate in words with a derivational suffix (**-k, *-kkV*)[30] and some are the result of analogical name formation or adaptation in Russian.

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[28] Although Räisänen has presented etymologies for most of the Finnish toponyms with these endings, some of them are quite dubious (they would belong to groups 3 and 4 on the reliability scale presented in section 4 above). Those Russian toponyms with the formant **–н(ь)га* are equally enigmatic. It is possible that among the both groups of names there are pre-Uralic toponyms. This seems likely in that many names of this kind are refer to objects of considerable size and even their bases are difficult to etymologise.

[29] A.L. Šilov further suggests that the Mari *eŋer* 'river' with its cognates in Russian substrate toponymy [Matveev 1998] would also belong to this connection as derivations. However, the Mari word derives from Proto-Uralic **eŋi-* while the Khanty word points to Proto-Uralic **jäŋi.* Therefore, this explanation cannot be correct.

[30] These kinds of suffixes are common everywhere in Uralic and reconstructable in Proto-Uralic. *–k* is deverbal (cf. Finnish *lähte-* (< **läkte-*) 'to commence; to leave' →

***-(в)ой*** (*-бой, -буй, -ой, -уй, -оя, -уя*) | *Каргоя, Кукобой, Мурдой* | brooks | < 200 | < PU **woja* ‘brook’ (> Fi. *oja,* SaKi *vuåjj,* saN *oadji*). Northern Russian substrate languages clearly had two lexemes related to the Uralic word meaning ‘brook’, **oja* and **woja.* The latter of these has been characterised as Sámi by Matveev (2001) but this is not inevitable because both the Finnic *oja* and the related Sámi words derive from **woja*.[31] Therefore, those names which go back to the substrate language **woja* can ultimately also derive from another kind of Uralic language than Sámi.

***-ма*** | *Торома, Мадома, Полтома* | rivers, meadows, coastal objects | < 200 | Most of the names with this formant originate from various suffixes of Uralic languages (see discussion by Mullonen 2002: 222–228). These include deverbal suffixes and the suffix **-mV* often attached to geographical appellatives (cf. Finnish *oja* ‘brook’*, virta* ‘stream’, *reuna* ‘rim’ → *ojama / ojamo, virtama / virtamo, reunama*, etc. [geographical appellatives]). The suggestion that toponyms with this ending could have originated from the Uralic **mɛ̮̆xɛ̮̆* (> Finnic *maa*) ‘earth’ (Matveev 2001: 200–202) is, in most of the cases, probably false.[32]

***-сар(а)*** (*-сара, -сора, -зора, -зор, -зур* etc.) | *Сорosара, Лавзора, Явзора* | rivers, brooks, especially the uppermost brooks of the water systems | < 100 | ? < Finnic **sa(a)ra* ‘brook, branch of river’. The meaning attested in substrate toponyms is close to another Finnic appellative *haara* (< **hara* < **šara*) ‘branch’, but the two Finnic words referred to are not etymologically connected (the former is probably a Sámi borrowing (Aikio 2001), the latter a Baltic loan (cf. Lithuanian *žarà* ‘branch’, Jorma Koivulehto, personal communication with Ante Aikio). One should also note that there is no living Finnic language with a high frequency of the word *sa(a)ra* in toponyms. It has a limited area of distribution in southeastern Finnish dialects, Veps and Ludian. However, even bases of northern Russian toponyms with the formant *-сара* are often etymologisable on the basis of Finnic languages. This suggests that the language in which the **-sar(a)*-names originate was likely different from living Finnic languages.

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*lähde* (< **läktek*) ‘source; spring’. *–kkV* forms collective denominal derivations (Finnish *kuusi* ‘fir’ → *kuusikko* ‘woods that grow fir’).

[31] In Finnic and Sámi, word initial **wo* developed into *o* (cf. PU *wolka* ‘elbow’ > Fi. *olka* SaN *oalgi*). East Sámi and also Livonian have a secondary vowel prothesis.

[32] In Finnic, *maa* is used in toponym formations mainly as a part of compounds (*sydänmaa* ‘heartlands’, *palomaa* ‘burnt land’ etc.). There are also some other naming models with the generic *maa* (‘large island’, etc.).

***-ч*** | *Вадасеч, Кокач, Котич* | brooks, small lakes | approx. 100 | < Finnic **-ĉĉu* (a deminutive suffix). Also Sámi has a *č*-deminutive although this is of another origin (< **–nć–*) and some names of this kind may be connected with it.

***-пал(а)*** (*-пол(а), -бал(а), -бол(а)*) | *Летопала, Кушкопала, Воепала* | villages, settlements, coastal objects | over 50 | < ?**palwa* 'settelement' (> Khanty V *ɲuɣəl*, etc., Mansi TJ *pawəl,* etc., Hungarian *falu* 'village; settlement'). In the present Finnic languages, the word **palva* is not used as an appellative, but it has probably been preserved in Estonian toponymy as the component *–palu* in some settlement names.[33] It seems clear that toponyms with this formant denoted settlements even in the substrate language. The comparison with PU **palwa* presupposes a somewhat unexpectable phonological development in the second syllable, where **w* should have disappeared. This development could well have been caused by the adaptation of toponyms into Russian in some dialect, from which the formant would have spread further by analogy. Another possibility is that the second syllable development *va* > *u* took place in the substrate language.[34]

Some, but likely few names with this formant may have originated from the Finnic **palo* 'burnt land' and **pooli* 'half; side', in toponyms also: 'region'.

***-важ*** (*-ваш, –маж, -маш* etc.) | *Роваж, Игловаж, Косваж* | brooks, rivers | over 50 | < Proto-Permian **vož* (> Komi *vož* Udmurt *vuž*) 'branch, brook'. The variants of the formant are explainable on the basis of the phonological environment of the formant. In addition to Permian, there is a word *vož* 'branch of a river' with a toponymic use also in Mari, where the word can be considered a borrowing from Permian. The Permian etymology of the formant is verified by the fact that even the bases occurring with this formant are etymologisable on the basis of Permian.

***-вей*** | *Вырвей, Ельвей, Тылвей* | brooks | under 50 | < Proto-Permian **vVj* 'brook' (Komi *-vej* in place names; ud. *vaj* 'branch; brook' [latter meaning in place names]). As noted by Matveev (2001), the Permian character of the names

[33] Most of the Estonian toponyms with the with final component *-palu* are, without doubt, connected to the appellative *palu* 'burnt land' but in some cases the origin of the names is not altogether clear.

[34] Cf. Estonian *palve* 'request' but *palu-da* 'to request' (< **palvu*), where the derivational suffix *u* has triggered the assimilation *vu* > *u*. In fact, Finnic **palvo-* 'request, beg; worship' could be a derivation from of **palva* 'village' which otherwise lacks cognates in Finnic. The semantic connection would be understandable in that a village or a settlement is also the place of the common cult. Note, that the Finnic *hiisi* 'devil'; pagan divinity' has originally meant 'centre of settlement' (Koski 1967, cf. section 5.2. below).

with the formant *–вей* is obvious both on the basis of their distribution and the fact that the bases of the names are usually etymologisable from the Permian languages. One should note, however, that there is a similar word in the Sámi languages as well: saN *veadji* 'brook' (< **vejä*). The Sámi and Permian words cannot be cognates, but the Permian word could be a western Uralic borrowing (see section 6.4).

***–ла*** | *Веркола, Чакола, Кеврола* | settlements | over 50 | < Finnic *–la / –lä,* a locative suffix added to place names. This suffix has developed into a suffix of settlement names exclusively in Finnic, but it has etymological cognates in other Uralic languages.

***–вера*** (*–бера*) | *Матвера, Пимбера, Русковера* | settlements, hills, slopes | ?30 | < **veeri* 'hill; slope' > Finnic *vieru, vieri, vieremä* 'slope', Proto-Sámi **vērę* (> saN *vierra* 'hill on which trees grow'). Also, mdE *veŕ* mdM *väŕ* 'upwards' belong here. The semantics of the places denoted by this formant in the Pinega district are similar to that of the Finnic words. Surprisingly, many of these denote settlements, but as the settlements in the Pinega district are typically situated on high places beside rivers, it is not possible to decide which meaning was the original one. Note that in Estonian, a common settlement name model with the ending *–vere,* has most likely developed from **veeri* 'slope' (Kettunen 1955: 272–324).

***–вара*** (*-вора*) | *Кочевар, Падчевары* | hills | approx. 20 | < SaN *várri* 'hill' < PS **vārē* or Fi. **vaara* 'hill'. The Finnish and Karelian *vaara* is, most likely, a borrowing from Sámi. The background of the Sámi word is not clear.[35] The North Russian toponyms with this formant only occur in the western periphery of the Dvina basin and in the Beloozero region (Matveev 2001: 188).

***-сарь*** | *Кивсарь, Лапсарь, Пиксарь* | meadows, islands | < 20 | < Finnic *saari* 'island'. The meadows denoted to by this formant are situated on the islands or by the low shores of the river which form islands during the spring floods. The Finnic *saari* is without a generally accepted etymology.

***-конда*** (*-канда*) | fields, pastures | approx. 20 | < Fi. *kontu* 'house and lands surrounding it'. This word is probably a derivation of the Uralic **konta* or **kunta* (both forms attested) 'group of people; administrative territory'[36]

[35] It has been suggested that this word could be connected with an Ob-Ugrian word with a similar meaning (Sammallahti 1988: 551). This postulation is based on the assumption that in this word the first syllable **a* is sporadically not labialised in Sámi.
[36] This is a new etymological version which is not to be found in standard references.

***-ванга*** | *Кортеванга, Русованга, Мареванга* | approx. 10 | < Karelian *vanka* ‘meadow (on a shore of a lake or a river)’. The word is a Germanic borrowing (cf. Old Norse *vangr* ‘meadow’ < **wanga* ‘curve’, SSA ( – the meadows in the river valleys are typically situated at the bends of rivers).

***-ранда*** | *Вочаранда, Кавкаранда, Кукранда* | approx. 10 | < Finnic *ranta* ‘shore’, a word of Germanic origin (< Proto-Germanic **strandā*).

## 5.2. Some common bases and their origins

There are many more bases than formants in northern Russian substrate names. The bases vary much areally and there are few bases which would be present in the whole of the Arkhangelsk Region. Therefore, the list below is much less representative than the list of formants above and serves mainly as an illustration. All the examples are from the Pinega District.

As noted above, many of the etymologies for the bases are not verifiable on the basis of the characteristics of the object. Thus, the etymologisation of the bases is often more insecure than the etymologisation of the formants. However, analogical processes which affect the phonological shape of the toponym are not as common in the bases as in the formants and therefore, the bases always have their origin in the specifics of the substrate language toponyms.

The material is presented according to the probability scale presented above in section 3. Only the three most probable groups of etymologies are taken into consideration. As noted above, some elements in substrate toponyms occur both in the bases and in the formants (*-сар(ь)* ‘island’, *-ранда* ‘shore’, *-немь* ‘cape’, etc.) and these have been left aside here because they have been considered above. As there is no similar systematic presentation of toponymic bases as there is for formants (Matveev 2001), no figure for toponyms including a specific formant is given. One should note, however, that besides Pinega district, most of the toponymic types presented here also appear in other areas in the Arkhangelsk region.

**A** Toponyms belonging to toponymic types present in living languages with an etymology that can be verified by language-external facts:

***Палт- / Полт-*** | rivers | *Полтома* two rivers, *Палтанские* fields | < Finnic **palt̆e* ‘slope’ (Germanic borrowing). Names denote objects characterised by hilly terrain and slopes.

***Шул- / Сул-*** | rivers, riverside objects | *Шуланемь* cape (in two places), *Сульца* river |< Finnic **sula* ‘melted; unfrozen’ Names denote places which remain

open in the winter or open first in the spring (cf. section 6.3 on the double substitution of Finnic **s.*)

***Хар-*** | several kinds of objects | *Хараполы* field (in two places), *Харанемь* meadow | < Finnic **haara* 'branch' (Baltic borrowing); names denote geographical features which are somehow 'branched': one *Хараполы* is situated on a hill which has a shape similar to a horseshoe, the other is situated at a confluence.

***Юром-*** | rivers | *Юрома* river (in several places) | < Finnic **jyr(h)ämä* 'a deep and wide place in a river'. Names denote rivers which flow through lakes.

***Кыл(ь)м-*** | brooks, rivers | *Кылма* river, *Кылмовка* spring | < Uralic **külmä* (> Finnish *kylmä*) 'cold'. Names denote objects characterised by especially cold water.

***Явр-*** | brooks and rivers flowing from or through lakes | *Явроньга* 'lake' | < Proto-Sámi **jāvrē* / Pre-Finnic **jävri* 'lake'. It is peculiar that most substrate lake names in the Arkhangelsk Region have been adapted as partial translations. Therefore, the substrate language word for 'lake' has been preserved only in brook and river names. They suggest that in most of the Arkhangelsk Region the word had a phonological shape close to that of Sámi **jāvrē* (→ SaN *jávri*).[37]

***Торос-*** | lakes, rivers | *Торосозеро* | < Sámi / Pre-Finnic **toras-* 'crosswise' (> saN *doares,* East Mari *toreš* 'against') Name denotes lakes which are passed through on the way to other, more important lakes.

Some names which belong to this group have etymologies not as straightforward as those mentioned above. In these cases the naming motivations are not easily understandable and, therefore, the lexemes behind the names are also not easily identifiable. In some cases investigation into place names in the living Finnic languages provides information that makes an etymological interpretation of the toponyms possible. A few cases are presented below.

***Кандело*** small lake (< Finnic **kantelek* [→Finnish *kannel*]) 'gusli; harp; a musical instrument' (a Slavic borrowing). This name denotes a lake with a shape similar to a gusli. An investigation of Finnic and Karelian lake names derived from similar lexemes (NA) proves that motivation of this kind has

[37] In fact, all the Russian substrate toponyms point to either *–vr-, –hr–* or *–kr–* (< **–kr–*) in this word (Matveev 2002). If these words indeed are connected to the Finnic *järvi,* the Baltic etymology for the word (< **jáura* 'moor 'moor or sea', Nuutinen 1989) cannot hold.

indeed been used in naming lakes in the territory of the historical Karelian settlement.

***Варгас*** a part of a river (a strait) (< Finnic **varkas* 'thief', Germanic borrowing) This name denotes a strait by the River Kuloj which forms an alternative and shorter waterway when moving along the river. An investigation of Finnic toponyms with similar lexemes proves that this is indeed the likely motivation for several place names derived from *varkaus* 'theft'.[38] The Finnish expression *kulkea (kuin) varkain* 'move quickly (literally: 'like a thief')' is also semantically related to the motivation behind **varkas*-toponyms..

***Валвадось*** marsh < Finnic **valvatʹtus* (→ Finnish and Karelian *valvatus*) 'hole in the ice that remains open' from *valva-* 'stay awake or open' This name denotes an open, moist bog. Investigation of Finnic toponyms with a similar lexical content implies a common naming motivation. This word has obviously been used as a metaphor for open bogs.

***Мурд-*** | *Мурдой* brook (in several places) < Finnic ***murto*** 'breaking'; in toponyms of Pinega district 'whirlpool', | The names derived from this word stem are connected to brooks which flow into the main river at narrow points where whirlpools arise. Another investigation into Finnic place names connected to a similar naming model revealed the same motivation. In Karelian there is also a dialectal word *murto* 'whirlpool; deep water'. This clearly is a derivation from *murtaa* 'break'. The original meaning of the word seems to have been 'to turn back'.[39] One needs to be aware, however, that the word *murto* is connected to several other name types in Finnic languages as well ('thicket; brake'; rapids').

**B** Toponyms which belong to toponymic types present in the living languages but which have an etymology that is not verifiable on any language-external basis

[38] Also, the name of the Finnish town *Varkaus* in Southern Savo seems to be connected to this motivation. This town is situated on an isthmus between two major lakes *Kallavesi* and *Haukivesi* near a place where big rapids *Ämmänkoski* flow from the previous to the latter. Travelling through the rapids by boat may have been avoided by taking a short cut through across the isthmus.

[39] This is also the meaning of the Mordvinian (Erzya) *murdams* and (Mokša) *mərdems* which have been connected with the Finnic verb with some reservations (in SSA). Also, the North Sámi *murdit* 'retreat', which is a borrowing from Finnish, proposes similar semantics.

***Матк-*** | brooks, lakes etc. | *Маткоя* brook | < **matka* ‘road; passway’. In Finland, names of this kind have been given to places which were passed on the way to some important destination. As there is no information available on the traffic routes used by the pre-Slavic populations of northern Russia, it is not possible to verify whether or not a similar kind of motivation is also behind the substrate names of the Pinega basin. As this name type is common among living Finnic languages, it is likely that a similar type existed in substrate languages of the Arkhangelsk Region as well.

***Хиӈ-*** (*Хит-*) | settlements, lakes, elevations | *Хиӈгора* hill, *Хитозеро* lake | < **hiiti* (> Finnish *hiisi*) ‘unholy’, originally likely ‘sanctuary; centre of a settlement’. Bases derived from **hiiti* are typical in the present Finnic languages and they have been considered in detail in the toponymic literature (Koski 1967–1970). In Finland and Estonia, the place names formed from the appellative *hiis(i)* are often connected with old centres of settlements which, quite probably, had sanctuaries. The present semantics of the word seem to have developed relative to the adoption of Christianity. In northern Russia, some *хит-* or *хиӈ*-places are situated in the centres of old settlements (cf. *Хиӈгора* above, section 2.3). In other cases, this kind of correlation is not self-evident, however. It is probable that archaeological excavations could in some cases provide further support for the etymology.

***Хярг-*** | brooks | *Хярга* brook (in several places) < **härkä* ‘bull’; Toponyms formed from a word stem meaning ‘bull’ are typical of Finnic languages. However, there seems to have been a peculiar toponymic model in the substrate language of the Pinega basin: four small brooks which bare this name all have an especially strong current in spring time, while in the summer they dry up altogether. There is probably some kind of metaphoric naming motivation behind the model.

***Чухч-*** | brooks; settlements | *Чухча* river (2), *Чухчамень* village < Proto-Sámi **ćukčē* (> North Sámi *čukčá*) ‘capercaillie; tetrao urogallus’ This toponymic etymology has been suggested in several treatises on northern Russian substrate toponymy (cf. Matveev 2004: 103–104). The fact that the word related to the Sámi word for capercaillie existed in the substrate languages of the territory seems well founded: the Russian dialectal *чухарь* and the Komi dialectal *čukči* which both mean ‘capercaillie’ have, most likely, been borrowed from substrate languages of the territory.[40] However, the naming motivation for the *чухч-* places can hardly be verified in most cases. Moreover, there are other problems

[40] The development of the Russian word has certainly been affected by *глухарь*, which is the literary Russian designation for capercaillie.

related to the identification of Sámi elements in substrate names (see section 6.1).

***Нюхч-*** | rivers, settlements | < Proto- Sámi **ńukćę* 'swan' (> North Sámi *njukča*) As with place names formed from **ćukčē* it is not possible to verify or falsify this old toponymic etymology (originally suggested by Castrén, cf. Matveev 2004: 94–95) on the basis of language-external facts.[41]

**C** Toponyms formed from identifiable Uralic lexemes not used in toponymic formation in living languages (or used only according to some other naming motivation)

***Кыч(ас)-*** | several kinds of objects | *Кыча* lake *Кычас* lake, *Кычверетия* a passway between marshes < **kicca(s)* 'narrow'; the objects denoted to are characterised by their narrowness. Living Finnic languages lack a similar naming model.

***Ухт- (Охт-)***| rivers, lakes, objects related to bodies of water | *Охтома* river (< **ukti* 'way; passway' (> hanti V *оγət* 'track', etc., Mansi KU *āxt* id. etc., Hungarian *út* 'way; road'). As noted by Mullonen (2002: 208–217) toponyms with this base denote rivers or water routes which have a narrow passway by land to other water systems (Ru. *волок*). It is probable that in these toponyms a word present in the Ugric languages and meaning 'passway' or 'road' has been preserved (Saarikivi 2004c: 349). This word has no cognate in present Finnic or Sámi but it seems to have existed in the extinct languages of the Finnic and Sámi type spoken in northern Russia.

## 5.3. Old Finnic personal names and the northern Russian substrate toponymy

So far, the northern Russian substrate toponyms have been studied almost exclusively on the basis of appellative lexicon. However, the present Finnic languages also have a substantial number of toponyms formed from personal names. These are especially characteristic of settlement and field names. In Finnic languages, toponyms derived from personal names constitute approx. 10% of the total number of toponyms (Kiviniemi 1990: 143–145). In settlement names their number may be as high as 50% (Mullonen 1994: 85–86).

[41] It has been suggested that this kind of bird names may also have been used as a sort of totem names (Matveev 1986). At the present stage of the research, this hypothesis is quite speculative but may well prove to right in principle.

In northern Russia, only some isolated examples of substrate toponyms derived from personal names have been presented in the toponymic literature so far (see Saarikivi 2003). This is partly due to a lack of historical documentation. There are few documents which name individual pre-Slavic settlers in northern Russia, and probably not a single document that would with certainty connect a particular individual to a specific place. Further, the system of old Finnic personal names has been described fairly superficially.

Only a limited number of Finnic pre-Christian personal names has been preserved in historical sources. It is clear, however, that in a similar manner to toponyms, many Old Finnic personal names have consisted of two parts (*Kauko/valta, Iha/lempi, Vihta/mieli*)[42] or have been based on participles (*Valittu* 'choiced'*, Lemmitty* 'beloved'*, Toivottu* 'hoped'). Quite likely, the first part of these two-part names was also used on its own. It may be assumed that when toponyms were formed from personal names, the generic of the name was eliminated and the first part of the name began to be used as the specific of a derived parallel toponym (*Ihamieli* 'personal name' + *mäki* 'hill' → *Ihamäki, Kaukovalta* 'personal name' + *la* 'locative suffix' → *Kaukola* settlement).

In living languages toponyms derived from personal names are most typical in settlement names, quite typical in names connected with agriculture and quite atypical although not nonexistent in hydronyms. The probability of an etymology based on a personal name also follows this form. However, because of a lack of literary sources, all the toponymic etymologies based on personal names would belong at the maximum to group 2 on the probability scale. There is, to be precise, nothing in the places themselves that could verify or falsify an etymology based on a personal name.

In some cases, it is hard or even impossible to decide whether a substrate toponym was based on a personal name or a corresponding appellative. Thus, it is not clear whether toponyms with the bases derivable from the Proto-Finnic **repoi* 'fox' (e.g. Pinega settlement name *Revomurga*[43], cf. Matveev 2004: 63) can be connected to the appellative meaning of the word or to the personal name based on the appellative and attested in literary sources (cf. Stoebke 1964: 64).

In the following, some northern Russian place name types have been etymologised on the basis of Finnic personal names (some of them were presented earlier in Saarikivi 2003).

***Ихал(ь)-*** | settlements, meadows, brooks, etc. | *Ихальнемь* meadow*, Ихала* river*, Ихалово* village, etc. (see Matveev 2004: 37–38) | < personal name

[42] *Kauka-* is modern Finnish for 'lengthy, long', *valta* 'power; might', *lempi* 'love' and *mieli* 'will; desire'. *Iha* and *vihta* are nonexistent in modern Finnish. The former has, however, survived as a derivation *ihana* 'lovely; delightful'. *Vihta* is a name element with a likely Germanic origin.

[43] *Мурга* is a Russian dialectal geographical appellative meaning 'pit caused by erosion' (cf. Saarikivi 2004a: 196–197).

**Ihala.* The one-time existence of this name in northern Russia is verified by the Novgorod birch bark letter 249, which includes the personal name *Игала* (Zaliznjak 2004: 623–624[44]). Although the Finnish dialectal and Karelian adjective *ihala* 'lovely; delightful' also exists, it is probable that most of the northern Russian substrate names with this base are derived from personal names. There are many personal names derived from *iha* 'delight' (*Ihalempi, Ihamieli, Ihamuoti*[45]), and **Ihala* certainly also belongs here. The same name is also preserved in the Finnish surname *Ihalainen* (SNK 148, cf. also Saarikivi 2003: 144).

***Кавка-*** | *Кавкола* village (in the mouth of Dvina) < personal name **Kaukoi.* A Similar name element has been used as a first component of several pre-Christian Finnic personal names (*Kaukomieli, Kaukovalta, *Kaukohalu*[46], etc.) and they have been preserved in several Finnish surnames (*Kaukinen, Kauko, Kaukonen*, etc., SNK 207–208).[47] Some substrate names with the lexeme *kauka-* can be connected with the appellative semantics of the element **kauka* 'distant, remote', originally 'long' (cf. Matveev 2004: 38). Matveev (ibid.) has also connected the name of the village *Кавкола* to the Finnish *kaukalo* 'vat' and its Finnic cognates. This is extremely unlikely, because no similar toponyms are attested in the present-day Finnic area.

***Ракул-*** | settlements, bodies of water | *Ракула* settlement*, Ракулка* river | < personal name ?**Rakkoi(la).* This frequent northern Russian settlement name type has been interpreted as Finnic though without a true etymology by Matveev (1999: 86). It seems likely that it was based on the Karelian personal name **Rakko(i)* which has been preserved in some literary sources and in Finnish surnames *Rakkola* and *Rakkolainen* (SNK 521).

***Вихт-*** | village, branch of a river | *Вихтово* (< *Вихтуй,* a form attested in early documents) village, *Вихтовский* river branch | < personal name **Vihto(i)*. The village name *Vihtovo* in the Pinega District is one of the oldest in the Dvina basin, attested even in 1137. It is, most likely, connected with an element attested in several old Finnic personal names (*Vihtimeeli, Vihtari, Vihtiä,* Stoebke 1964: 105–106). Also, this personal name has been preserved in the birch bark letter 2 (*Вихтимасъ*) and in the Finnish surname *Vihtonen* (SNK 744).

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[44] This name has already been identified as Finnic already by Helimski (1986).

[45] Literally 'lovely form'. The is name has probably meant, approximately, 'good-looking'.

[46] This kind of previously nonattested personal name most likely appears in the Novgorod birch bark letter 249 (У Кавкагала), referred to above.

[47] Even today there is a christian name *Kauko* in Finland, although this is a formation of the period of national romanticism.

***Хим-*** | meadows, bodies of water | *Хима* river*, Himasora* brook etc. | < personal name **Himo(i)*. The same name element occurs in compound personal names *Himorää, Himatoinen, *Himottu*, etc. which have been preserved in old literary sources (Stoebke 1964: 20–21). Likely, the personal name Гымуй, mentioned in birch bark letter 403 also belongs here. The same element has also been preserved in the Finnish surname *Himanen* (SNK 120). The appellative *himo* means 'lust; desire' and it is likely that this meaning is also behind the personal names.

***Айн-*** | *Айново* village in the Pinega District | < personal name **Aino(i)* (not attested in literary documents). The literary meaning of the name was probably 'sole; the only one' (fi. *ainoa* 'the only one'). Further, such names as these have been preserved in Finnish surnames (*Ainas, Ainalinen, Ainoinen*).

The examples above demonstrate that Finnic personal names are useful in the search for etymological cognates to northern Russian substrate names. While it has been considered an out-dated tradition in Finnish toponymistics to explain unintelligible place names by loosely suggesting that they may include old personal names, of explanations of this kind should not be categorically rejected. They can be proposed by stricter criteria than those suggested by previous scholars. Especially in cases in which a common element occurs both in surnames and several individual place names connected to settlements, does the reconstruction of an old personal name seem possible. Many Finnic personal names have also been preserved in the Novgorod birch bark letters and this substantially enhances the credibility of some of the comparisons above. In addition, old Finnic personal names have been preserved in surnames and toponyms which denote settlements and belong to types typically derived from personal names (most notably, toponyms with word final *–ла,* a formant that originates in Finnic settlement name suffix and *-ev(o) /- ov(o)*, Russian settlement name suffix]).

In addition to old Finnic personal names, it also seems likely that personal Christian names have survived in the substrate toponyms of the Dvina basin (*Лукомень* < ?*Лукий, Иванемь* < ?*Иван, Юрола, Юрьемень* < ?*Юрий*, etc.). There would be nothing strange in 14–16th century Finnic settlers in the Dvina basin adopting the Christian name system. Similar names are today commonplace among the Finnic people of northern Russia.

### 5.4. Appellative substrate vocabulary and substrate toponyms

Many words present in substrate toponyms also occur as appellative borrowings. The borrowing of toponyms and geographical vocabulary are related phenomena which both typically occur in the case of language shift (see in detail Saarikivi 2000; Aikio 2004). Place names and geographical appellatives are learned in a similar manner, while learning the concrete objects they denote.

As noted already by generations of scholars, most of the appellative borrowings in northern Russian dialects are of Finnic origin. In addition, there are a few borrowings considered to be Sámi, some Komi and Nenets borrowings and vocabulary from unidenfiable but, most probably, Uralic sources. Among the frequent semantic fields of Uralic borrowings are words related to geography, weather conditions and northern means of livelihood such as fishing, hunting and reindeer herding (Myznikov 2004: 78–248).

There are two groups of appellative vocabulary that can be considered linguistic substrate in the sense that they have belonged to the vocabulary of an extinct language in a specific area. These are 1) vocabulary that besides appellative use also appears in substrate toponyms and 2) vocabulary that denotes strictly local concepts and has a narrow distribution in dialects. For example, the well-known Finnic borrowing *лахта* 'bay'; also (through methonomy): 'marsh; moist place; meadow' (< **lahti* 'bay', Kalima 1919: 151[48]) has a wide distribution in North Russian. In the Pinega District, it forms many Russian toponyms that consist of an adjective attribute and a geographical appellative (*Великая лахта* 'large bay'*, Грязная лахта* 'soiled bay', etc.). As it also occurs as a formant in substrate toponyms (*Куклохта* meadow*, Киглохта* village*, Ролахты* bay) we know that it has belonged to the extinct Finnic vernacular of the Pinega basin and has not spread there through other Russian dialects. Similar terms with a wide distribution in Russian dialects, but which are fixed in the substrate toponyms of the Pinega District are *луда* 'rocky islet' (< Finnic *luoto* id.), *каска* 'young woods' (< Fi. *kaski* 'burnt-over clearing; woods that grow in it'.), *виска* 'brook that flows out of a lake' (< ?Fi. *vieska* 'current in rapids)[49], *щелья* 'hill or steep bank by a river' (< **selkä* 'ridge (originally: 'back')[50], etc.

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[48] The Russian word could also have originated from the pre-Finnic **lakti.*

[49] This etymology (proposed by the author of this article in Saarikivi 2004a: 196) is insecure because the Finnish dialectal *vieska* has a narrow western distribution and the meanings of the Russian and Finnic words are different. According to another version, this word is a Komi borrowing (REW I: 204; KESKJ 58).

[50] The initial *щ* which occurs only in some dialects (the other dialects have *ш*), is probably the result of folk etymology. The word was contaminated with the Russian *щель* 'gap; hole' (rivers with steep banks flow through gorges, see Saarikivi 2004a: 197).

The other group of geographical terms of substrate origin has a very limited distribution in dialects. Typically, these are words which denote the geographical features of some specific microterritory. They may denote only to a few places and, therefore, are used in a manner close to the use of toponyms. Thus, the dialect word *мурга* 'funnel-like pit caused by erosion' is only attested in the Pinega dialect of Russian (SRNG 18: 353) and the adjacent Udora dialect of Komi (KESKJ 179). This is natural in that the objects it denotes are uncommon in most of northern Europe. In the Pinega District, this word is connected to pits caused by the rapid erosion of soil consisting of karsts. The fact that the word belonged to the substrate language of Pinega District is reinforced in that *мурга* also occurs as a formant in at least one substrate toponym (*Ревомурга,* a settlement name).

Another group of words which seems to originate in the substrate language is used in toponyms not as formants or bases of substrate toponyms, but only quite alone (as the only lexeme in toponym) or in conjunction with the Russian adjective attribute. In these cases, the dialectal distribution and the phonological shape are the main criteria in classifying the words as local substrate borrowings. Thus, Russian dialectal *койдома* 'passable marshland' has been attested only in Pinega and some nearby districts. The word seems to be connected with Finnic *keidas* 'high place on a swamp, etc.' This, in turn, is a Germanic borrowing (< **skaiða-z* 'passage, distance, interval', SSA). There is no word that would directly correspond to the Russian dialectal *койдома* (< likely **kaitama*) in the Finnic languages, but as we know that the Finnish *keidas* had **ai* in the first syllable and geographical terms with a derivational suffix *–ma / mä* (or *–mo / –mö*) are commonplace in Finnic languages (Hakulinen 1979: 130–131), it is quite possible that in the extinct Finnic dialect of Pinega, a word **kaitama* 'passable swamp' has existed (Saarikivi 2004a: 195–196).

A similar case, although with a somewhat wider dialectal distribution is the *мег* 'bench of a river' which could have been borrowed from **mäki* (see Veske 1890: 164). In modern Finnic, *mäki* only means 'hill' but in the Finnic substrate language of the region, the semantic shift 'hill' > 'bend of a river' would appear to have taken place. This shift would be explicable in that *mäki* would have first developed the meaning 'a high place by a river'. A similar semantic shift has occurred also in Slavic: the cognate of the Russian *берег* 'shore' (< PIE **bhergh-*) means 'hill' in Germanic (cf. German *Berg*).[51] The presumed semantic shift can be further supported by the use of the word in the Pinega dialect. It is frequent in expressions such as *идти через мег* 'walk through a bench of a river (i.e. not by the coastline but over land)' and *на мегу* 'at the

[51] The word *мег* has also been borrowed into Komi dialects, probably from the substrate languages of the Dvina basin. The etymological explanation given by KESKJ (~ ud *mog,* saN *mohkki,* p. 171) is rejectable on phonological grounds (the vowel correspondences are not regular).

bend in a river (i.e. at the bench, not by the coast). Moreover, the Finnic *mäki* 'hill' is probably nonexistent (or very rare) in Finnic substrate toponyms of the Dvina basin although it does belong to most common generics in all of the Finnic languages. As most of the other common generics of Finnic are otherwise present in Dvina basin place names, the absence of *mäki* would be suprising, especially if one takes into account that it is among the most common geographical appellatives in the toponym formation of many Finnic languages (cf. Kiviniemi 1990; Mullonen 1994: 26).

Thus, there are borrowings in North Russian dialects, which have probably originated in extinct Finnic languages with no exact parallels among present-day Finnic idioms. As many of them denote geographical concepts and are used in toponym formation, the study of appellative substrate vocabulary is intimately connected with the study of substrate toponymy. One should note, however, that those toponyms including only a geographical appellative should be classified as Russian and not substrate toponyms.

# 6. Ethnical interpretation of northern Russian substrate toponyms

## 6.1. The dating of Russian colonisation in the Dvina basin

The substrate toponyms of the Dvina basin reveal no traces of such Slavic sound shifts as polnoglasie, elimination of nasal vowels or disappearance of the yers. This clearly points to the fact that Slavic spread to this area later than it did to the vicinity of the Gulf of Finland where these phonological phenomena are present in some toponyms. It is not clear, however, from the substrate toponymy where the even approximate borders of these sound shifts are to be found. Many scholars have pointed to such Novgorod Region toponyms as *Мста* (< **mustajoki* and *Нарова* < *Narva,* cf. Ageeva 1989: 220–221) which presumably represent reflexes of these sound shifts. Moreover, many Novgorod Region river names of probable substrate origin end in a consonant (ibidem.) whereas river names of this kind in the Arkhangelsk Region are rare. This suggests that Novgorod Region names ending in a consonant have had word final yers. One should note, however, that the main bulk of appellative Finnic borrowings in Novgorod dialects are more recent (Myznikov 2004: 261–263) and this leads to the conclusion that Finnic-Slavic contacts in this area lasted for a long period. Also Mullonen (2002: 43–51) has pointed to some toponyms from the Svir' basin (*Винницы* < Veps *Vingl, Свирь* < **Syväri*) which seem to be have been borrowed before the disappearance of the nasal vowels and yers.

The disappearance of the yers has been dated at 1150–1300 by Zaliznjak (2004: 59–62). As there are no traces of yers in the toponyms of the Dvina

basin, one has to admit that the entire Dvina basin must have been linguistically overwhelmingly Uralic until the beginning of the 14th century.

The distribution of different morphological adaptation types of substrate toponyms is probably connected to the different russification patterns of Uralic populations. It has been demonstrated that the partial translation pattern (cf. section 3.2 above) has spread into those areas in which the Slavic population came from Novgorod (Gusel'nikova 1994: 12). Mullonen (2002: 128–132) has convincingly demonstrated that the distribution of brook names with the formant *–оŭ* and Russian partial translations with the ending *–ручеŭ* 'brook' correlate with the Ladoga-Tikhvin and Onežskaja group of Russian dialects and the archaeologically defined border of the early (prior to 1000 AD) and late (after approximately 1250 AD) colonisation of the Svir' basin. She suggests that the full adaptation of toponyms would have been connected with the Slavic migration to the Svir' basin, while partial translations would be the result of a slow russification of the indigenous Uralic population through language shift.

It is not clear yet whether similar correlation patterns can be observed elsewhere, also. One should note, however, that correlations of this kind are not universal. In the Finnic-Sámi contact zone (inner Finland) all substrate toponyms are adapted as partial translations (cf. Ante Aikio's article in this volume).

## 6.2. Identification of substrate languages: were there Sámi in the Dvina basin?

Most of the examples referred to above are from Finnic languages. However, all scholars agree that many toponymic types of northern Russia cannot possibly be explained solely on the basis of the Finnic languages. It has been continuosly proposed since Castrén that besides Finnic tribes, also the Sámi inhabited northern Russia. As noted above, this argument was based on toponyms which include lexemes present in Sámi languages. It finds limited support in ethnotoponyms and there are also few fragments of oral tradition which could be related to the Sámi (see Matveev 2004: 192–193 and article by A. K. Matveev in this volume).

However, the northern Russian place names indicate very peculiar kinds of "Sámi" languages. Those Sámi languages known to present linguistics have a large amount of vocabulary without Uralic cognates or loan etymologies (cf. Itkonen 1948: 16–26). These vocabulary layers can be considered borrowings from from extinct Paleao-European substrate languages (for details see Aikio 2004, Saarikivi 2004a). The frequent but unetymologisable Sámi geographical terms (North Sámi forms given) *njárga* 'cape' (< **ńarkę*) and *geađgi* 'stone' (< **kēδkē*) occur in toponyms only to the west of the Dvina basin, and the area of distribution of some other central terms (such as *bákti* 'rock' [< **pāktē*],

*roavvi* ‘place where there has been a forest fire’ [< **rə̄vē*], *vuotna* ‘fjord’ [< **vuonę̯*], etc.) is even more northern and western (Saarikivi 2004b: 206–210). Thus, important layers of vocabulary present in Proto-Sámi and its offsprings are nonexistent in the “Sámi” place names of the Dvina basin.

Further, toponyms with phonological and morphological developments characteristic of Sámi languages do probably not exist in most of the Arkhangelsk Region. Thus, the attribute form of the adjective *guhkki* ‘long’, *guhkes* (< Proto-Sámi **kukēs*) which occurs in several Sámi substrate origin lake names in Finland and Karelia, is nonexistent in the substrate toponyms of the Dvina basin (Saarikivi 2004b: 202). This is symptomatic, because the existence of a separate attribute form of an adjective is a characteristic and innovative feature of the Sámi languages. The fieldwork by the author also implies the conclusion that, in the Pinega basin, toponyms with the base *kuk-* characterised as Sámi by Matveev (2004: 185), are more likely connected to the Finnic **kukku(la)* ‘hummock’.

The traces of regular Sámi sound shifts have in many cases been flushed away by the Russian adaptation of the place names (cf. results of the Sámi vowel shifts **i, *e, *ü* > (North Sámi) *a, *a* > (North Sámi) *uo*, etc. and the substrate language – Russian sound correspondences **a, o ~ o, e, a ~ a,* etc. referred to above). However, some Proto-Sámi vowel shifts are attested in toponyms in the western parts of the Arkhangelsk Region (op.cit 196–198, cf. toponymic types *лумб-* ‘small lake’ and *еле-* ‘upper’). There are also examples of the Sámi development **ś* > *ć* in some appellatives (cf. Russian dialectal appellative *чильма* ‘an open place in a marsh’ (< **śilmä* ‘eye’, Matveev 1978)[52] and toponyms with the base *чолм-* ‘strait’ (< *śolma,* Matveev 2004: 316; Saarikivi 2004b: 197–199).[53]

The picture of the substrate languages in the Dvina basin becomes even fuzzier if one takes into account that elements characterised as Sámi by generations of scholars, combine with elements which may only be characterised as Finnic. This results in toponyms which are certainly Uralic, but which are enigmatic from the point of view of Uralic linguistic taxonomy. Thus the specific of the name *Чухчемена* has been interpreted on the basis of the Sámi **ćukčē* (> North Sámi *čukča*),’capercaillie’ whereas the generic of the name is without doubt connected to the Finnic **neemi* ‘cape’, which, in turn, is nonexistent in Sámi (Matveev 2004: 225–226, cf. also names like

[52] This word is connected to Finnic lexical convention to *suonsilmä* literally ‘marsh-eye’ = ‘an open place in the marsh’ from *silmä* (< **śilmä* ‘eye’). This convention is nonexistent in Sámi languages, while the offspring of PU **śilmä* (> saN *čálbmi* ‘eye’) is otherwise present. The word also lacks the Sámi vowel developments.

[53] Note, that in the latter article it has been argued that this word may also be offspring of Pre-Finnic **ćolma.* The implications of northern Russian toponyms for the history of Finnic and Sámi affricates are discussed below in 6.4.

*Нюхчалакша, Шубоя, Шубматка* etc.). It seems likely that names of this kind are not Sámi-Finnic partial translations either, because no Finnic language has the sound combination *–hč–*. Thus it seems justified to suggest that we are dealing with toponyms from extinct languages which shared lexical features of present Finnic and Sámi branches of Uralic languages (see, however, A. K. Matveevs differing opinion in this volume and Matveev op.cit.).[54]

Moreover, as noted above, there are also northern Russian toponymic types etymologisable on the basis of Uralic languages which are, at least apparently, neither Sámi nor Finnic. For example, place names with the bases *ухт-* and *кыч-* or the formants *-сара* or *-пала* are certainly Uralic, but they cannot be labeled according to the present Uralic branches. This also implies that the toponymic types referred to by Matveev with close resemblances in the Sámi languages (cf. *нюхч-, чухч-, торос-* above; see Matveev 2004: 210–231 for more types) did not necessarily originate in a language which should be characterised as Sámi in the present sense of the word.[55] Moreover, many of Matveev's etymologies are uncertain (they belong to categories 2,3 and 4 on the probability scale) and some could well be interpreted as Finnic (cf. toponymic bases *палд-* < **palt(t)e-* 'slope' [and not (North) Sámi *bealdu* 'field', Matveev 2004: 95], *чуга* [< ??Vepsian *čuga* 'corner; spot' or Vepsian **čuhu* 'hill'—a word reconstructed on the basis of toponymy—Mullonen 1994: 56–57] and not Sámi **ćokkę* 'top of the hill', cf. ibid. 102–103], *кук-* (< Finnic **kukku(la)* and not Sámi **kukkē* 'long', cf. ibid. ).

Instead of speaking of Sámi toponyms in the eastern and central Dvina basin, one should probably speak of toponyms which share some phonological and lexical features with the Sámi languages. They seem to have originated in Uralic language forms which also underwent the sound shift **ś* > *ć* and had several lexemes in common with the Sámi languages. However, not one of the central geographical appellatives which today differentiate Sámi toponymic systems from Finnic systems was present in these languages. The hypothesis that there were substrate languages of non-Finnic and non-Sámi character is further supported by the fact that the historical sources mention several tribes without parallels among the present Uralic peoples.

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[54] Sámi *čukčá* is without Uralic cognates. Komi *čukči,* referred to as a cognate word in UEW and KESKJ is probably a borrowing from substrate languages of the Dvina basin. This word presents a phonotactic structure that has no regular correspondence in present-day Finnic (first syllable *u* + middle consonant cluster, second syllable *á*). Therefore, it is likely that even in Sámi, this word is a Palaeo-European substrate borrowing.

[55] An especially peculiar case is the base *нючх-* which probably is connected to a word meaning 'swan' that is present in many Uralic branches. Words belonging to this connection have many irregular sound correspondences (Sámi has irregular word initial shift *j* > *ń*).

In the western parts of the Arkhangelsk Region, there seem to have been substrate languages closer to modern Sámi in some respects – two good candidates for areas with such a substrate language are the Beloozero region and the Lower Onega region[56] (see Matveev 2004: 114–131; 181–186). But even these languages were lexically not similar to modern Sámi. Place names in the Dvina basin point to a dialect continuum in which lexemes and innovations present in the modern Sámi languages increase to the west and diminish to the east. Where exactly the substrate toponymy should be labeled as Sámi is a question that cannot be unambiguosly answered.

At present the question of non-Finnic substrate languages in the Dvina basin is far from settled. Further, the hypothesis that there were Sámi in the Dvina basin may find support when the etymological study of place names in the area proceeds. Most likely, this must be solved by areal investigation of toponyms. It is sure, however, that possible Sámi languages in this area were linguistically much less similar to the modern Sámi languages than Finnic tribes in the area were to modern Finnic.

## 6.3. Identification of Finnic tribes

In research history, the Finnic tribes of the Dvina basin were considered Karelian (Castrén 1844, Kirkinen 1963), Veps (Haavio 1965, Pimenov 1965) and lately Karelian, Veps and other Finnic (Matveev 2004: 194–204). In ethnic interpretation of place name material, ethnotoponyms have dominated: the *чудь* have mainly been interpreted as Veps, while the idea that there were Karelians in the Dvina basin was based on ethnotoponyms derived from the ethonym *Корела.*

In addition to Russian ethnotoponyms, the most promising methods in identifying the Finnic substrate languages are a search for vocabulary present in some Finnic languages and nonexistent in others, and a search of naming models historically productive in specific Finnic languages and nonexistent in others. The third method available in differentiating Sámi toponyms from Finnic ones, a search for traces of regular phonological shifts, is not easily applicable in the case of Finnic toponyms, because only minor sound shifts differentiate individual Finnic languages and even their traces have often disappeared, especially if the toponyms have been borrowed from one Finnic language into another. However, some toponyms still hint at substrate languages with specific phonological characteristics.

[56] In addition to toponyms with close analogies in the Sámi languages, this area also has an oral tradition concerning the chudes which is similar to that of the Sámi (Pimenov 1965).

As in the case of toponyms characterised as Sámi by generations of scholars, the distribution of lexemes, naming models and phonological shifts characteristic of individual Finnic languages is not easily interpretable in ethnic terms. Thus, in the lower Pinega basin where there are *корела*-ethnotoponyms, no definite traces of the most frequent Karelian toponymic term *lampi* 'small lake' are attestable. This state of affairs may, of course, be connected with the small number of lakes in this area, but also frequent Karelian name models such as *karsikko* 'memorial tree', *ryhjä* 'centre of a village', *nilos* 'smooth; slippery', *haiseva* 'stinking', etc. (concerning these models see Kuzmin 2004, Vahtola 1980), etc. are nonexistent in the area. This signifies substantial differences between the languages of Karelians in inner Finland and present-day Karelia, and the Karelians in the Dvina basin.

Some name types traditionally characterised as Karelian are present in the Pinega basin, however: *серг-* (< **särki* 'roach'), *лап-* (< ?**lappi* 'Sámi; North Karelian') and probably even *кватьс-* (< *kuadjad* < **kaatiot* [< Russian dialectal *гамы* 'pants']). The last one of these also points to a Karelian sound shift *aa* > *ua* in first syllable.[57] Another possible Karelian phonological shift present in Pinega toponymy is *s* > *š,* which seems to occur in the base *шул-* 'unfrozen' (< Karelian *šula* < Proto-Finnic **sula*).

In the same area, many substrate toponyms have a phonological shape close to Veps. Thus, the bases *варгас* and *ламбас* (see above 5.2) have preserved the word internal consonantism of Proto-Finnic which in other Finnic languages has changed as a result of consonant gradation (**varkas* > Finnish *varas* (*: varkaan*), **lampas* > Finnish *lammas* (*:lampaan*)). At the same time, in the substrate names there are no traces of voiced stops, a phonological feature characteristic of Veps.[58] Also a couple of lexemes nonexistent in Karelian, but present in Vepsian appear in Pinega toponyms: *Чуга* (< Veps *čuga* 'angle; spot' or **čuhu, *čuhak* 'hill', cf. Mullonen 1994: 56–57), *Пурдева* (< Veps *purde* 'spring'). However, these combine with words which are nonexistent in the living Veps toponymy (such as **hattara* 'cloudlet; in dialects: bush'

[57] Kiviniemi (1977: 200) has identified this as a metaphoric Karelian name type used to refer to lakes which consist of two branches or two lengthy bays. *Кватьозеро* indeed has this kind of a form. If this really is a Karelian name, it has to be supposed that diphtoingization of the *aa* had happened in the substrate language. This is a development characteristic for Karelian only of all the Finnic languages. For the reasons discussed above, identifying *Кватьозеро* as a Karelian place name is, however, premature.

[58] The voiced stops in the toponyms *Ламбас, Варгас* etc. are a result of the phonological adaptation of substrate names in to Russian (cf. section 4.1). Voicing of stops is probably a relatively new sound shift in Vepsian. It is not attested in the place name material of *Писцовая книга Обонежской пятины* from the end of the 15th century.

> *Хатара, Хатармень*, **laama* ‘wide place at a riverrun’ > *Ламозеро*, **hettek* [or **hetteh* > Finnish *hete*] ‘spring’ > *Хетельга*).

Thus, while the overall selection of lexemes and the phonological characteristics of the substrate toponyms in the Pinega basin are probably closer to modern Veps than to modern Karelian, the substrate toponyms of the region cannot easily be labeled either Veps or Karelian. In addition, some toponymic types such as settlement names with the formants *–пала* and *–вера* have their closest parallels in the southern group of the Finnic languages. The fact that the vowel combination *е – а* has been substituted uniformly in Russian substrate toponyms and yielded the central vowel in Southern Finnic is also a remarkable parallel with Southern Finnic and the substrate languages of the Dvina basin. Furthermore, some northern Russian toponyms also suggest a substrate language that would have preserved the diphthong **ai* in cases where most of the Finnic languages have secondary *ei,* cf. the appellative *койдома* (section 5.4), and toponyms with the base *хайн-* (< ??**haina* ‘hay’, a Baltic borrowing [> Finnish *heinä*], see Matveev 2004: 73–74). A similar retention occurs in South Estonian and Livonian.[59]

Thus, there are features of various Finnic languages in the substrate toponymy of the Dvina basin. In addition, some words present in northern Russian toponymy can be identified as Finnic, but they appear anomalous from the point of view of closer identification of the substrate language. Thus, the formant *–пала* ‘village’ has no appellative cognate anywhere in living Finnic and the frequent formant *-сара* ‘brook’ can only be compared to a marginal Finnish and Karelian dialect word which is not common in toponyms in any living language. Also, toponymic types such as *кыч-* ‘narrow’ and many geographical appellatives (*курья* ‘lenghty bay’, *рада* ‘marsh that grows low woods’, *койдома* ‘passable marshland, *мег* ‘bend of the river’, cf. section 5.4. above) do not point to any living Finnic language but rather, to a Finnic idiom lexically different from all present-day Finnic languages.

Some facts suggest that the Finnic population of the Dvina consisted of several different linguistically definable groups. Thus, in the Pinega district there are two parallel toponymic bases *сул-* and *шул-* with a similar motivation (< **sula* ‘melted; unfrozen’). This suggest that the Finnic population probably arrived in the territory in several waves, in a similar manner to present-day Finland where competing toponymic patterns of different Finnic tribes often exist side by side in the same region (cf. Vahtola 1980; Kiviniemi 1971).

As there are historical sources suggesting a Karelian presence in the Dvina basin in the 15–16th centuries (cf. Kirkinen 1963), it seems reasonable to assume that some relatively modern Karelian toponyms of the Dvina basin bear

[59] The etymology *хайн-* < **heinä* (Matveev 2004: 73–74) is not the most reliable. In the Pinega district, there are four names with this base and none of them is connected to a place in which hay now grows.

witness to Karelian settlers who arrived in the territory just before or simultaneously with the Slavic migrants from the southern Novgorod lands, (?at a time when the Karelian sound shift *aa* > *ua* had already occurred). This is in accordance with the views presented by Matveev (2004: 198–201) that Karelians settled along the lower reaches of the river valleys, whereas the Veps diffused into the forests at the southern edge of the Arkhangelsk Region.[60] However, this line of reasoning does not answer the question as to why several frequent Karelian toponymic types did not spread into the Dvina basin (at least, not into the Pinega district). Perhaps this is related to the late appearance of Karelian settlement (?at a time when several toponymic types present in Karelian toponymy had lost their productivity). It may also be partly due to the geographical differences between Fennoscandia and the Dvina basin.

Before these late Finnic newcomers, tribes speaking an archaic Finnic language forms with the diphthong **ai* instead of *ei* in first syllable, lack of consonant gradation and likely also a mid-central vowel similar to the Estonian *õ* in the phoneme inventory lived in the Dvina basin. It is not clear, how uniform these Finnic language forms were. The fact that there are numerous tribe names attested in the historical literature suggests that there may have been many Finnic tribes without a common ethnonym and identity. The speakers of these Finnic languages employed some toponymic types with no close parallels in the present Finnic languages. However, some of them probably used the same ethnonym (*чудь*) of themselves as some groups of Veps in the 19th century.

## 6.4. Permian and still other layers of substrate toponyms

The Permian traces in the toponymy of the Dvina basin are somewhat minor and have therefore, been left mainly untreated above. There are some areas with a substantial number of Permian substrate names such as the lower Vyčegda, which was likely inhabited by Permian tribes in the Middle Ages (Turkin 1971). It has also been proposed that the *тоймичи погане* mentioned several times in the Chronicles could have been a Permian tribe.[61] In the Pinega basin Permian toponyms, though quite common, seem to form a more recent superstratum layer on Finnic and other layers of substrate toponymy. This is in accordance with a hagiographical account *Житие Стефана Пермского* which mentions Komis who refused to convert to Christianity and moved from Vyčegda to

[60] Matveev (op.cit.) also refers to the fact that in the Beloozero region, there is at least one clear Vepsian sound shift which occurs in the toponymy, namely, *is* > *iš*. If this is correct, it would well correspond with historical sources pointing to a Veps settlement in Beloozero (e.g. Russian primary chronicle).

[61] This view was based, among other things, on the toponym *Тоймокары* which figures in the Chronicles and presumably includes the Permian word *kar* ‘fortified place’.

Pinega in 14th century. Most certainly, the Pinega basin has been one of the key areas of late Finnic-Permian language contact as there are many Finnic borrowings in the neighbouring Udora dialect of the Komi language (Lytkin 1967).

The Permian-Finnic linguistic contacts are likely not restricted to the new borrowings. There seem to be borrowings from Finnic which, in addition to Komi, are present also in Udmurt. Moreover, there are also words which seem to have been adopted from Pre-Finnic into Proto-Permian (Saarikivi 2005).[62] Thus it seems that pre-Finnic and pre-Permian language forms have had fairly long lasting and intimate contact. This same observation has even earlier been made by Jorma Koivulehto in connection with early Germanic and other western Uralic borrowings which spread into the Permian languages (Koivulehto 1981; 1989). This view is also supported by the fact that Finnic toponyms in the Dvina basin point to a Finnic substrate language of archaic character which likely spread into the region as soon as Proto-Finnic began to break up.

In addition to analysing the Finnic, Sámi and Permian layers of toponymy, it is a tradition in Russian onomastic studies to distinguish Meryan and *северно-финская* ("North Finnic") layers of substrate toponymy. Both of these layers of toponymy are, according to Matveev (1996, 1998, 2001), spread in the southern parts of the Akhangelsk Region.

The central Russian tribe name *мерья* is attested in several historical sources and there are ethnotoponyms from the same word stem. It is hard to define the distinctive Meryan types of toponyms, however, because the *мерья* is just a tribe name in the Chronicles, not a language that would have been described by linguists. Most of the toponymic types present in the territory connected with *мерья* in historical sources are also present elsewhere. Thus, the northern Russian topoformants *–ма, -н(ь)га, -пола, -бала* and *–ла* occur in toponyms also in the territory historically inhabited by Merya. In the same area there are toponymic types with the closest cognates in Mordvinian, such as the river name formant *–ля* (~ Mordvinian *l′ej* 'river') and the formant *марь* (~ Mordvinian *mar* 'hummock', for details see Ahlqvist 2001). The toponymic types explained as Meryan in the south of the Dvina basin (most notable by the rivers Ustja and Vaška) have been even otherwise explained, as a heritage of some groups of Maris (Ahlqvist 1997; 2000). Without going into details, it is sufficient to note that there are parallels between the pre-Slavic toponymy of the southern Dvina basin and the Jaroslavl and Kostroma areas. This is only natural in view of the political dependence of these areas on the central Russian principalities. In order to label a toponymy layer of some region as Meryan,

[62] In the lecture referred to above (Saarikivi 2005) it was suggested that many irregular phonetic phonological correspondences between the Finnic and Permian vocabulary should be explained as borrowings from Finnic and its predecessors to Permian. These thematics will be handled in detail by the author of this article in another connection.

however, one should define which toponymic types should be classified as Meryan. Before this is done, Meryan is not too useful a characterisation for a layer of substrate toponyms.

The *севернофинская* type of toponymy is even less clearly defined. Most of its area falls outside the Arkhangelsk Region and the scope of this presentation. According to Matveev, a characteristic feature of this group is the preservation of Uralic **ś* (which developed into *s* in Finnic and *č* in Sámi). This would be reflected in those toponyms with the base *селм-* (< **śolma* > Finnic *salmi,* Sámi *čoalbmi* 'strait'). Though the characteristics of the *севернофинская* group have never been explicitly presented, the idea that in northern Russia there once existed an archaic Uralic substrate language which did not undergo either Finnic or Sámi sound shifts finds some support, in that some substrate toponyms probably did not undergo the Finnic sound shift *š* > *h* (cf. toponymic types *пыш-* 'sacred' [> Fi. *pyhä,* for details see Matveev 2004: 232–242, cf. also the dialectal word *сорьез* 'grayling' which could correspond to the Finnish *harjus* id. [Myznikov 2003: 75]). Some other toponyms likely preserved word initial **wo* (cf. formant *-вой, -бой*) which later developed into *o* in Finnic and Sámi.

## 6.5. Northern Russian toponymy and the origin of Uralic subbranches

Needless to say, ethnic conclusions made on the basis of northern Russian toponyms are uncertain because of the varying reliability of the toponymic etymologies they are based on. Notwithstanding these difficulties, some general remarks can be made.

The Proto-Uralic linguistic homeland was, most likely, situated in the southern taiga zone (Itkonen 1966; Joki 1973: 358–364; Carpelan & Parpola 2002)[63]. Therefore, one must suppose that also the Arkhangelsk Region was linguistically non-Uralic at the time it was first settled by humans. It is quite probable that some of the Pre-Uralic toponyms have been preserved in river

[63] In the scholarly history, the Uralic linguistic homeland has most often been located either in the southern taiga zone of western Siberia (Castrén, Hajdú, Janhunen) or in the Middle Volga region (Aminoff, Toivonen, Carpelan & Parpola). At the present, the paleolinguistic argumentation by Carpelan & Parpola (2002) seems most convincing. As there are established borrowings from Proto-Indo-European in Proto-Uralic, the latter must have been spoken in the vicinity of the former. The Proto-Indo-European homeland, in turn, can be located by cart and wheel vocabulary and the archaeological findings connected with early cart and wheel culture in the Ukrainian steppe (cf. Mallory 1989). Thus, the Uralic linguistic homeland must have been situated north of this territory, in the Middle Volga region. In addition to loan contacts, this explains the areal distribution of the Uralic languages. It also fits in with the palaeolinguistically meaningful vocabulary reconstructable in Proto-Uralic.

names. As the Dvina basin is closer to the linguistic homeland of Uralic than the areas in which Finnic and Sámi are spoken at present, it seems clear that at least some parts of this area became linguistically Uralic before the present Finnic and Sámi speaking areas.

As the Permian toponyms in the Dvina basin are of modest number and probably relatively new, the Proto-Permian homeland must have been outside of this territory. This observation is in accordance with the prevailing theories concerning the location of the Proto-Permian speaking area somewhere in the Vjatka basin (Bartens 2001: 10–11; Belyh 1999).

The Finnic toponymy of the Dvina basin has at least two and probably more layers. Also, many Germanic and Baltic loanwords (**lampas* 'sheep' [< Germanic], **ranta* 'shore' [< Germanic], **varkas* 'thief' [< Germanic], **härkä* 'ox' [< Baltic], **liiva* 'sand' [< Baltic], **kelta* 'yellow' [< Baltic]) occur in Finnic substrate toponyms of Dvina basin (cf. 6.2 and 6.3 above) and the Finnic substrate languages of the area are thus "modern Finnic", unlike the Sámi (or whatever they should be labeled) substrate languages which cannot be characterised as "modern Sámi" because of the lack of one central vocabulary layer.

Due to the archaic phonological characteristics of some extinct Finnic dialects of the Dvina basin, the Finnic language must have spread to this area quite early. At present, standard theories locate Proto-Finnic somewhere in the vicinity of the Gulf of Finland (Kallio 2006 with relevant references). The main reason for this is the Pre- and Proto-Finnic borrowings from Proto-Germanic which must have been adopted somewhere in the vicinity of the Gulf of Finland, as there is no evidence of Germanic tribes in inner Russia.[64] Aside from Germanic loanwords, there are other layers of borrowings in Pre- and Proto-Finnic which point to a more eastern Finnic homeland, however. The Baltic loanwords may have been adopted both in the vicinity of the Gulf of Finland as well as in central European Russia, but it is especially the Iranian borrowings (cf. Koivulehto 1999b) that imply language contacts in central Russia. Further, the early borrowings from Pre- and Proto-Finnic to Proto-Permian point to an early presence of Finnic tribes surprisingly far away in the east. The Finnic languages seem thus to have formed a dialect continuum in which Germanic loanwords have spread as far as Proto-Permian and, in the later period, Komi. As part of the same dialect continuum Aryan and Iranian loanwords may have spread from central Russia to dialects which later developed into modern Finnic. Also, sound shifts (*š* > *h*) have probably spread in this way most likely from west to east (and it has traditionally been argued that Proto-Finnic sound

[64] Proto-Germanic loanwords in Finnic have traditionally been connected to archaeologically discernable Bronze Age influences in the western coasts of Finland and Estonia. One should note, however, that many germanists consider the dispersal of Proto-Germanic as a substantially later phenomenon.

shifts originated through Germanic influence [see Posti 1953, Kallio 2000]). This is supported by the fact that toponyms which probably did not undergo the shift *š* > *h* are concentrated to the east of the Dvina basin (cf. Matveev 2004: 234–232).

In the later period, new Finnic tribes spread from west to east and brought new toponymic models with Karelian phonological characteristics to the north of the Dvina basin. Veps, in turn, spread into the southwest of the Arkhangelsk Region. The old Finnic population of the Dvina basin was neither Karelian nor Veps, however. They seem to have spoken an archaic language with several Proto-Finnic features and, quite probably, one development in common with the southern group of Finnic (mid-central vowel). Thus it seems that the division of the Finnic languages into a southern and a northern group has old roots. The area in which the southern dialects began to emerge was probably situated east of Estonia by Lake Peipus. The spread of an archaic Finnic language form from this area both to the Arkhangelsk Region and to southern Estonia would be understandable.

The present-day Arkhangelsk Region and its neighbouring territories probably played an important role in the development of the Sámi languages as well. As noted above, there are no examples of differentiating Sámi geographical vocabulary in the area whereas the traces of the Sámi sound shifts are likely restricted to the western parts of the area. Moreover, many toponymic types, with the probable Sámi etymologies include lexemes etymologically opaque in Sámi (saN *čukcá* 'capercaillie' *siida* 'village', *njukča* 'swan', *suhpi* 'aspen' and their counterparts[65]).

According to Matveev (1999, 2001, 2004), Finnic and Sámi substrate toponyms exist side by side almost everywhere in the Dvina basin. Such a conclusion seems to be an illusion caused by too straighforward an ethnic interpretation of the toponymic material, however. As the Sámi toponymic layer is very different from that of modern Sámi, it is quite possible that many toponymic types characterised as Sámi by Matveev originated in idioms closer to Finnic or Pre-Finnic. At the present phase of research it cannot be established whether toponyms such as *Чухчамень* with lexemes etymologisable both on the basis of Sámi and Finnic originated from the same kind of extinct idioms as toponyms with formants *–сара* and *-пала* or the toponyms with the base *кыч-* characterised as Finnic (although they do not point to any particular living Finnic language) or in substrate languages which were fundamentally different

[65] The two first two of these do not have any cognates in the other Uralic languages. The two latter display phonological irregularities (such as word initial *ń* in *njukča* and initial syllable *u* instead of the regular *uo* in *suhpi*) and even the words considered as their cognates have many irregularities (cf. Finnish *haapa* 'aspen' with irregular long *a,* Mordvinian *l'oksij* 'swan' with *l'* instead of *j,* etc.)

from Finnic. In any case, there are toponymic types which cannot be identified as either Finnic or Sámi.

From the point of view of the identification of substrate languages affricates are of great importance. There are namely certain toponymic types which seem to have preserved the nonpalatised affricate **c,* cf. *неч-* 'spruce' (< **pecä* [→ Finnish *petäjä,* North Sámi *beacci*]), *ноч–* 'branch of a river' (< ?**puca* [→ Finnish *pudas*[66]], cf. even the etymologies of Matveev *куч-* 'rotten' [→ saN *guocca*], *кочкем-* 'eagle' [→ saN *goaskin*]). This affricate seems to have also been preserved in South Estonian (see Kallio forthcoming), but in the other Finnic languages it has developed into *t* or *s* (latter reflex before *i*). Thus the toponymic types referred to above have, if their etymologies are correct, preserved the Proto-Finnic consonantism and, in this respect, they stand apart from most of the Finnic. Moreover, as noted above, there are examples of a Sámi phonological shift *ś* > *ć* in the toponyms. In addition, as also noted above, there are also some toponyms which have probably preserved Proto-Uralic **š* and word initial **wo*.

Thus, there seem to be remnants of archaic language forms with a consonantism close to Pre-Finnic (or Proto-Uralic as these are almost identical at the reconstruction level) in the Arkhangelsk Region and neighbouring areas. From the point of view of linguistic prehistory this would be only natural: as the inland area west and northwest of the Uralic linguistic homeland must have become linguistically Uralic before the Baltic Sea coast, where the (Pre-)Finnic-Germanic language contacts presumable took place, it is necessary to assume that those languages which first spread to this area were of a phonologically archaic character. While the Finnic language form spread to these areas from the west some enclaves of these archaic Uralic language forms seem to have escaped this second wave of Uralicisation and probably survived until the Slavicisation of the area.

The Proto-Sámi sound shifts seem to have originated in that area which later became Finnic. After *ś* > *ć*, a change which probably occurred in the common ancestor of Proto-Finnic and Proto-Sámi, Sámi vowel rotation (*a* > *uo, i,e* > *a, ä* > *á* etc.) took place. The Sámi vowel changes are, quite probably, attested in toponyms in the western parts of the Arkhangelsk Region. As Proto-Sámi also had multiple contacts with Proto-Germanic (cf. Koivulehto 2000; Aikio forthcoming), it can be assumed that in a similar manner to the Finnic dialect continuum described above, there was also a Sámi dialect continuum capable of

[66] Finnish *pudas* has a regular cognate in Ob-Ugrian languages (mansi *pasəl, posəl, posal* Khanty *pǎsəl,* etc. 'river branch'). The Proto-Uralic form of the word would be **puca.* It is quite probable that the North Russian toponyms with the base *ноч-* belong here as many of them denote river branches. In this case, the phonetic form of the word is quite interesting, with a preserved back affricate and a vocalism close to Sámi (note, however, that saN *bovces* 'river branch' does not belong here because of the *–vc–*).

spreading Germanic loanwords from the, what is nowadays, the Finnish coast of the Baltic Sea to the east. The area of the Sámi languages must have been situated to the north and probably also to the east of the Finnic dialect continuum. In the area west of the Arkhangelsk Region Proto-Sámi speakers also encountered populations who spoke a Palaeo-European language(s), from whom they borrowed vocabulary that did not spread into the Dvina basin.

As the Sámi lexemes present in the toponyms of the Arkhangelsk Region are largely opaque in that they do not represent regular Sámi sound shifts, one is inclined to conclude that the rare lexical parallels between the toponymy of the Pinega basin and the Sámi languages may be due to borrowing. For example, the toponymic base *шуб-* which Matveev associates with the Proto-Sámi **supē* 'aspen', appears over a large area in which the prevailing toponymic substrate type is Finnic (Matveev 2004: 318). Moreover, this word also appears in toponyms which have distinctively Finnic bases and formants (*Шубматка, Шубоя*). In the same area, toponyms formed from the Finnic **haapa* 'aspen' do not exist (Matveev 2004: 308, 318). Thus one could imagine that the Finnic idioms of the Pinega and neighbouring dialects might have borrowed the designation of aspen from the Proto-Sámi found at that time in the western parts of the present-day Arkhangelsk Region. This word would then have become commonplace in the Finnic toponyms of this area. As for toponymic types such as *чухч-* 'capercaillie' and *нюхч-* 'swan' (cf. also *шид-* 'winter village, Saarikivi 2004b: 211) it seems premature to make a suggestion concerning what the mechanism was for their diffusion to the east. Probably, some of these words may be Palaeo-European substrate loans borrowed by Proto-Sámi speakers either from a Uralic speaking population in the Dvina basin or from their non-Uralic speaking predecessors.

# 7. References

## 7.1. Literature


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## 7.2. Archive materials

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NA = Nimiarkisto. Yleiskokoelma. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus, Helsinki.

# Commentaries concerning article 2

This article is the most recent publication in this volume and, therefore, also best expresses my current position in the methodology and ethnic interpretation of substrate toponyms in the Arkhangelsk Region. Some shortcomings in this treatise can still be mentioned.

The research history section could have been enhanced by several dozens of works some of which contain valuable information, among them articles by A. Sauvageot, B. A. Serebrennikov, G. Ja. Simina, O. V. Vostrikov, R. A. Ageeva, E. A. Helimski, etc. In addition, there is a rich tradition in the study of central Russian substrate toponyms methodologically connected with the study of northern Russian toponyms. Some of the most important contributors in this field have been I. Kuklin, G.A. Smolickaja and Arja Ahlqvist. It is the aim of the author to comment the scholarly tradition concerning northern Russian substrate toponyms more in detail in a planned monograph (cf. section 0.3.)

The notions formant and base have been used in this article because they belong to the tradition of Russian toponymic literature. They are not to be confused with the term *formant* used in phonetics to refer to resonances. I am not fully convinced as to how well these notions would fit into international toponymic terminology. Nevertheless, the etymological analysis of northern Russian substrate toponyms should be conducted separately for word-initial and word-final position and, therefore, the distinction behind these notions is an important one irrespective of how they are referred to.

In connection with the formants, the role of analogy could have been discussed more extensively. It is clear that particular formants (*-га, -н(ь)га, -немь*) have spread analogically to new toponyms in Russian. This phenomenon does not occur in the case of other formants, though. Therefore, describing the scope and amount of analogy in the spread of structural toponymic models would be an important task in the study of North Russian toponyms.

Although the Finnic toponymy has not traditionally been analysed in this way, one could speak of formants also in Finnic languages. For example, lexemes with the word-final elements *–nkV* (*Himanka, Liminka, Kiiminki, Oulanka*), *–nne* (*Tarjanne, Palanne*), *–ne* (*Pälkäne*), *–mV* (*Siitama, Outamo*), etc. connected to an unintelligible word beginning are probably understood to be place names among most Finnish speakers. Research conducted on *–nkV*-names (Räisänen 2003) has shown that these are of multiple origin. One could thus suggest that the toponymic ending has spread by analogy and that it has turned into a sort of model of adaptation for toponyms from different languages.

**ARTICLE 3:**

**Прибалтийско-финская антропонимия в субстратных названиях Русского Севера. Перспективы изучения**

*Я. Саарикиви*
*Хельсинки*

## Прибалтийско-финская антропонимия в субстратных названиях Русского Севера: перспективы изучения

Субстратная топонимия севера европейской части России обычно интерпретируется исходя из данных о нарицательной лексике финно-угорских языков, в первую очередь прибалтийско-финских. Однако в живых прибалтийско-финских языках весьма значительную часть составляют отантропонимные топонимы: например, в финском к ним относится как минимум 10%[80] всех топонимов, в вепсском – примерно 50% ойконимов[81].

Между тем севернорусских субстратных топонимов, содержащих прибалтийско-финские личные имена, обнаружено пока очень мало. Учитывая большое количество подобных названий в живых прибалтийско-финских языках, можно предположить, что поиск их на Русском Севере окажется весьма перспективным. При этом следует ориентироваться на то, что определенным типам севернорусской субстратной топонимии в живых прибалтийско-финских языках аналогичны топонимы преимущественно с отантропонимными основами. Это касается прежде всего ойконимов и названий сельскохозяйственных угодий. Поэтому вполне вероятно, что антропонимы в субстратных названиях подобных объектов есть также и на Русском Севере. Кроме того, к сочетанию именно с отантропонимными основами тяготеют определенные форманты. Например, в современном финском языке подавляющее большинство ойконимов с формантом *-la* содержат антропонимы[82]. Речь здесь может идти также о субстратных названиях лугов и мысов с формантом *-немь* и названиях поселений с формантом *-бола / -пола.* Естест-

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[80] По данным Э. Кивиниеми, см.: *Kiviniemi E.* Perustietoa paikannimistä // Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 516. Helsinki, 1990. S. 143–145.

[81] *Муллонен И.И.* Очерки вепсской топонимии. Петрозаводск, 1994. С. 85–86.

[82] См. например: *Kepsu S.* Talonnimien tutkimisesta // Kieli 2: Helsingin yliopisto, suomen kielen laitos / Kiviniemi & Pitkänen (toim.). Helsinki, 1987. Стоит все-таки заметить, что старые ойконимы, содержащие формант *-la*, часто имеют основы неизвестного происхождения и в Финляндии, и на соседних территориях. Такие названия могут содержать неизвестные ныне антропонимы, но это, скорее всего, уже невозможно доказать.

венно, с антропонимными основами могут сочетаться и другие форманты. В некоторых случаях трудно или невозможно решить, возникло ли определенное название на основе антропонима или на основе идентичного или почти идентичного с ним апеллятива (ср. далее названия с основами *ихалъ-*, *валд-* и некоторые другие).

Среди антропонимов, легших в основу топонимов, можно выделить несколько исторических пластов. Прежде всего это дохристианские имена, сведений о которых довольно мало. А. В. Форсман опубликовал в 1890 г. богатый материал, извлеченный из различных источников, включая духовные и юридические документы от средних веков до XIX в.[83] Эти материалы были через 70 лет надежно проанализированы и систематизированы Д.-Е. Стёбке[84]. По его мнению, у прибалтийских финнов до распада их языкового единства существовала общая система личных имен. Он реконструирует 23 словарных гнезда, которые использовались в языческих именах прибалтийских финнов. Большинство из этих элементов исконного происхождения, но некоторые могут быть заимствованы из германских языков. Старые имена состояли из одной или двух частей, одна из которых могла быть производным суффиксом. Большинство из элементов, реконструируемых Стёбке, использовались и в качестве детерминанта, и в качестве основы двухчастных имен, некоторые исключительно в качестве детерминанта.

Для многих реконструируемых Стёбке элементов могут обнаружиться параллели в субстратных названиях Русского Севера. Кроме этого, и другие пока не этимологизированные севернорусские ойконимы, по всей вероятности, содержат личные имена. Необходимо учитывать, что скромные письменные источники дохристианской эпохи из зоны проживания прибалтийско-финских народов вряд ли содержат все имена и прозвища, которые использовались в то время. Финские и карельские фамилии, а также топонимия указывают на то, что материалы Форсмана и Стёбке нельзя признать исчерпывающими. Тем не менее наличие прибалтийско-финских фамилий и ойконимов, относящихся к отантропонимному типу и содержащих многократно повторяющиеся основы, позволяет предположить, что данные основы произошли от антропонимов.

Ниже делается попытка интерпретировать несколько субстратных топонимов Архангельской области как производные от прибалтийско-финских личных имен. В одних случаях предположенные этимологии

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[83] *Forsman A. V.* Pakanuudenaikainen nimistö I. Johdanto. Yliopistollinen väitöskirja. Helsinki: SKS: n kirjapaino.

[84] *Stoebke D.-E.* Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines Urfinnischen Namensystems. Hamburg; Leipzig: Verlag, 1964.

относятся к именам, многократно зафиксированным в письменных источниках, в других языческие имена реконструируются на основе топонимов и финско-карельских фамилий. Все предполагаемые этимологии не могут основываться на письменных источниках, которые относятся к определенным объектам Русского Севера и содержат прибалтийско-финские личные имена, поскольку, вероятнее всего, таких документов не существует. Это, естественно, делает этимологии в какой-то мере спекулятивными. Однако они подтверждаются параллельными названиями из сферы живых прибалтийско-финских языков.

***Вихтово.*** Название бывшей деревни *Вихтово* Пинежского района Архангельской области упоминается как *Вихтуй* уже в 1137 г. в грамоте князя Святослава Ольговича. Как известно, речь в данном документе идет о волостях, плативших дань Великому Новгороду. *Вихтовский* – это также название одного из рукавов дельты Северной Двины[85].

Письменные источники многократно подтверждают существование имен типа *Vihti*, *Vihto* и *Vihti* у прибалтийских финнов. Элемент *VihtV-* использовался, видимо, так же, как детерминант сложных имен, состоявших из двух частей, – на это указывают фигурирующие в письменных источниках имена *Meleuicht*, *Melvycht* (< ?**Mielivihta*)[86]. Имя *Vihtuj* представлено в письменных источниках XVI в.: в севернокарельской волости Лиекса известен человек с именем *Stepanka Lembitov Vihtuj* и в то же время в южнокарельской волости Куркийоки жил *Oleksei Vihtuj*[87]. Также из Эстонии известно имя *Vihtoi* в источниках этого же времени.

В современной Финляндии известны фамилии *Vihtonen*, *Vihteri* и *Vihterinen*, которые явно возникли от корня **vihtV-*. Родина всех этих фамилий – юго-западная Карелия и Карельский перешеек (волости Уусикиркко, Кивеннапа, Рауту, Лаппее, Таипалсаари и г. Выборг). Сегодня подобный элемент встречается в некоторых финских ойконимах (например: *Vihti*, село и коммуна в Уусимаа, в 50 км к западу от Хельсинки, *Vihtilä*, хутор в Калволе, *Vihtinen*, дом в Кангасале, оба в провинции Хяме, и т. д.).

Имена с таким корнем изначально могут быть германского происхождения (ср. нижненемецкие личные имена *Vihti*, *Wihto*, *Wichtic*)[88]. Од-

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[85] Идентификация и локализация волостей Уставной грамоты дана А. Н. Насоновым, см.: *Насонов А. Н.* «Русская земля» и образование территории древнерусского государства. М., 1951. С другой стороны, Е. Н. Носов, О. В. Овсянников и В. М. Потин считают, что волость, упоминавшаяся в Уставной грамоте, могла находиться и возле вышеупомянутого рукава дельты Северной Двины.

[86] *Stoebke D.-E.* Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines Urfinnischen Namensystems. S. 105. Основа *mieli* здесь, скорее всего, имеет значение 'душа, характер'.

[87] *Mikkola P., Paikkala S.* Sukunimikirja. Uud. Laitos. Helsinki: Otava, 2000.

[88] Этимологию см.: *Mikkola P., Paikkala S.* Sukunimikirja.

нако возможна также некая связь с наименованием языческих божественных сил. В финском *vihtahousu* «вихта-брюки» – эвфемизм, обозначающий черта. Этимология данного выражения неизвестна, но его семантический оттенок указывает на возможность того, что имена с корнем *vihtV-* содержали название языческой божественной силы, которое после христианизации переосмыслили как название черта. Данное толкование, естественно, в какой-то мере спекулятивно. Тем не менее его подтверждает факт того, что у прибалтийских финнов-язычников было достаточно много личных имен мифологического характера (ср., например, имена типа *Ilma-*, *KalevV-*, *JoukV-* и др., которые фигурируют в качестве имен мифических богатырей в рунах Калевалы).

В связи с личными именами от данного корня стоит указать и на близкие параллели в сфере нарицательной лексики: фин. диал. *vihta* 'веник'[89], *vihtikko* 'кустарник'. Семантически близко им *vihko* 'сноп, пучок, букет цветов и т. д.', которое может восходить к тому же корню + суффикс *-ko* (ср. пары типа *hiekka* 'песок', *hieta* 'то же' и другие прибалтийско-финские производные коррелятивные пары без корневого слова). Все эти слова неизвестного происхождения. Вопрос о том, какова их связь с именами от корня **vihtV-*, остается пока открытым.

***Лембонема.*** Этимология названия этой бывшей деревни Пинежского района Архангельской области уже рассматривалась некоторыми исследователями[90]. А. Алквист в 1887 г.[91] сравнивал его с финским *lempo* 'черт, нечистая сила', и эта этимология принимается авторитетными исследователями[92]. По нашему мнению, в этом случае стоит все-таки предпочесть связь с личным именем.

Слово *lempo* 'черт' является производным от корня **lempV-*. Этот корень – типичное для финно-угорских языков так называемое nomen-verbum, к которым относятся и существительные, и глаголы. В современном финском литературном языке таковы, например, слова *lempi*

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[89] А. И. Попов сравнивал *Vihti*-имена из новгородских берестяных грамот с данным словом, а также с глаголом *vihkiä* 'венчать'. (См.: Прибалтийско-финские личные имена в новгородских берестяных грамотах // Тр. Карел. филиала АН СССР. 1958. Т.12.) Второе сопоставление Попова неприемлемо по фонетическим причинам.

[90] По данным картотеки ТЭ, на Русском Севере кроме этого существует, по крайней мере, одно название с параллельной основой. Это ручей *Ленбосёра* в Верхнетоемском районе Архангельской области.

[91] Kalevalan karjalaisuus. Kalevalasta itsestään ja muualta todistanut August Ahlqvist. Helsinki: Suomen yliopisto, 1887.

[92] Например: *Kalima U.* Vienajoen tienoon paikannimet ja *niemi*. Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja 31. Porvoo, 1951. S. 132–137; *Матвеев А.К.* Этимологический словарь субстратных топонимов Русского Севера. Т. 1: Прибалтийско-финские и саамские форманты и основы: Рукопись. Екатеринбург, 1980.

'любовь (именно эротическая)', *lempiä* 'любить; ласкать' и др. Изначальное значение данного корня, видимо, было каким-то образом связано с огнем, горением (ср. эст. *lembida* 'гореть', *lemmed* 'искры'). Возможна также некая связь слова *lämpö-* 'тепло; теплота' вместе с глаголами от того же корня с данным этимологическим гнездом.

*Lempi* является одним из самых частотных элементов, повторяющихся в прибалтийско-финских языческих именах. Он может выступить и в качестве основы (*Lempivalta* – ср. ниже имена с основой *Valt- / Vald*), и в качестве детерминанта (*Valtalempi, Toivolempi, Kaukolempi, Untalempi, Ikälempi*)[93]. Усеченная форма *Lempi* многократно упоминается в письменных источниках XVI в., относящихся к Карельскому перешейку и Ингерманландии[94]. Помимо него существует целый ряд других одночастных личных имен, возникших от того же корня, например, финские *Lempi, Lempiä* (с производным суффиксом *-a / -ä*) *Lemmitty* (от причастия прошедшего времени, букв. 'любимый'), *Lemminkäinen* и т. д. Подобные имена были известны и в Эстонии. Финская фамилия *Lemponen*, а также ойконимы типа *Lempoila* (например: хутор в Халикко (юго-западная Финляндия), хутор в Илмайоки и в Нурмо (северно-западная Финляндия), хутор в Лохя (южная Финляндия) и т. д.) указывают на то, что слово *Lempo*, вероятно, в какое-то время было именем человека. То, что слово с таким корнем употребляется в современных языках с семантикой 'черт, нечистая сила', предполагает, что когда-то данное имя, возможно, имело некую связь с языческими божественными силами. Таким образом, здесь можно наблюдать параллельное с вышеупомянутым гнездом *vihtV-* развитие.

Хотелось бы также сопоставить пинежский ойконим и его возможные севернорусские параллели именно с вышеупомянутыми многочисленными прибалтийско-финскими антропонимами, а не только с апеллятивом *lempo* 'черт'. Вероятнее всего, в субстратном языке как имя использовались формы *Lempi* либо *Lempo(i)*. В пользу первого варианта интерпретации говорит тот факт, что в современной Финляндии нет ни одного названия типа **Lemponiemi*, но названия типа *Lempiniemi*,

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[93] *Stoebke D.-E.* Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines Urfinnischen Namensystems. S. 95–97. Первая часть имени *Toivolempi* обозначает 'надежда'. Этот корень, скорее всего, зафиксирован в субстратных названиях Русского Севера. Так, в Приморском районе есть деревня *Тойвотолово*, название которой, по всей вероятности, содержит зафиксированное неоднократно в письменных источниках приб.-фин. имя *Toivottu* (формально причастие от глагола *toivoa* 'надеяться'). Об основе имени *Kaukolempi* см. ниже в этимологии названия деревни *Кавкола*. Основа имени *Untamieli* обозначает 'сонливый, мечтательный, забывающий', основа имени *Ikämieli* – 'старый, долговечный'. Эти именные гнезда также могут быть зафиксированы в топонимии Русского Севера.

[94] *Mikkola P., Paikkala S.* Sukunimikirja.

*Lempiäniemi* многочисленны (например: *Lempiniemi*, мыс в Куопио, Оулу, Хейнявеси (восточная Финляндия) и т. д.; *Lempiäniemi*, бывшая деревня в Юлоярви (провинция Хяме)). Скорее всего, большинство из них возникло именно на основе личных имен[95].

***Кеврола.*** Село *Кеврола* современного Пинежского района Архангельской области является, по всей вероятности, одним из самых старых населенных пунктов Русского Севера. Его название упоминается еще в 1137 г. как *Кегрѣла* в уже названной уставной грамоте князя Святослава Ольговича как волость, платившая дань Новгороду.

Название не имеет параллелей на Русском Севере. Оно относится к группе ойконимов, оканчивающихся на *-ла*, которая в современных прибалтийско-финских языках изобилует отантропонимными названиями. Таким образом, есть основание предполагать, что название *Кегрѣла* также могло возникнуть от личного имени.

Подходящим источником ойконима *Кеврола* могут служить карельские фамилии *Käkröinen* и *Kekroinen*, образованные, скорее всего, от прилагательного *käkrä* (в финском литературном языке *käyrä* < **käkrä*, в диалектах также *keuru*) 'кривой, изогнутый'. Данное прилагательное или же производное от него **käkröi*, вероятно, когда-то использовалось в качестве личного имени.

На это указывают, прежде всего, вышеупомянутые фамилии, образованные от личных имен и прозвищ с помощью суффикса *-(i)nen-* (в косвенных падежах суффикс чередуется с *-(i)sen* (< **-(j)se-* < **ńće-*) – *-n-* в именительном падеже развилось по аналогии). Данная модель очень распространена в современном финском языке и является основным способом деривации новых фамилий. В большинстве случаев данные фамилии имеют корреляты в ойконимах, сформированных с помощью суффикса *-ла*, например: *Heikki* (имя) > *Heikkinen* (фамилия), *Heikkilä* (дом или деревня) *Pekka* (имя) > *Pekkanen* (фамилия), *Pekkala* (дом или деревня) и т. д. Примеров подобной корреляции насчитывается десятки или сотни тысяч. Таким образом, можно предполагать, что некогда существовало также имя **käkrä*.

Фамилии *Kekroinen*, *Käkröinen* встречаются в письменных источниках XVII в., относящихся к Карельскому перешейку[96]. Подобная основа встречается и в топонимах. В финской коммуне Кивеннапа (в современной Ленинградской обл.) находилась до Второй мировой войны деревня *Kekroila*. Деревня с таким же названием некогда существовала в Ингер-

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[95] Nimiarkisto (Архив топонимов Финляндии при центре исследования языков Финляндии (Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus), г. Хельсинки).

[96] *Kepsu S.* Pietari ennen Pietaria. Nevansuun vaiheita ennen Pietarin kaupimgin perustamista // Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimitteita 608. Helsinki, 1995. S. 56.

манландии, в устье Невы, на месте современной р. Фонтанки в Петербурге. Данные названия можно считать полными параллелями сев.-рус. *Кегрѣлы*. В современной Финляндии также много топонимов, образованных от основы *käyrä*, *keuru*. Большинство из них, скорее всего, отапеллятивного происхождения, но некоторые могут содержать антропонимы.

Русская форма *Кегрѣла* с *ѣ* во втором слоге указывает, возможно, на то, что в субстратном языке второй слог названия содержал дифтонг [*öi*] или [*oi*]. В древненовгородском диалекте *ѣ*, видимо, произносилось как [*ie*], и вполне возможно, что именно так передавался дифтонг субстратного языка. Однако вероятно и то, что формы названия с дифтонгом, которые зафиксированы в Ингерманландии, представляют характерное лишь для данного региона прибалтийско-финское развитие и рус. *ѣ* здесь замещает передний гласный субстратного языка[97].

Мотивацией наименования человека прилагательным, обозначающим 'кривой', могла быть его внешность или же фамилия могла возникнуть от топонима. Стоит все-таки указать еще и на другую возможность. У карелов *kekri*, *köyri*, *köyry* (в старом письменном языке *käkri*) – название божества, которому был посвящен осенний праздник *kekri* или *kekrinpäivä* («кекри-день»), который в эпоху христианства преобразовался в Покров-день. С формальной точки зрения слово *kekri* может быть производным от того же прилагательного *kekrä* или *käkrä*. Если эти два слова одного происхождения, название божества или мифической силы может служить дополнительным подтверждающим аргументом в пользу того, что личное имя *Käkrä* существовало, семантические связи двух слов, одно из которых обозначает 'кривой', а второе – 'божество', естественно, до конца не понятны.

***Уйма.*** Деревня *Уйма* находится в устьях Двины под Архангельском. Ее название сравнивалось М. А. Кастреном уже в 1844 г. с финским глаголом *uida* (*uima-*) 'плавать, купаться'[98]. Этимологическое предположение Кастрена не подтверждается типологией топонимов такого рода, однако присутствие данной глагольной основы в топонимии РС можно объяснить с помощью антропонима.

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[97] Развитие прибалтийско-финских расширенных существительных, оканчивающихся на *-(o)i̯/-(ö)i̯*, до конца не ясно. Данный элемент представлен исключительно в некоторых прибалтийско-финских диалектах (ср., например, фин. *repo* 'лиса' и карел. *reboi* 'то же', фин. *hepo* 'лошадь' и карел. *heboi* 'то же'). Это может быть, в частности, реликтовая форма, представляющая этап возникновения губного гласного второго слога (ср. пары типа фин. *repo* и саам. (наречие Лулеа) *riepij*, которые явно указывают на то, что исходная форма данного слова была типа **repä-j(V)*. Однако, с другой стороны, вероятно, что речь здесь может идти о вторичном аналогичном развитии.

[98] *Castrén M. A.* Anmärkningar om Sawolotschesskaja Tschud. Suomi II. Helsingfors, 1844.

В финских диалектах некогда было имя *Uimi, Uimo*, которое сохранилось в фамилиях *Uimi, Uimo* и *Uimonen*. Подобно выше рассмотренным именам, большинство из родов с данными фамилиями происходят из южной Карелии и Карельского перешейка[99]. Элемент типа *Уйм-* встречается также в названиях некоторых деревень на Карельском перешейке, в южной финляндской Карелии и в южном Саво, т. е. на территориях, где карельско-новгородское влияние было ощутимо в средние века[100].

Возможно, что данная фамилия этимологически связана с глаголом *uida* 'плавать, купаться'. Из д. Леми финской провинции Кюменлаакso в юго-восточной части страны документирован случай, где имя *Uimi* возникло от топонима *Uiminiemi* 'купальный мыс' (> *Uimi* поселение на данном месте > *Uimi* имя)[101]. Однако возможно, что имя, по крайней мере в некоторых случаях, имеет некое другое происхождение. В частности, исследования С. Кепсу по топонимам Кюменлаакso подтверждают то, что данная лексема использовалась как личное имя, хотя оно отсутствует в списках языческих прибалтийско-финских антропонимов Д.-Е. Стёбке.

***Кавкола.*** Сравнивается Н. В. Кабининой с приб.-фин. корнем *kauka-* 'отдаленный'[102]. В принципе это сопоставление является правильным. Однако название *Кавкола* относится к группе названий поселений с формантом *-а*, и поэтому и здесь, скорее всего, название возникло на основе антропонима.

Самая подходящая приб.-фин. параллель – финско-карельское *Kauko*, которое и сегодня является типичным для Финляндии. Имена с данной лексемой многократно упоминаются также в исторических памятниках. По материалам Д.-Е. Стёбке, **Kauk(k)V* является типичным одночастным языческим личным именем прибалтийских финнов (например: *Kauka, Kauko, Kauken, Kauke* и т. д.), а также выступает основой многих двучастных имен (например: *Kaukamieli, Kaukalempi, Kaukapäivä, Kaukavalta, Kankatoive*)[103].

Подобный элемент фиксируется и в современных фамилиях (*Kaukonen, Kauko, Kaukola*). Некоторые из одночастных имен и фамилий с данным корнем, видимо, произошли от сложных составных имен, некоторые указывают на отдаленное местонахождение жилья определенного

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[99] *Mikkola P., Paikkala S.* Sukunimikirja.

[100] *Kepsu S.* Pohjois-Kymenlaakson kylännimet // Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia 367. Helsinki, 1981.

[101] Там же. S. 184–186.

[102] *Кабинина Н. В.* Топонимия дельты Северной Двины: Дис. канд. ... филол. наук. Екатеринбург, 1997.

[103] Значения формантов имен с данной основой: *mieli* 'душа, характер', *päivä* 'день', *toive* 'надежда'. Названия с элементами *lempi* и *valta* рассматриваются в других местах этой статьи.

человека[104]. *Kaukola* – типичный финский отантропонимный топоним, который очень широко фиксируется как название хуторов и деревень во всей стране.

***Топонимы с основой Ихал(ь)-.*** Названий с такой основой на Русском Севере насчитывается по крайней мере пять: реки *Ихала* в Верхнетоемском и Вельском районах, р. *Ихалица* в басс. Сухоны, мыс *Ихальнемъ* и оз. *Ихалъное* в басс. Пинеги. Они рассматривались А. К. Матвеевым[105]. Он предполагает, что данные названия содержат прибалтийско-финскую лексему, обозначающую 'необычный, прекрасный, живописный' и т. д. – фин. и карел. *ihana- / ihala* с др. приб.-фин. параллелями. Непроизводная основа – *iha-* 'веселый, радостный'.

По нашему мнению, сопоставление Матвеева правильно на лексическом уровне. Однако для топонимов с основой *ихаль-* более вероятна связь с личными именами, содержащими упоминаемый Матвеевым апеллятив, чем непосредственно с нарицательным словом. Д.-Е. Стёбке приводит достаточно много примеров приб.-фин. личных имен, которые относятся к данному словарному гнезду. Это *Iha, Ihala, Ihalempi, Ihamieli, Iha(li)päivä* и т. д. Авторы Sukunimikirja (Словарь финских фамилий) упоминают также имена *Ihana, Ihama, Ihari, Ihanta, Ihanto* и др. А. И. Попов называет имя *Ihamas* – иногда с атрибутом «чудский» – из новгородских берестяных грамот. Современная финская фамилия *Ihalainen* явно произошла от имени *Ihala*, имеющего параллели в топонимии Русского Севера. Гнездо распространения этой фамилии находится на Карельском перешейке и на севере провинции Саво, которое относится к историческим карельским землям[106]. Другая современная фамилия от того же корня – *Ihanus.*

Вероятно, множество финских топонимов с данным корнем произошли от антропонимов. На это указывает использование в данных названиях основы родительного падежа вместо именительного (например: *Ihananlampi*, озеро в Таивалкоски, в провинции Каинуу (северная Финляндия), *Ihananpelto*, поле в Икаалинен, в провинции Сатакунта, в юго-западной части страны), а также типичные отантропонимные названия хуторов с формантом *-ла*: *Ihanala*, хутор в Каигасале (Хяме),

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[104] *Mikkola P., Paikkala S.* Sukunimikirja, s.v. *Kaukonen.*

[105] См.: *Матвеев А. К.* Русская топонимика финно-угорского происхождения на территории севера Европейской части СССР: Дис... д-ра филол. наук. М., 1970. С. 353; *Он же.* Топонимические этимологии. III (Некоторые прибалтийско-финские элементы в субстратной топонимике Русского Севера) // Советское финно-угроведение. 1972. № 3. С. 165.

[106] См.: *Mikkola P., Paikkala S.* Sukunimikirja. S. 148; *Pöyhönen J.* Suomalainen sukunimikartasto ( = Atlas of Finnish Surnames) // Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden toimituksia. Helsinki, 1998. №. 693. S. 62.

*Ihala*, хутор в Липери (северная Карелия). Однако существуют примеры топонимов, которые могли произойти и от прилагательного *ihana*, *ihala*, например: *Ihanasuo*, бол. в Лоппи (южное Хяме), *Ihananurmi*, луг в Палтамо (Каинуу). Таким образом, севернорусские топонимы могут быть апеллятивного происхождения, хотя в большинстве случаев более вероятен их отантропонимный характер.

***Топонимы с основой Карг-.*** Многочисленные севернорусские топонимы с основой *Карг-* неоднократно рассматривались разными исследователями. Скорее всего, является правильным предположение, что во многих случаях данные названия связаны с приб.-фин. апеллятивом *karhu* 'медведь'[107].

Тем не менее большое количество названий с данным корнем указывает на возможность того, что некоторые из них могли произойти из антропонимов. Во-первых, приб.-фин. апеллятив *karhu* является основой многочисленных фамилий (ср. например *Karhu*, *Karhunen*, которые являются типичными для всей Финляндии)[108]. Во-вторых, помимо фамилий данного рода, в современной Финляндии достаточно много названий с основой *karhi-*. Существует апеллятив *karhi* 'куча чего-то, чаще всего сена'. Вероятно, названия возникли на основе антропонима *Karhi*, *Karhia*, который также встречается в исторических источниках XVI в. на Карельском перешейке. Этот антропоним, видимо, возник от ранее упомянутого апеллятива или от прилагательного *karhea* 'шершавый, грубый, жесткий (о волосе)'. Мотивацией номинации здесь может быть жесткий волос человека, на что указывает также фамилия *Karhipää* «кархи-голова». Апеллятив *karhu* 'медведь', который не имеет аналогии в других финно-угорских языковых группах, изначально, видимо, является производным от того же прилагательного.

***Топонимы с основой Валт- / Валд-.*** Пинежские ойконимы *Валдокурья* и *Вальтево*, по нашим данным, не рассматривались в этимологической литературе. По нашему мнению, их стоит, скорее всего, сопоставлять с многочисленными прибалтийско-финскими языческими именами.

Как многократно упомянуто выше, в своем исследовании Д.-Е. Стёбке приводит достаточно много примеров двухчастных прибалтийско-финских языческих имен, содержащих элемент *-valta-*[109]. Как апеллятив современного финского языка, данное слово обозначает чаще

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[107] Исторический обзор предполагаемых версий см.: *Матвеев. А. К.* Русская топонимика финно-угорского происхождения на территории севера Европейской части СССР. Видимо, впервые упомянутая этимологическая версия встречается у Кастрена.

[108] *Pöyhönen J.* Suomalainen sukunimikartasto. S. 89.

[109] *Stoebke D.-E.* Die alten ostseefinnischen Personennamen im Rahmen eines Urfinnischen Namensystems. S. 104–106.

всего 'власть', и в диалектах также 'свобода', 'большой', 'холостой' и т. д. В именах подобный элемент является чаще всего формантом сложного имени (*Ikävalta*, *Ilmovalta*, *Kaukavalta*, *Kirjavalta*, *Lempivalta*, *Viljavalta*). В некоторых случаях он является основой (*Valtalempi*). Короткие формы *Valta*, *Valto(i)*, *Valde* и др. многократно зафиксированы в письменных источниках и до сих пор *Valto* является популярным именем у финнов. Апеллятив *valta* встречается в финских топонимах преимущественно как первый компонент сложных географических терминов (*valtatie* 'главная дорога', *valtauoma* 'главное русло'), но как самостоятельная основа практически не используется. Отантропонимные топонимы (типа *Valtola* как название хутора), в свою очередь, являются повсеместными во всей стране. Это указывает на то, что севернорусские топонимы с основой *Валд- / Валт-*, вероятнее всего, произошли от антропонимов.

***Азикино.*** Хотелось бы привести еще один пример из сферы микротопонимии. В деревне Пильегоры Пинежского района небольшое озеро называется *Азикино*, и рядом с ним находится одноименное поле. Оба объекта очень невелики и, скорее всего, никогда не имели большого значения. Тем не менее есть основание предполагать, что их названия содержат финно-угорское личное имя.

В современной Финляндии достаточно типична фамилия *Asikainen*, которая, в свою очередь, содержит старое германское личное имя *Azika*, многократно зафиксированное в средневековых письменных источниках[110]. Самая большая часть носителей данной фамилии родом из финской северной Карелии. Топонимы, содержащие подобную основу, достаточно частотны в Финляндии (например: *Asikkala*, коммуна в южном Хяме, хутор в Ювa, хутор в Яяски, *Asikka*, хутор в Лоимаа, *Asikainen*, хутор в Соанлахти, лес в Сиеви и т. д.)[111].

Имя *Azika* представляет особый интерес с точки зрения истории Заволочья. По данным исторической литературы, известен документ 1315 г., где называются имена представителей важского старосты, пришедших в Новгород договориться о судебном деле. Среди них упоминается также *Азика*[112]. Таким образом, есть письменное свидетельство наличия подобного имени в Заволочье. Стоит добавить, что имя *Азика* фигурирует в самом старом документе, в котором упоминаются финские личные имена – в булле Папы Римского 1315 г.

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[110] *Mikkola P., Paikkala S.* Sukunimikirja, s.v. *Asikainen*.

[111] *Pöyhönen J.* Sukunimikartasto. Ср. выше: Suomalainen sukunimikartasto. S. 26.

[112] *Vasmer M.* Beiträge zur historischen Völkerkunde Osteuropas IV. Die ehemalige Ausbreitung der Westfinnen in den heutigen Slawischen Länder. Berlin: Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Sonderausgabe, Phil.-Hist. Klasse), 1936. S. 10–12.

***Вопрос о христианских личных именах в субстратных топонимах.*** Совершенно ясно, что финно-угорские племена Заволочья до своей ассимиляции долгое время жили вместе с русскими. Поэтому можно предполагать, что некоторые севернорусские топонимы могли возникнуть на основе русского или христианского личного имени, но в субстратном языке.

Например, основу названия покоса и мыса *Иванемь* по р. Сура, притоку Пинеги, можно, скорее всего, сравнивать с карельско-финским личным именем *Iiva(na)*, которое, в свою очередь, восходит к рус. *Иван*. Данное имя распространено у православных восточной Финляндии и Карелии. Параллельное название деревни *Iivanniemi* есть в Финляндии, в коммуне Кирву, в провинции Похянмаа, в зоне бывшего карельского влияния. Другие топонимы с данной основой тоже довольно частотны, например: *Iivanselkä*, часть озера Суистамо (южная Карелия), *Iivansilta*, мост в Яккиме (северная Карелия) и т. д. Есть также фамилии *Iivonen, Iivanainen, Iivari, Iivarinen* и др. из того же корня.

Другим примером топонима, который, возможно, возник на основе христианского личного имени, может служить *Лукомень* (по той же р. Суре), ср. финские фамилии *Luukkanen, Luukkonen* и топонимы типа *Luukanniemi* (Сулкава, Руоколахти, Посио и т.д.), которые происходят из общеевропейских имен типа *Luukka, Luukas* и др. (ср. русскую фамилию *Лукин* и т. д.).

Рассмотренные примеры языческих прибалтийско-финских личных имен как источника субстратных топонимах Русского Севера в какой-то мере изолированны и случайны. Однако можно надеяться, что они послужат свидетельством того, насколько прибалтийско-финские личные имена полезны в процессе этимологизации севернорусских топонимов. Это вполне естественно, потому что нет топонимической системы, которая не содержала бы имена владельцев или первопоселенцев.

По нашему мнению, связь некоторых вышеупомянутых топонимов с прибалтийско-финскими личными именами достаточно очевидна. Это касается, в первую очередь, топонимов *Вихтово, Лембонема, Уйма, Кавкола* и *Азикино*. Этимология названия деревни *Кеврола* в некоторой мере спекулятивна, поскольку основывается на реконструкции имени, не зафиксированного в письменных источниках. Тем не менее параллельные ойконимы из сферы проживания современных прибалтийско-финских этносов некоторым образом ее поддерживают. Этимологии топонимов с основой *Ихал(ь)-, Карг-, Валд / Валт-* являются в какой-то мере альтернативными, т. е. в этих случаях не всегда можно решить вопрос об антропонимном характере определенного топонима.

Более полный анализ данной тематики потребует более полных данных о севернорусской топонимии и систематического использования всех сведений о прибалтийско-финских языческих личных именах. Совершенно очевидно, что и не упомянутые выше севернорусские топоосновы имеют параллели среди прибалтийско-финских антропонимов.

Приведенные примеры позволяют предполагать, что из всех прибалтийско-финских народов именно антропонимия карел найдет достаточно много параллелей в топонимии Русского Севера. Будущее исследование должно показать, есть ли у данного предположения основание или же мы имеем дело со случайным сходством.

# Commentaries concerning article 3 and section 5.4 of article 2

The toponymic etymologies from personal names are clearly one of the areas in which perspectives for the study of North Russian toponymy seem most promising. The possibilities of conducting studies of Finnic personal names in toponymy have been, however, seriously hindered by the fact that also the living Finnic toponymy has been poorly analysed from the standpoint of personal names. As an exception one can, however, mention a study by Irma Mullonen (1994: 85–102), who has used the Veps toponymy to reconstruct Old Veps personal names.

So far, no criteria have been presented which could be used in reconstructing unattested Finnic personal names on the basis of toponyms. For this purpose I have formulated the principles below. They are, most likely, not complete and the methodological work in this field should be continued.

1) There should preferably be several toponyms which include the hypothetical personal name
2) Toponyms should preferably belong to categories that are often formed from personal names in living languages, i.e. settlement names, field and meadow names, etc.
3) An explanation that a toponym is derived from a personal name will be most probably correct if the name belongs to a structural type that is often formed from personal names.
4) In the case of the substrate names, the explanation that a toponym is derived from a personal name is more likely to be right if it includes suffixes which are connected to personal names (*–ла, –ов(о), -ин* etc.).
5) A reconstructed personal name should preferably be motivated.
6) A reconstruction of the personal name is substantially more reliable if the assumed name element can also be attested in Finnic surnames.

When writing article 3, I was not aware of the fact that the Novgorod birch bark letters contain many Finnic personal names which have not been analysed in the scholarly literature. In section 5.2 of article 2 that is dedicated to the personal names, I refer to birch bark letters as additional evidence in favour of the proposed etymologies from personal names. The Finnic personal names in birch bark letters have been touched upon by many scholars (Helimski 1986; Laakso 2005, Krys'ko 2006), but no systematic analysis of them has been provided so far. This research subject will be left for future study.

In addition to names referred to in the two articles commented upon here, also some other Finnic personal names in the birch bark letters have parallels in northern Russian toponymy. Thus, it would appear that the personal name **Leino(i)* can be reconstructed on the basis of birch bark letter 278 [у Леинуя].

Most certainly, the same lexeme also occurs in the Finnish surnames *Leino, Leinonen*, etc. These names are derivatives of the Finnic **leinä* 'weak, miserable' (> Finnish *leina, leino* id., a Baltic loanword [cf. Lithuanian *klíenas*, Latvian *kliens* 'lean'], SSA II: 60); The northern Russian toponyms which may be connected with this personal name are *Лейнема,* a village in Pleseckij District and *Лейнручей*, a brook (tributary of Andoma) in Vytegra District (materials referred to from STE).

At present, it is possible to sustain some etymologies presented in article 3 and in section 5.2 of article 2 by introducing into the discussion some new toponymic materials. Thus, toponyms formed from personal names with generic **valta* are to be found also in other northern Russian regions. Literary sources point to a village *Валдола*, that no longer exists, in the *Важская пятина* (STE). In the Konoša district of the Arkhangel'sk Region there is the village called *Валдеев* that has also probably been formed from the personal name **valto(i)*. The same motivation could well have been behind such toponyms as *Валдово,* woods in the Velsk District, *Валдушки* village in the Primorski District, etc. However, it is not clear if toponyms like *Валдозеро* lake in the Holmogory District, *Валдручей* brook in the Vytegra District, etc. also belong here. These kinds of names could, at least formally, have been derived also from the appellative *valta* 'power, force [also: big size]', this word is not common in the toponym formation of Finnic languages, however.

Toponyms formed from base *ихаль–* are commonplace in northern Russia. Matveev (2004: 37) gives 16 examples, of which some may have been formed from the corresponding Finnic adjective *ihala* 'lovely'. Most of the names are clearly from personal names, however: six of them also include the Russian derivative *–ов* which occurs in connection with the personal names.

The place names derived from the personal name *Asikka* are also attested in two other northern Russian regions: there is a brook *Азикова* in the Upper Tojma District and a river the *Azikova* in the same District. Rivers with the names *Азика* and *Малая Азика* also occur in the Onega District (STE).

Moreover, I still find the idea that some northern Russian toponyms may derive from Christian personal names credible. Even some new similar cases could be presented. Thus the name of the village *Юрола* in Pinega District could well have connection with the Christian name *Юрий.* This toponym must have originated in the substrate language because of the determinant *–ла*, which is of Finnic origin. The same element also occurs in the names *Юропалда* meadow (< ?? **Jüri(n)pelto*) and *Юрнема* (?? < **Jüri(n)neemi*) which are attested in the village of Maslinnikova in the Pleseckij District). It is also likely that the village name *Юряминская* (< **Jüri(n)neemi,* with Russian derivational and gender suffixes) at the mouth of the Dvina has a connection with this element.

Some additional remarks on the details.

I no longer believe that there are many cases in which northern and central Russian toponyms with the formant *–пола / -бола* (p. 136–137) are formed from personal names. At least in the case of the Pinega basin it would seem that this group of names is typically formed from appellatives (*Летопала* < **leettek* 'fine sand', *Харапольı* < **haara* 'branch', *Ластепала* < *lasta* 'flood meadow' [a dialect word], *Воепала* < **woja* 'brook', etc.).

There is a mistake on page 137: instead of *Ихала* there should be *Ихаль*.

Nowadays I admit that personal names with the stem **VihtV-* must be of Germanic origin (cf. German *Wicht* 'thing; being', Pl. 'demons' < Proto-Germanic **wihti* > Old Norse *vettr* 'thing; way of life'). This Germanic word is likely also the loan original for Finnish *vihtahousu* 'devil' (p. 139).

The reconstruction **lempi* should be favoured for **lempV* (p. 139).

The Finnish *kekri* 'Hallowmas' has no connection with Finnic **käkrä*. *Kekri* has been explained as an Aryan borrowing (cf. Koivulehto 2000).

The Finnish personal name **Uimo(i)* that can be reconstructed on the basis of toponyms and surnames has, most likely, no connection with the verbal stem *ui-* 'swim'. Probably, the name is connected with the stem *(h)uima-* with wide range of meanings related to mental states (p. 143), cf. Finnish *huima* 'frisky; dizzy', *huimata* 'feel giddy' etc (Ulla-Maija Kulonen, personal communication). The same element seems to have occurred in several personal names (cf. the Finnish surnames *Huima, Uima, Uimonen* jne.)

The toponyms with the base *Карг-* probably belong to several different groups. Quite probably, many of them are not related to the Finnic *karhu* in any way.

**ARTICLE 4:**

# Über die saamischen Substratennamen des Nordrusslands und Finnlands

*Janne Saarikivi*

# Über das saamische Substratnamengut in Nordrußland und Finnland[1]

This article deals with Saami substrate toponyms in Finland, Russian Karelian and North Russian Archangel and Vologda oblasts (regions). The historical distribution of Saami settlement in Northern Europe is discussed on the basis of material from both Finnish and Russian publications and archives.

The author differentiates between the "Saami" place names according to lexical, phonetic and typological criteria. In the first case, place names can be characterised as "Saami" if they include a lexeme not present in other Uralic languages. In the second case, the "Saami" toponym should represent phonetic changes characteristic of Saami languages only. In the third case, the overall typological characteristics of a substrate place name system in a certain area are compared with the present Saami toponymic system.

The author argues that the distribution of Saami toponyms is different for each criteria discussed. Thus, Saami phonetic changes seem to be present in the toponyms of a wider northern European area than those geographical terms that restricted to Saami languages only. On the basis of this observation the author argues that the Saami languages have borrowed vocabulary, most likely from extinct Palaeo-European languages in the vicinity of Lake Onega and the area to the north of it. In the conclusion the author argues that despite a wide-spread view, the Saami languages should not be considered offsprings of stone age language forms that were located in the territory in which Saami is now spoken. Most likely, the Saami languages spread to their present territory much later.

## 0. Einleitung

Sowohl in der finnischen wie in der russischen Onomastik herrscht bereits seit langem die Auffassung, daß saamisches Namengut weit außerhalb der heutigen saamischen Gebiete zu finden ist. Die Argumente, die zur Unterstützung dieser Auffassung vorgebracht werden, weichen jedoch voneinander ab. Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird versucht, durch Nutzung beider Forschungstraditionen eine allgemeine Antwort auf die Frage zu geben, was man im Licht der Namenforschung über die frühere Verbreitung der

saamischen Besiedlung und über die Herausbildung der saamischen Ethnie sagen kann.

Auf das Thema der vorliegenden Untersuchung stieß ich bei der Bearbeitung des Materials für meine Dissertation über die Ortsnamen finnisch-ugrischer Herkunft in einem nordrussischen Distrikt. Im Hintergrund steht die Beobachtung, daß ein Teil der nordrussischen Ortsnamen etymologisch vor allem mit den saamischen Sprachen zu verbinden ist, daß andererseits jedoch das "Saamische", das im Namengut dieses Gebiets auftritt, nicht dasselbe ist, das in den saamischen Substratnamen Binnenfinnlands oder im heutigen saamischen Sprachgebiet begegnet. Die Arbeitshypothese war denn auch, daß die Unterschiede des auf Substrat zurückgehenden saamischen Namenschatzes in verschiedenen Gebieten Finnlands und Rußlands auf die eine oder andere Weise die Stadien der Herausbildung der saamischen Ethnie widerspiegeln. Die Untersuchungsmethode beinhaltet die Kartierung der Verbreitung verschiedener Namentypen saamischer Herkunft in der Toponymie Finnlands und der nördlichen Gebiete des europäischen Rußlands sowie den Vergleich des Namengutes verschiedener Regionen.

Die Untersuchung hat vier Hauptziele. Erstens sollen, wie gesagt, die Ergebnisse der finnischen und russischen Forschungstradition hinsichtlich des saamischen Namenguts verglichen und miteinander verbunden werden. Zweitens soll das Auftreten saamischer Elemente in der Toponymie im Licht verschiedener linguistischer Kriterien behandelt werden, wobei kritisch zu diskutieren ist, worin das "Saamentum" der Ortsnamen jeweils zum Ausdruck kommt. Drittens sollen die so gewonnenen Erkenntnisse mit den Ergebnissen anderer Disziplinen verbunden werden, um neues Wissen über die Ethnogenese und Vorgeschichte der Saamen zu gewinnen. Das vierte Ziel ist die Gewinnung einer onomastischen Methode, die zur Erforschung der Geschichte der uralischen Völker in Gebieten anwendbar ist, wo die uralischen Sprachen verschwunden sind und nur ein sprachliches Substrat hinterlassen haben.[2]

Es versteht sich, daß auf derart komplexe Fragen keine einfachen Antworten gegeben werden können. Der vorliegende Beitrag präsentiert lediglich erste Ergebnisse. U.a. wurde das saamische Namengut Schwedens und Norwegens in diesem Zusammenhang völlig ausgeklammert. Zudem ist die Anzahl der behandelten Namentypen relativ klein, das Untersuchungsgebiet dagegen groß, und die Qualität des verfügbaren Materials weist gebietsweise erhebliche Schwankungen auf. Es ist anzuneh-

men, daß die hier vorgestellten Untersuchungsergebnisse künftig wesentlich präzisiert werden, wenn der Stand der Namensammlungen vor allem in der Republik Karelien sich verbessert und die Verbreitung weiterer Ortsnamentypen erforscht wird.

Die hier vorgelegten Angaben über die Verbreitung der Namentypen stammen aus dem Namensarchiv des Forschungszentrums für die Landessprachen Finnlands in Helsinki, aus der Namengutsammlung des Instituts für die Toponymie Nordrußlands der Uralischen Universität in Jekaterinburg und aus der Namengutsammlung des Karelischen Wissenschaftszentrums in Petrozavodsk.[3]

## 1. Die Ethnogenese der Saamen

### 1.1. Archäologische und genetische Aspekte[4]

Das Siedlungsgebiet der Saamen reicht heute von Mittelskandinavien bis zur Halbinsel Kola. Sehr allgemein ausgedrückt, umfaßt die als saamisch bezeichnete Kulturform drei Komponenten: die zum saamischen Zweig der uralischen Sprachfamilie gehörende Sprachform, die nordeuropäische vorfinnisch-ugrische Komponente, die sowohl in der Sprache als auch im genetischen Erbe zu Tage tritt, und die mit dem nordeurasischen Kulturkreis verknüpfte circumpolare Komponente, die die Saamen mit anderen Völkern Nordeurasiens und auch Nordamerikas verbindet.

Das heutige saamische Gebiet ist vermutlich seit dem Ende der paläolithischen Steinzeit kontinuierlich besiedelt. Die ersten Einwohner Nordfennoskandiens dürften um 9500 v. Chr. von Südwesten her an der norwegischen Küste entlang eingetroffen sein. Nach allgemeiner Auffassung erklärt die Richtung, aus der die früheste Bevölkerung des Gebiets kam, die genetischen Verbindungen der Saamen zu den Populationen Westeuropas, u. a. den Basken, während das isolierte Leben dieser Bevölkerung am Rande des Kontinentaleises die große genetische Distanz der Saamen zu den anderen europäischen Populationen erklärt. Hinter der letztgenannten Erscheinung steht auch die geringe Größe der saamischen Population (z. B. Eriksson 1999).

Als das Kontinentaleis um 6000 v. Chr. schmolz, erreichten offenbar zwei Bevölkerungsexpansionen Fennoskandien, von denen die eine vom Bromme-Kulturkreis in Südschweden, die andere vom Świdry-Kulturkreis

in Osteuropa und dem Baltikum ausging. Die Ankömmlinge vermischten sich mit den Populationen, die am Rand des Kontinentaleises gelebt hatten. Die Herstellung von Keramik kam in Teilen des heutigen saamischen Gebiets um 5000 v. Chr., in Nordschweden als letztem Gebiet Europas dagegen erst 1900 v. Chr. auf.

Nach der heute anerkanntesten Deutung markiert die Verbreitung der typischen Kammkeramik in Nordeuropa in der neolithischen Zeit um 3900 v. Chr. den Beginn der sprachlichen Finnougrisierung Nordeuropas.[5] Mit dem Beginn der spätkammkeramischen Zeit um 2800 v. Chr. hätten die Neuankömmlinge die ältere Bevölkerung Südfinnlands in sprachlicher Hinsicht assimiliert. Die zur gleichen Zeit einsetzende Expansion der schnurkeramischen Kultur (Streitaxtkultur) teilte das Gebiet Finnlands in zwei Kulturkreise; nach klassisch gewordener Auffassung reflektiert diese Teilung die Spaltung der finnisch-ugrischen Bevölkerung in den ostseefinnischen und den saamischen Zweig. Die kulturellen Einflüsse der Streitaxtkultur und der ihr folgenden skandinavischen Bronzezeit im Küstengebiet brachten nach herrschender Auffassung in das Gebiet, wo sich das Ostseefinnische formte, frühe indogermanische und später auch baltische und germanische Lehnwörter, die zum Teil nicht ins Saamische gelangten.

Im Einflußbereich der Streitaxtkultur entwickelte sich primitive Landwirtschaft, während in den Gebieten östlich und nördlich der Kulturgrenze eine Population mit nomadisierender Lebensweise siedelte. Auf das Kulturbild dieses Gebiets wirkten sich die aus Mittelrußland kommende textilkeramische Einflußwelle und die Bronzegegenstände von Sejma-Turbino aus. So trennten die aus unterschiedlichen Richtungen kommenden kulturellen Einflüsse die beiden Kulturgebiete; das Küstengebiet entwickelte sich nach allgemeiner Auffassung zum ostseefinnischen, Binnenfinnland zum saamischen Gebiet.

Der Einfluß der Textilkeramik reichte nicht bis in das Gebiet nördlich des Flusses Oulujoki, wo die altertümliche sog. Asbestkeramik lange erhalten blieb. Man nimmt an, daß sich die saamische Bevölkerung ab etwa 1900 v. Chr. mit der Verbreitung der sog. Lovozero-Keramik in Nordfennoskandien verbreitete. Daneben hätte sich eine Zeitlang die möglicherweise einer ursprünglichen Population zuzuordnende sog. IT-Keramik erhalten. Um 700–650 v. Chr. wird das archäologische Bild der nördlichen Teile Fennoskandiens im Gefolge der sog. Kjelmøy-Keramik wieder homogen. Diese wiederum steht offensichtlich in Verbindung mit der Sirnihta-Keramik Binnenfinnlands.

Aus dem einen oder anderen Grund endete die Keramikherstellung in Nordfennoskandien um 200 n. Chr. Dies dürfte jedoch nicht auf eine Unterbrechung der Besiedlung hindeuten. Um 700–800 n. Chr. erscheinen im saamischen Gebiet die Herdsteinsetzungen, und die unter dem Namen saamische Eisenzeit bekannte archäologische Periode beginnt. Von allen archäologischen Kulturen kann nur diese mit völliger Sicherheit mit den heutigen Saamen in Verbindung gebracht werden: Von den Herdsteinsetzungen führt ein archäologisches Kontinuum über die Zeit der Winterdörfer und -hütten bis zur heutigen saamischen Population.

Die alte Kulturgrenze zwischen dem vermutlichen Finnen- und Saamentum fiel zu Beginn der historischen Zeit, als die ostseefinnischen Stämme, die sich in Varsinais-Suomi, Südhäme und später im karelischen Zentralgebiet an der südwestlichen Spitze des Ladogasees gebildet hatten, nach Norden zu drängen begannen. Diese Siedlungsbewegung assimilierte in den Jahren 1300–1700 die saamische Besiedlung, die nur im heutigen saamischen Gebiet erhalten blieb. Über die letzten Stadien der Assimilation liegen bereits zahlreiche historische Belege vor (z. B. Tegengren 1952). An dieser Siedlungsbewegung, die Nordeuropa unter ostseefinnischen Einfluß brachte, war auch die wepsische Siedlungskonzentration am südöstlichen Ufer des Ladogasees beteiligt, die sich auf der Landenge zwischen Ladoga- und Onegasee verbreitete (z. B. Mullonen 1994: 115–134).

Obwohl in der finnischen vorgeschichtlichen Forschung die Finnougrisierung Nordeuropas im allgemeinen als bereits in der Steinzeit anzusiedelndes Phänomen betrachtet wird, gibt es auch abweichende Auffassungen. Der russische Archäologe I. S. Manjuhin (2002) ist der Ansicht, die saamische Ethnie habe sich im Gebiet der Textilkeramik gebildet, indem dieses Gebiet finnougrisiert wurde, als sich seit etwa 600–500 v. Chr. von der mittleren Wolga aus mit der sog. Povolžskaja-Kultur Einflüsse nach Nordwesten verbreiteten. Aus deren Verschmelzung mit der Textilkeramik sei östlich und südöstlich des Onega- und Ladogasees die spätkargopole Kultur entstanden, in deren Bereich sowohl die örtliche Bevölkerung als auch die Neuankömmlinge lebten. Von hier aus hätte sich die finnisch-ugrische Sprachform diffusiv im Kreis der südfinnischen Luukonsaari- und der nordfennoskandischen Kjelmøy-Keramik verbreitet. Auch Christian Carpelan betont, daß der durch die Kjelmøy-Keramik verursachte Kulturwandel mit der "endgültigen" Etablierung des Saamischen in Fennoskandien in Verbindung steht (Carpelan 2003: 87), hält es jedoch weiterhin für wahr-

scheinlich, daß bereits die vorhergehenden Kulturperioden seit der L-Keramik sprachlich finnisch-ugrisch waren.

In jüngster Zeit hat man auch in Finnland begonnen, an den Grundlagen einer von der Steinzeit in die Gegenwart reichenden finnisch-ugrischen sprachlichen Kontinuität zu zweifeln. Man hat darauf hingewiesen, daß eine solche Kontinuität die Differenzierung der ostseefinnischen Sprachen im Grunde nicht zu erklären vermag. Nach der Kontinuitätstheorie wären das ostseefinnische und das saamische Sprachgebiet auch nach der Trennung der Sprachformen über Jahrtausende hinweg verhältnismäßig einheitlich geblieben – zumindest, wenn die heute üblichen Datierungen der uralischen Ursprache und des Urfinnischen im großen Ganzen zutreffend sind. Dies ist mit den allgemeinen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Geschwindigkeit sprachlicher Veränderungen und mit der Zerstreutheit des alten ostseefinnischen Sprachgebiets nicht zu verbinden. Die Unterschiede zwischen den ostseefinnischen Sprachen sind geringfügig – ungefähr so groß wie zwischen den slavischen Sprachen, die sich seit etwa 1500 Jahren separat entwickelt haben. Ferner wurde darauf hingewiesen, daß die Kontinuitätstheorie mit der überaus geringen Größe des ostseefinnischen Siedlungsgebiets in Finnland zu Beginn der historischen Zeit und mit der Tatsache, daß es höchstwahrscheinlich in ganz Finnland Ortsnamen saamischer Herkunft geben dürfte, nur schwer zu vereinbaren ist (A. & A. Aikio 2001).

### 1.2. Die Frühurfinnisch-Hypothese und die Sprachwechsel-Hypothese

Als Hauptproblem bei der Erforschung der Ethnogenese der Saamen gilt meist die Tatsache, daß zwischen Saamen und Ostseefinnen einerseits eine verhältnismäßig nahe sprachliche Verwandtschaft, andererseits hinsichtlich der physischen Anthropologie und der Kultur ein erheblicher Unterschied besteht.

Obwohl die Saamen heute ein Volk[6] bilden, herrscht im saamischen Gebiet eine große sprachliche Diversität. Die Saamen sprechen zehn eng miteinander verwandte Sprachen, die auf eine gemeinsame Ursprache, das Ursaamische, zurückgehen, das seinerseits auf das Ururalische zurückzuführen ist. Anhand linguistischer Kriterien – vor allem aufgrund der Distribution und Phonologie der skandinavischen Lehnwörter in den saamischen Sprachen und Dialekten – kann der Zerfall des Ursaamischen nicht wesentlich länger als 2000 Jahre zurückdatiert werden und ist vielleicht noch jüngeren Datums. Es ist ein naheliegender Gedanke, daß

die Aufsplitterung des Ursaamischen und die Unterbrechung der Kontakte zwischen seinen Sprechern ein Ergebnis der Ausweitung des ursaamischen Sprachgebiets sei. Das weiträumige Sprachgebiet in Verbindung mit der verhältnismäßig großen inneren Einheitlichkeit des Saamischen spricht denn auch dagegen, daß das Saamische in seinem heutigen Sprachgebiet bereits auf steinzeitliche Sprachformen zurückginge (dies hat zuletzt Sammallahti 1999: 88–89; 2002: 168–170 vorgebracht).

Zwischen den saamischen und den ostseefinnischen Sprachen herrscht eine engere Verbindung als zwischen den anderen Zweigen der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachfamilie. Die ostseefinnischen und saamischen Sprachen besitzen einen größeren gemeinsamen Wortschatz als andere Zweige der uralischen Sprachfamilie untereinander, rund 280 Wörter, die in den anderen Zweigen fehlen (Sammallahti 1999: 74). Darüberhinaus teilen sie phonologische und morphologische Innovationen. Zu den ersteren gehören der Stufenwechsel, der Labialvokal der zweiten Silbe und der Wechsel *v* > *ø* im Wortanlaut vor Labialvokal, zu den letzteren das in den obliquen Kasus verwendete Pluralzeichen **-j-*, der **-kś-*Konditional, der **-nś-*Potential, bestimmte Dualformen, die *-kA-*Imperativformen, der **-tAk-*Infinitiv und der **mpA-*Komparativ (op. cit. S. 70). Auch syntaktisch bilden Finnisch und Saamisch innerhalb der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachfamilie eine eigene Gruppe, die durch die Wortstellung SVO, die nach gleichen Prinzipien gebildeten zusammengesetzten Zeiten, die Kopula und die Existenz von Präpositionen verbunden ist. Einige dieser Züge fehlen allerdings an der ostseefinnischen und saamischen Peripherie (u. a. der Stufenwechsel im Südsaamischen, Livischen und Wepsischen, die Kopula im Südsaamischen).

Die enge sprachliche Verbindung zwischen Ostseefinnisch und Saamisch kann einerseits durch intensive Lehnkontakte erklärt werden, andererseits durch die Hypothese, der zufolge die Gemeinsamkeiten des Ostseefinnischen und Saamischen auf eine gemeinsame Zwischenursprache, das Frühurfinnische, zurückgehen. Diese beiden Erklärungsmodelle stehen nicht in Widerspruch zueinander, aber durch Entlehnung verbreitete und auf gemeinsamen Ursprung zurückgehende Innovationen können größtenteils durch Detailforschung voneinander unterschieden werden. In letzter Zeit haben denn auch viele Wissenschaftler die lange zum Normalparadigma der Finnougristik zählende frühurfinnische Hypothese in Frage gestellt, sowohl aufgrund morphologischer und lexikalischer Kriterien (Terho Itkonen 1997) als auch unter Berufung auf die Lehnwortforschung (Koivulehto

1999b). Itkonen zufolge ist der gemeinsame ostseefinnisch-saamische Wortschatz nicht wesentlich größer als der gemeinsame ostseefinnisch-mordwinische, doch diese Auffassung gründet sich nur auf Vergleiche mit dem weitverbreiteten ostseefinnischen Wortschatz und wird fragwürdig, wenn man auch den Wortschatz mit eingeschränkter Verbreitung berücksichtigt (vgl. den vorherigen Absatz). Aus komparativer Sicht hat die Verbreitung von Wörtern innerhalb eines Zweigs einer Sprachfamilie ja kaum Bedeutung – bedeutsam ist nur, in wievielen Zweigen das betr. Wort auftritt. Koivulehto wiederum hat gezeigt, daß schon früh parallele Entlehnungen ins Ostseefinnische und Saamische gelangt sind, die auf einen frühen Unterschied zwischen diesen Sprachformen hinweisen. Koivulehto zufolge gibt es in den saamischen Sprachen selbständige, unterschiedliche Schichten repräsentierende Lehnwörter aus indogermanischen Quellen bis hin zur urindogermanischen Ebene. Unter den arischen Lehnwörtern des Ostseefinnischen und des Saamischen finden sich auch sog. Parallelentlehnungen, die zeigen, daß dasselbe Wort separat in zwei selbständige Sprachformen entlehnt wurde, ins Vorostseefinnische und Vorsaamische (z.B. fi. *paras*, PS **porēs* 'ältestes' (> saN *boares*) < ar. **paras* 'bestes; wichtigstes; bedeutendstes' (Koivulehto 1999a: 229). Spätestens von dieser Lehnwortschicht an kann man also von einer Sonderentwicklung des Saamischen sprechen.

Andererseits hat Pekka Sammallahti (1999) in seiner detaillierten Analyse die frühurfinnische Hypothese weiterhin verteidigt. Seine Auffassungen wiederum werden unter allgemeinlinguistischen Aspekten von Salminen (2002) kritisiert.

Die Frage der Existenz des Frühurfinnischen kann als offen bezeichnet werden. Die Antwort auf Fragen bezüglich der Existenz des Frühurfinnischen wie auch der uralischen Zwischenursprachen generell hängt davon ab, welche Eigenschaften man den Zwischenursprachen zuschreibt. Wenn man davon ausgeht, daß die aufeinander folgenden sprachgeschichtlichen Rekonstruktionsebenen sich deutlich voneinander unterscheiden müssen, hat das Frühurfinnische nicht existiert. Wenn man es jedoch als hypothetischen Dialekt des Ururalischen auffaßt, der einige Lautveränderungen, Wortschatzisoglossen und morphologische Eigenheiten teilte, gibt es aus rekonstruktionstechnischer Sicht keinen Grund, seine Existenz auszuschließen. Die historische Wirklichkeit kann dennoch zu einem gewissen Grad anders ausgesehen haben als die Rekonstruktion. Viele der Veränderungen im Ostseefinnischen und Saamischen haben sich aller Wahr-

scheinlichkeit nach diffusiv verbreitet (so z.B. der wiederholt als wichtige gemeinsame Innovation erwähnte Stufenwechsel).

Eine kulturelle oder genetische Übereinstimmung, die der relativ grossen Nähe der Sprachen entsprechen würde, gibt es zwischen den ostseefinnischen und saamischen Populationen nicht. Die Vertreter der physischen Anthropologie und der Genetik haben auf die große Distanz der Saamen von den anderen europäischen Populationen hingewiesen. Zudem unterscheidet/unterscheiden sich die vom Nomadismus gekennzeichnete(n) Kultur(en) der Saamen grundlegend von der agrarischen Kultur der Ostseefinnen.

Ein zentrales Erklärungsmodell zur Lösung dieses Dilemmas ist die sog. "Sprachwechselhypothese", die heutzutage eigentlich als eine Substrathypothese bezeichnet werden kann. Demnach gingen das Ursaamische und das Urfinnische auf eine gemeinsame Sprachform zurück, doch die Vorfahren der Saamen hätten früher zumindest teilweise eine andere Sprache gesprochen. Im Saamischen wäre demnach bedeutender Substrateinfluß einer oder mehrerer anderer Sprachen anzunehmen. In Anschluß an Konrad Nielsen (1913) wurde u.a. die Auffassung geäußert, daß die Saamen früher in sprachlicher Hinsicht Samojeden gewesen wären (z.B. Toivonen 1950; Kert 1971). Dieser Gedanke hat seine Bedeutung verloren, nachdem die lautlichen Beziehungen zwischen den samojedischen und den anderen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen befriedigend erklärt wurden (Janhunen 1981).

Viele Lappologen haben die Sprachwechselhypothese vorsichtig unterstützt, sie jedoch so interpretiert, daß der Substrateinfluß des Saamischen auf unbekannte vorzeitliche Sprachen zurückgeht (E. Itkonen 1966; Korhonen 1981). Auch diese Frage ist weiterhin offen, vor allem infolge von methodologischem Skeptizismus: Es wird allgemein als unmöglich angesehen, verbindliche Aussagen über das Vorhandensein oder den Umfang eines paleuropäischen Substrats im Saamischen zu machen.

Die Sprachwechsel- oder moderner formuliert Substrattheorie wird dadurch unterstützt, daß es im Saamischen zahlreiche Wörter gibt, für die sich weder in den finnisch-ugrischen noch in den indogermanischen Sprachen Parallelen finden. Von dem gesamtsaamischen Wortschatz, den Juhani Lehtiranta (1989) zusammengestellt hat, ist vielleicht rund ein Viertel unbekannter Herkunft ( – diese Zahl enthält natürlich auch bisher nicht identifizierte finnisch-ugrische Wörter, Ableitungen und indogermanische Lehnwörter). Im gemeinschaftlichen saamischen Wortschatz unbekannter Herkunft finden sich auch lautliche Charakteristika, die auf Entlehnung hin-

deuten (z.B. PS **ńārkę* > saN *njárga* 'Landspitze', **vēlmē* > saN *fielbmi* 'ruhige Stelle im Fluß', **nāllę* > saN *njálla* 'Polarfuchs', die aus phonotaktischen Gründen nicht weiter zurückgehen können als bis zum Ursaamischen). Auch in den einzelnen saamischen Sprachen gibt es zahlreiche etymologisch opake und aus phonetischer Sicht jung wirkende Wörter, u.a. Termini für geographische Begriffe und Vogelnamen (vgl. saN *uffir* 'steinige, schroffe Meeresküste', *čuodjá* 'schmale Bucht in einem See', *maras* 'niedriger, bewaldeter Hügel', *reašši* 'flaches, lehmiges Meeresufer', *loađgu* 'Mooreule', *állat* 'Schneeammer', *lidnu* 'Uhu', *skuolfi* 'Eule' – die Beispiele wurden von Ante Aikio zusammengestellt). Weitere Unterstützung für die Hypothese eines protosaamischen Substrats scheint die Erforschung der Toponymie im heutigen saamischen Sprachgebiet zu verheissen. Es enthält lexikalisch opakes und phonotaktisch neues Namengut, das mit Hilfe der heutigen Sprachen nicht zu deuten ist (s. auch Aikio 2004).

Obwohl sich der Mainstream der Lappologie nur vorsichtig für ein protosaamisches Substrat ausgesprochen hat, sind die sprachlichen Grundlagen für die Annahme eines solchen Substrats also recht stark. Es ist ferner angebracht, darauf hinzuweisen, daß der mutmaßliche Substratwortschatz der saamischen Sprachen offenkundig nicht alt genug ist, um die Hypothese zu unterstützen, die saamischen Sprachen hätten sich in ihrem heutigen Sprachgebiet entwickelt. Daß in den bekannten Sprachen etymologische Parallelen zum vermutlichen Substratwortschatz des Saamischen und zu den Substratnamen des heutigen saamischen Gebiets fehlen, ist ein gewichtiges Argument gegen ein samojedisches oder mit irgendeiner anderen heutigen Sprache zu verbindendes Substrat des Saamischen.[7] Auffassungen dieser Art sind denn auch explizit zu verwerfen. Das Substrat der saamischen Sprachen kann nur als paleuropäisch, aus einer oder mehreren vorzeitlichen Sprachen stammend charakterisiert werden (s. auch Saarikivi: im Druck).

## 2. Die historische Ausdehnung des saamischen Siedlungsgebiets im Licht der heutigen Forschung

### 2.1. Schriftliche Quellen und Besiedlungssagen

Mit Ausnahme der Saamen weiß man von allen derzeit in Nordeuropa lebenden Völkern, daß sie verhältnismäßig späte Ankömmlinge sind. Die

finnische, skandinavische, russische und Komi-Besiedlung verbreitete sich erst im Mittelalter nördlich des 63. Breitengrads, und auch die Samojeden sind nach allgemeiner Auffassung eisenzeitliche/mittelalterliche Neuankömmlinge in Europa. In der Geschichtsschreibung herrscht denn auch seit Beginn der wissenschaftlichen Forschung die Auffassung, daß die Siedlungsgebiete der Saamen früher ausgedehnter waren als heute. Darüber, wie weit nach Süden und Osten das saamische Gebiet reichte, besteht jedoch keine Übereinstimmung.

Schriftliche Angaben über die Saamen liegen für ein ausgedehntes Gebiet vor. Noch in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde das dem heutigen Ostsaamischen sehr ähnliche Kemisaamisch im Gebiet von Sodankylä, Kemijärvi und Salla gesprochen. Man weiß, daß im 18. Jahrhundert die Saamen – in den historischen Dokumenten Lappen – fast die gesamte heutige Provinz Lappland bewohnten (z.B. Tegengren 1952). Im 17. Jahrhundert sind die Saamen in Nordsavo belegt, im 16. Jahrhundert bereits u.a. in Mittelfinnland, Ostbottnien und weiten Teilen von Savo. Historische Quellen, in denen die Lappen erwähnt werden, gibt es in Finnland seit dem 14. Jahrhundert aus allen Gebieten mit Ausnahme von Varsinais-Suomi, schmalen Küstenstreifen in Ostbottnien und Uusimaa sowie Südkarelien.

Auch in den historischen Quellen Kareliens finden sich Angaben über die Saamen. Unter den Fünfteln (*пятины*) von Novgorod wies offenbar zumindest das ausgedehnte sog. Onega-Fünftel saamische Besiedlung auf. Das außerhalb der Fünftel liegende Gebiet der sog. Lappischen Stützpunkte (*Лопские погосты*) wiederum reichte auf der Landenge zwischen Ladoga- und Onegasee bis zum See Seesjärvi. Zu den lappischen Stützpunkten wurden u.a. Paanajärvi, Repola und Suikujoki gezählt (S. Aikio 1992: 74). Für das 16. Jahrhundert liegen Quellenbelege über Lappen zumindest aus Kovda, Kieretti, Kemi und Suikujoki vor. Besuche von Lappen betreffende Überlieferung kennt man u.a. auch aus Vodlajärvi im früh russifizierten heutigen Kreis Pudož in der Republik Karelien (Wiklund 1911: 182).

Neben schriftlichen Quellen bilden die Besiedlungssagen eine zweite wichtige, die Saamen betreffende Quellengruppe. Mit den Lappen verbundene Besiedlungssagen kennt man auf finnischem Gebiet hauptsächlich aus Häme, Satakunta, Ostbottnien und Savo sowie natürlich aus den vor relativ kurzer Zeit fennisierten Gebieten Kainuu und Lappland. In diesen Sagen werden die Saamen als Ureinwohner der betr. Gebiete bezeichnet, und es wird auch erwähnt, sie hätten stellenweise Landwirtschaft betrieben

(s. Salo 2000: 44–52). Aus Russisch-Karelien sind ebenfalls entsprechende Besiedlungssagen bekannt (Wiklund 1911: 180–181). Auch relativ nah an der mittelschwedischen Küste gibt es noch aus dem 18. Jahrhundert Angaben über saamische Besiedlung (z.B. Larsson 1992). Allein aufgrund der historischen Quellen ist also anzunehmen, daß das saamische Gebiet selbst in der historischen Zeit den größten Teil Finnlands, Kareliens und der Halbinsel Kola umfaßte und sich bis nach Mittelskandinavien erstreckte.

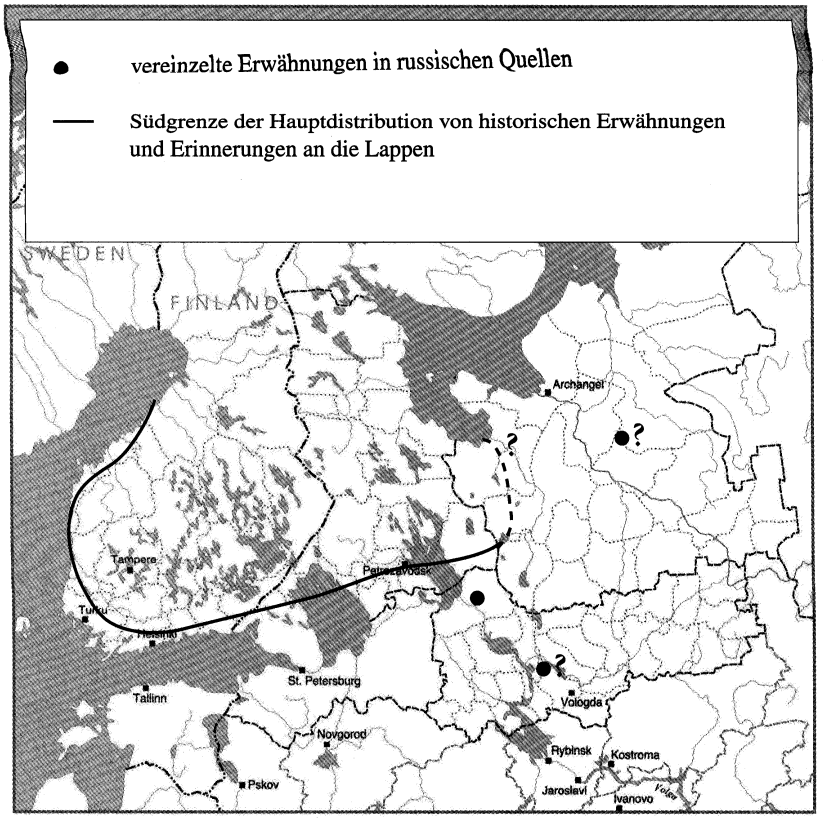
Für die im Mittelalter russifizierten Gebiete Archangelsk und Vologda liefern die historischen Quellen dagegen nur verstreute Angaben über die Saamen. In vielen Fällen wird auch deren Deutung dadurch erschwert, daß das Ethnonym der Saamen, *лопь* oder *лопарь*, in diesen Gebieten später auch für die Nenzen verwendet wurde. In der teils unhistorischen Heiligenvita Lazars von Murom wird jedoch erwähnt, daß ein Volk namens *лопь* am Ostufer des Onegasees und am Kubenasee lebte. Desgleichen erwähnt die 1. Sophienchronik, daß Stephan von Perm, der Bekehrer der Komi, das Volk *лопь* im Einzugsgebiet der Dwina in der Nähe der Permier, Jugrier und Pinegaer antraf (Vasmer 1936; Bulatov 1993).

Die nordrussischen Besiedlungssagen enthalten ebenfalls keine Angaben über die Saamen. Als vor den Russen ansässige Siedler werden dort eindeutig die Tschuden (russ. *чудь*) erwähnt, über die auch die russischen historischen Quellen des Mittelalters zahlreiche Angaben enthalten (z.B. Pimenov 1965: 117–170). Neben den Tschuden kennen die mittelalterlichen russischen Quellen auch andere ausgestorbene nordrussische Populationen, z.B. die *Heiden von Tojma*, die *Pinegaer*, die *Heiden von Sura*, die *Vagaer*, die *Bjelo-Ozeroer*, die *Dwinaer* [*тоймици погане*, *пинежане*, *сура поганая*, *важане*, *белозерцы*, *двиняне*]. Ethnonyme dieser Art wurden im allgemeinen aus Ortsnamen gebildet, insbesondere aus den Namen von Flüssen, an denen die betreffenden Populationen lebten, und beziehen sich daher nicht unbedingt auf unterschiedliche ethnische Gruppen.

Die Überlieferung über die Tschuden gliedert sich in zwei Gruppen: In der Umgebung des Onegasees werden die Tschuden als feindliche Eroberer geschildert, im Einzugsgebiet der Dwina wiederum als friedliche Bevölkerung, die sich vor den Neuankömmlingen aus Novgorod in entlegenere Gegenden zurückzog oder im Kampf gegen sie unterlag (op. cit.). Einige örtliche russische oder wepsische Ansiedlungen haben sich auch mit den Tschuden identifiziert. Angaben über die Tschuden wurden außer bei Russen und Wepsen auch bei den Komi (Ročev 1984) und den Udmurten (Atamanov 2001: 120–128) aufgezeichnet.

Das Ethnonym der Tschuden steht etymologisch in Verbindung mit dem Ethnonym *čuhti* (: *čuđi*), das in den sog. Tschudensagen der Saamen begegnet. Die Saamen haben sich in ihrer Folklore nie mit den Tschuden identifiziert, vielmehr werden diese als räuberische und erobernde Population beschrieben. Offensichtlich haben die von räuberischen Tschuden erzählende russische Überlieferung am Onegasee und die saamischen Tschudensagen gemeinsame Wurzeln (Pimenov op. cit.).

Bei den direkt auf die Saamen bezogenen Quellen in Fennoskandien und Karelien einerseits sowie in den Gebieten Archangelsk und Vologda andererseits sind also beträchtliche quantitative Unterschiede festzustel-




*Karte 1.* Die saamische Besiedlung in Finnland und Rußland im Mittelalter aufgrund historischer Quellen und Besiedlungssagen.[8]

len. Der Unterschied zwischen der finnischen *Lappen*-Überlieferung und der nordrussischen *Tschuden*-Überlieferung sowie das Fehlen eindeutig auf die Saamen bezogener historischer Quellen für die Gebiete Archangelsk und Vologda erscheinen aus ethnohistorischer Sicht bedeutsam. Auch das russische Ethnonym für die Saamen ist eine Entlehnung aus dem Ostseefinnischen (oder mit geringerer Wahrscheinlichkeit aus dem Altskandinavischen, REW II: 518), was darauf hindeutet, daß die Russen durch Vermittlung der Ostseefinnen erstmals mit den Saamen in Berührung kamen. Andererseits verlangen auch die vereinzelten Erwähnungen von Saamen in den östlichen Gebieten eine Erklärung.

Alles in allem hat es im Licht der historischen Quellen den Anschein, daß eine im Hinblick auf das Saamentum wichtige Kulturgrenze zwischen den Einzugsgebieten des Onegasees und der Dwina verlief.

### 2.2. Zur bisherigen Forschung über das saamische Namengut

Den ersten systematischen Versuch, die frühere Verbreitung der saamischen Besiedlung mit Hilfe der Ortsnamen zu klären, unternahm K. B. Wiklund (1911). Er richtete seine Aufmerksamkeit sowohl auf Ethnotoponyme (u. a. *lappi-*, *säämi-*) als auch auf das deappellative Namengut, das er in Südfinnland und in Südkarelien bis östlich des Onegasees fand. Ungeachtet einiger Fehler bei der Analyse des Materials – Wiklund verwechselt u. a. mehrfach saamische Namen und auf einen dialektalen Appellativ saamischer Herkunft zurückgehende Namen miteinander – sind seine Ergebnisse weiterhin größtenteils zuverlässig. Das Namengut saamischer Herkunft reicht jedoch weiter nach Süden als Wiklund annahm. Wiklund verweist auch ganz richtig auf die Schwierigkeit, das saamische Namengut der russifizierten Gebiete von den ostseefinnischen und "tschudischen" Namen zu unterscheiden (op. cit. S. 101–102).

Der wichtigste "Klassiker" der Erforschung des saamischen Namengutes in Finnland ist T. I. Itkonen (1948). Auch Itkonen richtete seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die das Ethnonym der Saamen enthaltenden *lappi*-Namen sowie zusätzlich auf die zu rund 150 verschiedenen Typen gehörenden, deappellativen Ortsnamen saamischer Herkunft, die im größten Teil Finnlands mit Ausnahme der südlichen Küstengebiete zu finden sind. Obwohl nicht jede seiner Etymologien akzeptiert werden kann, vermittelt Itkonens Material ein ungefähres Gesamtbild des saamischen Namengutes in Finnland.

Die finnischen Nachfolger T. I. Itkonens haben sich im allgemeinen mit Fragen des saamischen Namengutes begrenzterer Gebiete befaßt. Zu erwähnen sind u.a. die Untersuchungen von Jouko Vahtola (1980, 1999), Terho Itkonen (1993) Alpo Räisänen (u.a. 2003) und Eeva-Maria Närhi (2002), in denen in verschiedenen Teilen Finnlands anzutreffende Ortsnamen mit Hilfe der saamischen Sprachen etymologisiert wurden. In wesentlichen Teilen auf die Sammlungen von Terho Itkonen gründet sich das von Unto Salo (2000: 27–44) vorgestellte reichhaltige saamische Namengutmaterial in Häme und Satakunta.

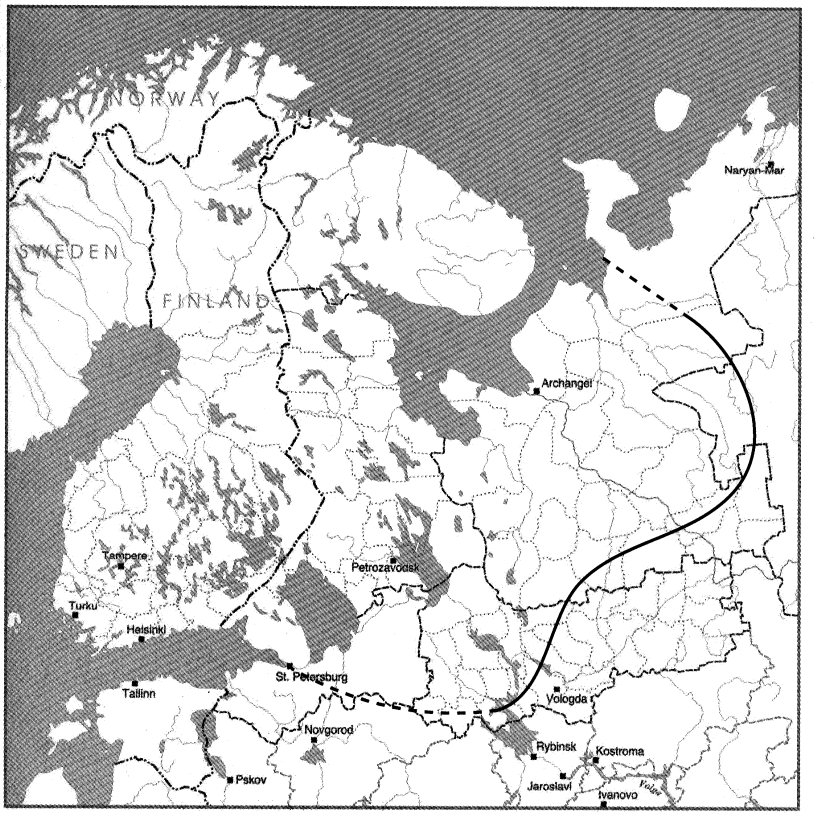
Eine systematische, auf die Lautgeschichte der saamischen Sprachen und die Typologie des saamischen Namengutes gestützte Forschung ist in Finnland wenig betrieben worden. Darauf weist auch Ante Aikio (2003) hin, der mir das Manuskript eines noch unveröffentlichten Beitrags (Aikio in Vorbereitung) zur Verfügung stellte. Darin werden erstmals systematisch die Forschungstradition der saamischen Lautgeschichte für die Suche und Analyse des saamischen Namengutes in Binnenfinnland genutzt und zahlreiche neue Namensetymologien vorgestellt. Anders als Itkonen und andere Wissenschaftler, die sich bisher mit dem saamischen Namengut Finnlands befaßt haben, vertritt Aikio die Ansicht, daß es im gesamten finnischen Sprachgebiet bis hin zu den Küstengegenden deappellatives saamisches Namengut gibt. Schon früher hat er seine entsprechende Auffassung über die appellativischen saamischen Lehnwörter in den finnischen Dialekten vorgelegt (s. Aikio 2002). Seine Auffassungen werden durch die große Anzahl der von ihm vorgelegten saamischen Namentypen und einzelnen Namen unterstützt.

In Karelien haben G. Kert, Irma Mullonen und beiläufig auch andere Wissenschaftler das saamische Namengut untersucht. Mullonen (1989, 1994, 2002) hat darauf hingewiesen, daß sowohl im wepsischen Gebiet als auch am Swir-Becken und sogar östlich davon ein reichhaltiger Namenschatz saamischen Typs begegnet. Sie drückt sich jedoch vorsichtig aus und spricht meist vom "vor-ostseefinnischen" Charakter des Namenguts, womit sie darauf hinweist, daß die Namengutschicht lautliche Gemeinsamkeiten sowohl mit dem Saamischen wie mit dem Frühurfinnischen aufweist, oder mit lautlich älteren Schichten der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachfamilie. Zusätzlich hat sie einige Lexeme mit dem Saamischen gemeinsam.

In der Forschung ist man sich seit langem auch der weiten Verbreitung des Namenguts saamischen Typs in den Gebieten Archangelsk und Vologda bewußt. Bereits M. A. Castrén (1844) erwähnt einige Ortsnamen saamischer

Herkunft an dem zum Einzugsgebiet der Dwina gehörenden Fluß Pinega. K. B. Wiklunds Versuche, das saamische Namengut Rußlands zu deuten, wurden oben bereits erwähnt.

Den ersten systematischen Versuch, die Verbreitung saamischen Namenguts in Rußland zu erforschen, unternahm jedoch Max Vasmer (1936). Seiner Auffassung nach gab es saamische Namen im gesamten Einzugsgebiet der Dwina, ungefähr in derselben Gegend, in der auch ostseefinnisches Namengut begegnet, d.h. im gesamten nordrussischen Gebiet zwischen Finnland und dem Gebiet der Komi. Vasmers Namenmaterial war jedoch aus zufälligen Quellen zusammengetragen und teils fehlerhaft interpretiert.




*Karte 2.* Die Maximalverbreitung saamischen Namenguts in Finnland und Rußland. Quellen: Aikio (in Vorbereitung); Matveev 1970, 2001; Turkin 1988.

Mit der systematischen Sammlung nordrussischen Namenmaterials begann A. K. Matveev. In seiner Dissertation (1970) und in zahlreichen Untersuchungen (s. vor allem Matveev 2001, die sich auf seine Dissertation gründet) äußert er die Annahme, die heutigen Gebiete Archangelsk und Vologda seien vor ihrer Slavisierung von Ostseefinnen und Saamen besiedelt gewesen. Die Grenze dieses westlichen finnisch-ugrischen Namenguts verläuft ihm zufolge zwischen den Seen Beloozero und Kubena nach Norden bis zum Oberlauf der Onega, schwenkt dann nach Osten und führt über die Vaga zur Dwina. Besonders reichhaltig ist das saamische Namengut Matveev zufolge am Unterlauf der Onega. Matveevs Schülerin L. A. Subbotina (1998) hat auch auf das reichhaltige saamische Namengut und die saamischen Lehnwörter im Beloozero-Gebiet aufmerksam gemacht. Auf den Spuren Matveevs haben auch seine Schüler N. V. Kabinina, V. O. Vostrikov und M. L. Gusel'nikova saamische Namen gesucht und gefunden.

In der russischen Forschung ist die Verbreitung des saamischen und des ostseefinnischen Namengutes also im allgemeinen als nahezu identisch dargestellt worden. Ein Manko eines großen Teils der russischen Forschungstradition ist jedoch die Klassifizierung der Namen als ostseefinnisch oder saamisch auf der Ebene einzelner Namentypen. Das Namengut der Untersuchungsgebiete wurde nicht jeweils als areale Gesamtheit untersucht, was zur Folge hatte, daß die Unterschiede zwischen dem heutigen saamischen Namengut und demjenigen Nordrußlands zwar erwähnt, aber kaum erörtert wurden. Dennoch hat bereits Matveev (1979) angemerkt, daß einige in der heutigen saamischen Sprache verbreitete Geländebezeichnungen in den nordrussischen Ortsnamen fehlen.

Auch in der das Komi betreffenden Namenforschung ist es üblich, bestimmte Ortsnamen als ursprünglich saamisch zu erklären (Turkin 1989; Afanas'ev 1996; Musanov 1999). Im Gebiet der heutigen Republik Komi gibt es u.a. Turkin zufolge rund ein Dutzend saamische Namen. Diese Namengutvergleiche sind jedoch als oberflächlich zu bezeichnen.

### 2.3. Das Ethnonym der Saamen in Orts- und Familiennamen

Im Finnischen begegnen mit dem Ethnonym der Saamen verbundene Ethnotoponyme mit dem Stamm *lappi-* fast im ganzen Land einschließlich der Küstenregionen und der schwedischsprachigen Gebiete. Ihr Hauptverbreitungsgebiet liegt nördlich der historischen Südgrenze der Streitaxt-

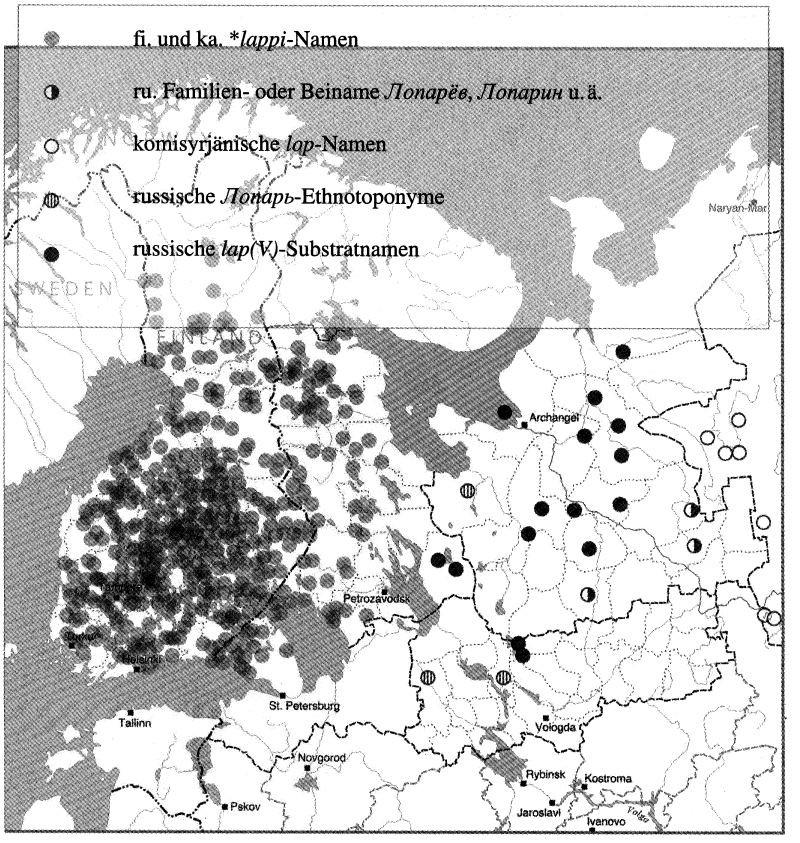
kultur, was als Argument für die Kontinuitätstheorie angesehen worden ist (Vahtola 1999: 113). Auch die meisten Träger des Familiennamens *Lappalainen* stammen aus diesem Gebiet (Pöyhönen 1998: 128). Vahtola (1999: 111) erwähnt einen Fall, in dem unter den Trägern dieses Familiennamens die Erinnerung an die saamische Abstammung der Familie tradiert wurde.

Namen mit dem Bestandteil *lappi-* gibt es auch in fast ganz Karelien. Besonders gehäuft begegnen sie in Weißmeerkarelien und auf der Karelischen Landenge (Kuz'min 2003), doch dies spiegelt möglicherweise eher den Sammelstatus als die tatsächliche Verbreitung der *lappi*-Namen wider. Es gibt auch Angaben über die Verwendung des Terminus *lappalaine* als Ethnonym einiger karelischer Gruppen (Grünthal 1997: 134; KKS 3: 23). Auch die Wepsen haben einige onegawepsische Gruppen mit dem Namen *laplakot* belegt; *lappi*-Toponyme gibt es dagegen im wepsischen Gebiet nicht (Mullonen 2002: 161). *Lappi*-Namen begegnen auch in Ingermanland und Estland (Ojansuu 1913), doch ihr Hintergrund ist nicht erforscht.

In der Forschung hat nicht immer Einmütigkeit darüber geherrscht, ob die *lappi*-Namen der ostseefinnischen Gebiete als mit den Saamen verknüpft zu interpretieren seien. Es wurde die Auffassung geäußert, ein Teil dieser Namen sei mit der Wortfamilie *lappea* 'Breitseite; Abhang' verbunden oder bezeichne lediglich entlegene Gebiete ohne Verknüpfung mit den Saamen. Für das Estnische und Karelische sind solche Erklärungen möglich: Im ersteren gibt es den Terminus *lapimaa* 'Ackerparzelle od. entlegener Acker' (z.B. Kallasmaa 2000: 168), im Sprachgebiet des letzteren wiederum gibt es Belege dafür, daß einige karelische Gruppen als Lappen bezeichnet wurden. In den finnischen Dialekten wiederum hat *lappalainen* im wesentlichen nur die Bedeutung 'Saame' (die seltene Bedeutung 'Zauberkundiger' ist ohne weiteres als sekundäre Bedeutungsentwicklung anzusehen, hinter der eine mit der saamischen Ethnie verknüpfte Bedeutung steht), so daß diese Auffassungen auf schwankendem Boden stehen. Ein Teil der *lappi*-Namen kann dennoch durchaus mit Hünengräbern (fi. *lapinhauta* 'Lappengrab') u.a. Bodendenkmälern in Verbindung gebracht werden. Zudem gehen einige dieser Namen möglicherweise auf Personennamen zurück (auf den Familien- oder Beinamen *Lappalainen* o.ä.) oder enthalten einen anderen Ortsnamen (d.h., es handelt sich um Kombinationen oder Überführungen). Dennoch stehen offensichtlich sowohl im Finnischen wie im Karelischen eine beträchtliche Anzahl von *lappi*-Namen mit den Kontakten zwischen Ostseefinnen und Saamen in Verbindung. Auch einige *lapi*-Namen in Estland, u.a. das in der Chronik Heinrichs von Lettland begegnen-

de *Loppegunda ~ Lappegunda* (< ?**Lappikunta*) enthalten möglicherweise das Ethnonym der Saamen oder ein diesem entsprechendes Ethnonym.

Geht man weiter nach Osten, so wird das Bild komplizierter. Aus dem Gebiet Archangelsk sind nur einige Ethnotoponyme bekannt, die mit dem russischen Ethnonym der Saamen, *лопь* oder *лопарь*, in Verbindung stehen. Für die Familiennamen *Лопарёв* und *Лопинова* gibt es ebenfalls einige verstreute Belege in schriftlichen Quellen aus dem Gebiet Vologda (Popova 1999). Auch ihre Interpretation wird dadurch erschwert, daß das-




*Karte 3.* Das Ethnonym der Saamen enthaltende Namen. Quellen: Vahtola 1999 (Finnland), Kuz'min 2003 (Karelien), Popova 1999 (russische Ethnonyme), STE-Archiv (*lap*-Namen), Turkin 1988 (Komi).

selbe Ethnonym bis in die heutige Zeit in den nordrussischen Dialekten auch für die Nenzen verwendet wird.[9] Der quantitative Unterschied des direkt mit dem Ethnonym der Saamen verknüpften Namenguts gegenüber den westlicheren Gebieten ist beträchtlich und läßt sich nicht z. B. mit dem unterschiedlichen Sammelstatus erklären. Ethnotoponyme mit dem Stamm *чудь-* begegnen dagegen sehr zahlreich überall im Gebiet Archangelsk und Vologda sowie außerdem in Komi und Udmurtien (Popova op. cit.; Atamanov 2001: 120–128 – die *čud(ža)*-Namen in Udmurtien dürften jedoch überwiegend mit dem gleichlautenden Namen einer exogamen *voršud*-Gruppe in Verbindung stehen).

Am Dwina-Becken gibt es auch Substratnamen mit dem Stamm *lap-*. Im russischsprachigen Gebiet ist ein Teil dieser Namen möglicherweise eher mit dem russischen Wort *lápa* 'hohle Hand, Handfläche' zu verbinden als mit dem Ethnonym der Saamen. Auf die meisten Namen dürfte diese Erklärung jedoch nicht anzuwenden sein. Daher darf als wahrscheinlich gelten, daß einige von ihnen das Ethnonym enthalten, das die Ostseefinnen für die Saamen verwendeten. Unklar ist jedoch, warum nur vereinzelte mit dem Ethnonym der Saamen verknüpfte *russische* Namen begegnen.

Auch bei den Komi haben die Namenforscher die Ortsnamen mit dem Stamm *lop-* mit dem Ethnonym der Saamen verbunden. Im Gebiet Komi finden sich mindestens 14 *lop*-Namen (Turkin 1988: 433).

## 3. Erscheinungsformen des "Saamischen" im deappellativen Namengut

### 3.1. Das Namengut der heutigen saamischen Sprachen

Die mit dem Ethnonym der Saamen verknüpften Ethnotoponyme können aufgrund der zahlreichen mit ihrer Interpretation verbundenen Unsicherheitsfaktoren nicht als zuverlässige Quelle für die Ethnogeschichte der Saamen dienen. Ergänzend muß das saamische deappellative Namengut untersucht werden.

Ein unabdingbarer theoretischer Ausgangspunkt für die Untersuchung der deappellativen saamischen Substratnamen wiederum ist die Kenntnis des Namenguts der heutigen saamischen Sprachen. In dieser Hinsicht ist der Forschungsstand nicht optimal, doch einige allgemeine Tatsachen über das saamische Namengut sind bekannt.

Die Bildung von Ortsnamen beruht in allen Sprachen einerseits auf den in der Syntax der jeweiligen Sprache enthaltenen Strukturtypen der Ortsnamen und andererseits auf denjenigen lexikalischen Konventionen, die als Namengebungsmodelle bezeichnet werden (Kiviniemi 1977: 4–9). Die Strukturtypen sind syntaktische Konventionen, die bestimmen, welche Art von Ausdrücken als Ortsnamen interpretiert werden, während es sich bei den Namengebungsmodellen gewissermaßen um "Modenamen" handelt, die auch innerhalb einer Sprachgemeinschaft zeitlich und örtlich variieren. Zudem ist ein großer Teil der Namen unmittelbar mit anderen Namen verbunden, entweder als Kombinations- oder als Übertragungsname.

So gehört beispielsweise in Finnland der größte Teil des Namenguts zu einem Strukturtyp, der aus einem die Art des Ortes bezeichnenden, meist ein Geländeappellativ enthaltenden Grundglied sowie einem diesem vorangehenden nominalen Bestimmungsglied besteht, z. B. *Riihi/pelto* 'Darrenfeld', *Valkea/järvi* 'Weißsee' (Kiviniemi 1975). Obwohl sich die Strukturtypen des Namenguts in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen zu einem gewissen Grad unterscheiden, ist der entsprechende Typ auch in anderen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen verbreitet, u. a. im Wepsischen (Mullonen 1994), im Estnischen (Kallasmaa 2001), im Komi (Turkin 1988), im Udmurtischen (Atamanov 1986) und im Mari (Galkin 2001). Zusätzlich gibt es in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen im allgemeinen zumindest einige mit Suffixen gebildete Namen (z. B. die finnischen Hofnamen *Mattila*, *Leskelä*, die Seenamen vom Typ *Valkeinen*, *Kalaton*) sowie deverbale Partizipnamen (z. B. die finnischen Bachnamen *Toriseva*, *Koriseva*).

Obwohl das saamische Namengut hinsichtlich der Strukturtypen bisher nicht systematisch untersucht worden ist, läßt sich feststellen, daß seine syntaktisch-semantische Struktur derjenigen des Namenschatzes der anderen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen relativ nahesteht. Als zentrale Unterschiede im Vergleich zum Finnischen können jedoch u. a. die folgenden Merkmale erwähnt werden (nach Aikio: im Druck):

1. Aus mehr als zwei Lexemen bestehende Namen sind in den saamischen Sprachen häufiger als im Ostseefinnischen, z. B. *Buoiddesguollejávri* 'Fettfischsee', *Njállabiedjojohkageašoaivi* 'Polarfuchsbauflußquellenberg', *Gaskaniitojohkageašoaivi* 'Mittelwiesenflußquellenberg'. Die Entstehung langer Namen dürfte mit dem großen Benennungsbedarf in weitläufigen Einödgebieten zusammenhängen. Infolge des begrenzten Erinnerungsvermögens entstehen dabei lange, aus Kombinationsnamen bestehende Namenketten.[10]

2. Namen, zu deren Bestimmungsglied ein Geländeappellativ gehört, scheinen sich zumindest im Nordsaamischen leicht zu verkürzen, indem das Geländeappellativ zu einem suffixartigen Element wird. Z.B. saN *Fiellogahskáidi* < *fiellu* 'Brett', *geađgi* 'Stein', *skáidi* 'Gebiet zwischen Flüssen', *Nealgejárjohka* < *nealgi* 'Hunger', *jávri* 'See', *johka* 'Fluß'. Der Morphemgrad der Pseudosuffixe variiert von verständlicher Kurzform bis zu völliger Undurchsichtigkeit.

3. Deverbale Namen, die nach einem an dem betreffenden Ort vorgefallenen Ereignis mit Hilfe sog. Aktioformen gebildet wurden, begegnen häufig als Makrotoponyme, z.B. *Gatnjalastinskáidi* 'Geweint- ("Geträn-")-Enge', *Bissočuollanvárri* 'Gewehrzerschlagenberg', *Gádjáriegádanjávri* 'Katjas Geburtssee'. Dieselbe Namengebungskonvention wurde auch in die in Lappland gesprochenen sog. Hinter-Pohjanmaa-Dialekte des Finnischen übernommen. Man darf vermuten, daß diese Art der Benennung mit der mobilen Lebensweise in Verbindung steht. Sie ist dann begründet, wenn die benannten Orte nur selten aktiv genutzt werden.

Die typologischen Unterschiede zwischen dem ostseefinnischen und dem saamischen Namengut sind jedoch so gering, daß das von Eero Kiviniemi für das Finnische entwickelte syntaktisch-semantische Analysemodell auch bei der Untersuchung des saamischen Namengutes anwendbar ist. Über die lexikalische Typologie des saamischen Namengutes, d.h. über die bei den saamischen Namen begegnenden Namengebungsmodelle, sind kürzlich zwei Abhandlungen fertiggestellt worden, von denen die eine die Grund- und Bestimmungsglieder des inarisaamischen Namenguts (S. Aikio 2003), die andere die Bestimmungsglieder der nordsaamischen Gewässernamen (Rahkonen: Manuskript) zum Thema hat. Die lexikalische Zusammensetzung des finnischen Namenguts wurde bereits früher zuverlässig dargestellt (Kiviniemi 1990). Da man weiß, daß die Wortauswahl der anderen ostseefinnischen Sprachen hinsichtlich der Namengebungsmodelle nur relativ wenig von der finnischen abweicht (Mullonen 1994; Kallasmaa 2001), kann man die Untersuchungen über die Typologie des finnischen und des saamischen Namenguts als Basis verwenden, wenn man nach distinktiven Zügen des saamischen resp. ostseefinnischen Namenschatzes in Gebieten sucht, in denen heute keine saamischen und/oder ostseefinnischen Völker mehr leben.

Die folgende Tabelle führt die häufigsten Grundglieder des finnischen und des inarisaamischen Namenguts an (nach Kiviniemi 1990 und S. Aikio 2003):

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-la* | (Lokalsuffix) | 1. | *jävri* | 'See' |
| 2. | *pelto* | 'Acker' | 2. | *suálui* | 'Insel' |
| 3. | *mäki* | 'Hügel' | 3. | *njargâ* | 'Landspitze' |
| 4. | *niemi* | 'Landspitze' | 4. | *jáávráš* | 'kleiner See' |
| 5. | *suo* | 'Sumpf, Moor' | 5. | *vääri* | 'Hügel' |
| 6. | *saari* | 'Insel' | 6. | *luohtâ* | 'Bucht' |
| 7. | *lampi* | 'Teich' | 7. | *vuonâš* | 'Fjord' |
| 8. | *lahti* | 'Bucht' | 8. | *juuhâ* | 'Fluß' |
| 9. | *niitty* | 'Wiese' | 9. | *luobâl* | 'See im Flußbett; Verbreiterung eines Flusses' |
| 10. | *vainio* | 'Acker' | 10. | *uáivi* | 'rundlicher Hügel' |
| 11. | *talo* | 'Haus, Hof' | 11. | *juuvâš* | 'Bach' |
| 12. | *kangas* | 'Heide' | 12. | *jeggi* | 'Sumpf, Moor' |
| 13. | *haka* | 'Weideplatz' | 13. | *váárááš* | 'kleiner Hügel' |
| 14. | *aho* | 'Wiese' | 14. | *vyeppee* | 'schmale, kleine Bucht' |
| 15. | *ranta* | 'Ufer' | 15. | *keđgi* | 'Stein' |
| 16. | *oja* | 'Bach' | 16. | *čielgi* | 'länglicher Berg' |
| 17. | *kallio* | 'Fels' | 17. | *ruávi* | 'abgebrannte Stelle' |
| 18. | *korpi* | 'Einödwald' | 18. | *čuálmi* | 'Sund' |
| 19. | *maa* | 'Land' | 19. | *uáivuš* | 'Stelle oberhalb der Stromschnelle' |
| 20. | *tie* | 'Weg' | 20. | *kuoškâ* | 'Stromschnelle' |
| 21. | *lato* | 'Scheune' | 21. | *njälmi* | 'Flußmündung' |
| 22. | *koski* | 'Stromschnelle' | 22. | *vei* | 'Fluß' (veraltet) |

Für das Finnische setzt sich die Reihe folgendermaßen fort: *rinne* 'Abhang', *kivi* 'Stein', *kytö* 'Anbau, besonders auf Brandfläche', *harju* 'Os', *metsä* 'Wald', *joki* 'Fluß', *silta* 'Brücke', *tupa* 'Hütte', *portti* 'Tor', *sarka* 'Ackerstreifen', *piha* 'Hof', *vaara* 'Berg', *neva* 'Weißmoor', *rinta* 'Brust', *kari* 'Klippe', *kylä* 'Dorf', *paikka* 'Stelle', *luoto* 'Klippe', *lehto* 'Hain', *lähde* 'Quelle', *pirtti* 'Häuschen', *kuja* 'Gasse', *kaivo* 'Brunnen', *vuori* 'Berg', *salmi* 'Sund'. Für das Inarisaamische wurde die Frequenz der Grundglieder in der Quelle nicht weiter verfolgt.

Die Tabelle zeigt, daß die häufigsten Grundglieder des ostseefinnischen und des saamischen Namenguts sich weitgehend auf dieselben geographischen Designate beziehen, für die jedoch häufig zu verschiedenen Wortfamilien gehörende Lexeme verwendet werden. Bestimmte Unterschiede, u. a. die große Anzahl von Seenamen im Inarisaamischen, erklären sich aus den unterschiedlichen Naturgegebenheiten im jeweiligen Sprachgebiet: Im seenreichen Inari gibt es mehr zu benennende Wasseransammlungen als durchschnittlich in Finnland. Wenn man die landwirtschaftlichen Termini und den Begriff *talo* 'Haus, Hof', für die es in der traditionellen saamischen

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Trotz der semantischen Ähnlichkeit gibt es signifikante Unterschiede zwischen dem in der Namenbildung aktiven Wortschatz des Ostseefinnischen und des Saamischen. Einander etymologisch entsprechende Geländeappellativa, die in der Namenbildung beider Sprachen aktiv und häufig verwendet werden, sind nur fi. *järvi* 'See' ~ saI *jävri* < PS **jāvrē* < ?? **järvä*, **jäkrä* (zur Rekonstruktion s. Saarikivi: im Druck), fi. *lampi* 'Teich' ~ saI *luobâl* < PS **luompę̄l* < **lampi-*, fi. *salo* 'Ödwald' ~ saI *suálui* < PS **suolōj* < **saloj* (< balt.) und fi. *lahti* 'Bucht' ~ saI *luohtâ* < PS **luoktę̄* < **lakti* (< balt.), fi. *apaja* ~ saI *vyeppee* 'schmale, kleine Bucht' < PS *vuopējē*< **apaja* (< germ.), fi. *joki* ~ saI *juuha* 'Fluß' < PS ** jokę̄* < PU **juka* und fi. *salmi* ~ saI *čuálmi* 'Sund' < PS *ćə̄lmē* < **śolma* oder **ćolma*. Das finnische Wort *korpi* 'Einödwald' könnte im Prinzip eine Entsprechung im Saamischen haben: PS **kuorpę̄* (> saI *kuorpas*) 'abgebrannte Stelle im Wald' – dieses gehört jedoch zu einer produktiven Wortfamilie (vgl. saN *guorbat* 'verschleißen, sich abreiben, versengt werden, brennen'), deren Bedeutungen weit von der des finnischen Wortes *korpi* abweichen. Aus diesem Grund ist der Vergleich nicht unproblematisch. Das Wort *oja* 'Graben; Bach' wiederum hat in einigen saamischen Sprachen eine Entsprechung, die im Inarisaamischen fehlt (saKo *vuå´jj*, Kld. T) < **oja* oder **woja*.

Es gibt jedoch überraschend wenige Wortpaare dieser Art. Zumindest ebenso häufig kommt es vor, daß derselbe geographische Begriff im Ostseefinnischen und im Saamischen mit unterschiedlichen Lexemen ausgedrückt wird, z. B. fi. *niemi* 'Landspitze' – PS **ńārkę̄*, fi. *suo* 'Moor, Sumpf' – PS **jēŋkē*, fi. *kivi* 'Stein' – PS **kēδkē*, fi. *mäki* 'Hügel' – PS **vārē* (> fi. *vaara*), fi. *metsä* 'Wald' – PS *vuovtē* usw. Auch saI *vuonâš* 'Fjord' < PS **vuonę̄(-ńče)* > saN *vuotnu* (ohne Diminutivsuffix) hat keine Entsprechung im Finnischen (Hinter-Pohjanmaa-Dial. *vuono* < sa.[11]) und in den anderen verwandten Sprachen.

Sowohl im Ostseefinnischen als auch im Saamischen gibt es also einen großen Wortschatz, der in der Regel nur in der Toponymie einer der beiden Sprachgruppen auftritt. Hierzu gehören z. B. die ostseefinnischen Geländeappellativa *saari* 'Insel', *aho* 'verlassene Schwende', *kangas* 'Heide', *kallio* 'Fels', *maa* 'Land', *tie* 'Weg', *rinne* 'Abhang', *harju* 'Os', *kari* 'Klippe', *kylä* 'Dorf', *paikka* 'Stelle', *lehto* 'Hain', *vuori* 'Berg' und die saamischen

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Geländeappellativa PS **vuonę* 'Fjord', **rɔ̄vē* 'bewaldete Anhöhe', **ɔ̄jvē* 'Gipfel', **pāktē* 'Fels', **suońō* 'feuchter Sumpf', **jęrnę* 'Wasserrücken' u.a. Interessanterweise ist ein recht großer Teil des in der Toponymie verbreiteten Geländewortschatzes in beiden Gruppen nicht finnisch-ugrischer Herkunft und auch nicht entlehnt, zumindest im Licht der heutigen Erkenntnisse. Z.B. haben die ostseefinnischen Wörter *mäki* 'Hügel', *niemi* 'Landspitze', *suo* 'Sumpf, Moor', *saari* 'Insel', *aho* 'Wiese', *neva* 'Weißmoor' und *luoto* 'Klippe' keine Entsprechungen im Saamischen und in den anderen verwandten Sprachen und auch keine unumstrittenen Lehnetymologien. Entsprechendes gilt auch für die saamischen Wörter **ńārkę* 'Landspitze', **vuonę* 'Fjord', **kēδkē* 'Stein', **rɔ̄vē* 'bewaldete Anhöhe' u.a. Da man weiß, daß der in der Toponymie verbreitete Geländewortschatz in Sprachwechselsituationen im allgemeinen leicht aus der Substratsprache entlehnt wird (s. z.B. Saarikivi 2000: 409–410), darf man annehmen, daß sich unter den Wörtern dieses Typs in beiden Gruppen Lehnwörter aus den paleuropäischen Substratsprachen finden (Saarikivi: im Druck).

Die häufigsten Bestimmungsglieder des finnischen Namenguts und diejenigen der nordsaamischen Gewässernamen sind nicht direkt vergleichbar. Im folgenden werden zum Vergleich die frequentesten Bestimmungsglieder der finnischen Seennamen herangezogen (Kiviniemi 1990: 184–185).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *valkea* | 'weiß' | 1. | *guhkes* | 'lang' |
| 2. | *vähä / pikku / pieni* | 'klein' | 2. | *roavvi* | 'abgebrannte Stelle' |
| 3. | *saari* | 'Insel' | 3. | *hávga* | 'Hecht' |
| 4. | *särki* | 'Plötze' | 4. | *suolu* | 'Insel' |
| 5. | *pitkä* | 'lang' | 5. | *goahti* | 'Kote' |
| 6. | *kivi* | 'Stein' | 6. | *dápmot* | 'Bachforelle' |
| 7. | *iso / suuri* | 'groß' | 7. | *stuorra* | 'groß' |
| 8. | *ahven* | 'Barsch' | 8. | *suttes* | 'offenes Wasser' |
| 9. | *syvä* | 'tief' | 9. | *geađgi* | 'Stein' |
| 10. | *väärä* | 'krumm' | 10. | *vuoskku* | 'Barsch' |
| 11. | *salmi* | 'Sund' | 11. | *jeagil* | 'Flechte' |
| 12. | *ylä-* | 'Ober-' | 12. | *soavvil* | 'Äsche; Saibling' |
| 13. | *musta* | 'schwarz' | 13. | *rávdu* | 'Seesaibling' |
| 14. | *heinä* | 'Heu' | 14. | *suoidni* | 'Heu' |
| 15. | *kallio* | 'Fels' | 15. | *sieiddi* | 'alte Kultstätte der Saamen' |
| 16. | *hauki* | 'Hecht' | 16. | *geassi* | 'Sommer' |
| 17. | *keski-* | 'Mittel-' | 17. | *hárre* | 'Äsche' |
| 18. | *ali-* | 'Unter-' | 18. | *njárga* | 'Landspitze' |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19. *kota* | 'Kote' | 19. *bákti* | 'Fels' |
| 20. *honka / mänty / petäjä* | 'Kiefer, Föhre' | 20. *gieddi* | 'Feld' |

Auch die saamischen und ostseefinnischen Bestimmungsglieder unterscheiden sich also recht stark voneinander. In den Bestimmungsgliedern tritt weitgehend der gleiche Wortschatz auf wie in den Grundgliedern. Die saamischen Wörter *guhkes*, *geađgi*, *sieddi*, *njárga* und *bákti* haben keine Parallelen im Ostseefinnischen, *roavvi* und *gieddi* begegnen nur als dialektale Lehnwörter mit schmalem Verbreitungsgebiet (fi. dial. *rova*, *kenttä*).

Im saamischen Namengut treten besonders die Fischnamen hervor, von denen viele aus den ostseefinnischen Sprachen entlehnt wurden. Ihre hohe Frequenz ist allein durch die Verbindung des saamischen Materials mit Gewässernamen nicht ausreichend zu erklären. So sind Fischnamen z.B. in den finnischen Gewässernamen erheblich peripherer (Kiviniemi 1990: 184–185: nur 3/40 Fischnamen in den häufigsten Seennamen [vgl. im Saamischen: 6/20]).

## 3. Drei Kriterien für das Saamische

Es wurde oben bereits darauf hingewiesen, daß in der bisherigen Forschung über das saamische Namengut der Begriff "saamisches Namengut" kaum problematisiert wurde. Im allgemeinen galt es in der finnischen wie in der russischen Forschungstradition als ausreichender Nachweis für die saamische Herkunft eines Namens, wenn sich in den saamischen Sprachen eine etymologische Parallele nachweisen ließ. Die finnisch-ugrische Lautgeschichte ist in der Forschung nur in beschränktem Rahmen genutzt worden, und die Gesamtheit des Namengutes des Untersuchungsgebiets ist oft nicht beachtet worden. Der Vergleich mit dem Namengut im heutigen Saamischen – sofern er überhaupt angestellt wurde – hat sich auf die Ebene einzelner Namen beschränkt. Die Unterschiede zwischen dem onomastischen System des heutigen Saamischen und den entsprechenden Systemen der Untersuchungsgebiete sind nicht erörtert worden.

Der Vergleich des lebendigen saamischen mit dem ostseefinnischen Namengut zeigt, daß der "saamische Charakter" des im Namengut auftretenden Wortschatzes auf unterschiedliche Weise zum Ausdruck kommen kann. In einem "saamischen Namen" kann ein Lexem auftreten, das außer-

halb der saamischen Sprachen keine Parallele hat (**ńārkę*, **vuonę*, **kēδkē*, **rɔ̄vē* – diese sind mögliche Substratwörter), es kann sich um ein uralisches Wort handeln, das nur im Saamischen toponymische Bedeutungen erhalten hat, die in den anderen Sprachen fehlen (**ɔ̄jvē*), oder um ein Wort, das in mehreren uralischen Sprachen in toponymer Bedeutung auftritt und anhand lautlicher Kriterien als saamisch zu identifizieren ist (**jāvrē*, **luompęl*, **jokę*, **suolōj*, **luoktę*).

Um der Analyse des saamischen Namenguts in den weiten nordeuropäischen Gebieten wissenschaftliche Exaktheit zu geben, müssen die drei Kriterien unterschieden werden, mit denen Namengut als saamisch identifiziert werden kann. Es handelt sich um das *lautliche*, das *lexikalische* und das *typologische* Kriterium.

Aufgrund des *lautlichen Kriteriums* können als saamisch zunächst die Namen identifiziert werden, in denen ein die saamischen Sprachen differenzierender, d.h. frühestens im (Vor)Ursaamischen eingetretener Lautwandel begegnet. Derartige Lautveränderungen sind vor allem im alten Wortschatz zu beobachten, der Parallelen in den anderen uralischen Sprachen hat. Als in lautlicher Hinsicht saamisch kann ferner ein Name interpretiert werden, der ein Lexem enthält, das in den heutigen Sprachen verschwunden ist oder nicht mehr zur Bildung von Ortsnamen verwendet wird, das jedoch Parallelen in den anderen uralischen Sprachen hat und für die saamische Sprache distinktive Lautveränderungen aufweist (s. die *elV*-Namen, Karte 5). Man könnte Namen dieser Art als pseudo- oder parasaamisch bezeichnen. Da der morphologischen Struktur der Substratsprache in den heutigen Sprachen, die Substratentlehnungen aufgenommen haben, die phonologische Struktur der jeweiligen Sprache entspricht[12], kann man als lautlich saamisch auch solche Namen charakterisieren, in denen Relikte eines auf die saamischen Sprachen begrenzten Morphems, z.B. der in Ortsnamen häufigen Attributformen der Adjektive (s. **kukkēs*-Namen, Karte 8), auftreten.

Das lautliche Kriterium ist insofern eindeutig, als das Saamische – wie jede andere finnisch-ugrische Sprachform – im Prinzip anhand bestimmter Lautveränderungen definiert werden kann. Andererseits beschränkt sich die Entstehung einer neuen Sprachform nicht auf bloße Lautveränderungen, sondern setzt auch erhebliche lexikalische Einflüsse voraus. Man muß die Möglichkeit in Betracht ziehen, daß das Namengut eines Gebiets lautliche Innovationen mit den saamischen Sprachen teilt, im Hinblick auf den in

den Ortsnamen verwendeten Wortschatz aber an eine andere finnisch-ugrische Sprachform erinnert.

Das *lexikalische Kriterium* bedeutet, daß in dem zu betrachtenden Ortsnamen ein Lexem auftritt, das nur in den saamischen Sprachen existiert. In solchen Fällen ist das lautliche Kriterium natürlich nicht anwendbar, da der auf die saamischen Sprachen beschränkte Wortschatz keine Entsprechungen in den verwandten Sprachen hat – von einem rein theoretischen Standpunkt aus könnte es natürlich auch "parasaamische" Namen geben, die ein heute nur im Saamischen bekanntes Appellativ enthalten, aber in lautlicher Hinsicht einer anderen uralischen Sprache zuzuordnen sind. In der Praxis kommen derartige Namen jedoch zumindest im Untersuchungsgebiet nicht vor.

Wie oben erwähnt, begegnen im Geländewortschatz der saamischen Sprachen auch Termini, die aus phonotaktischen Gründen nicht weiter zurückgehen können als auf das Ursaamische und ganz offensichtlich Entlehnungen sind. Das lexikalische Kriterium ist daher wichtig, da man mit seiner Hilfe die historische geographische Maximalverbreitung des saamischen Geländeappellativguts und zugleich die möglichen Entlehnungsgebiete aufzeigen kann.

Auch das lexikalische Kriterium ist nicht absolut. Wortschatz, der heute nur in den saamischen Sprachen bekannt ist, kann früher auch Teil anderer finnisch-ugrischer Sprachen gewesen, dort aber verschwunden sein. Zudem wird der in Ortsnamen verwendete Geländewortschatz in einer Substratsituation ohnehin leicht von einer Sprache in die andere entlehnt. Eine Geländeappellativschicht saamischer Herkunft ist denn auch in Finnland und Skandinavien in den Dialekten einiger Gebiete verbreitet, aus denen das Saamische verdrängt wurde, etwa in den Hinter-Pohjanmaa-Dialekten des Finnischen und in den russischen Dialekten der Kola-Halbinsel.

Nach dem *typologischen Kriterium* wird der "saamische Charakter" des Namenguts definiert, indem man den Namenschatz des Untersuchungsgebiets mit dem lebendigen saamischen Namenschatz vergleicht und untersucht, in welchem Maß beide von ihrer syntaktisch-semantischen Struktur her gleichartig sind. Das typologische Kriterium beruht also auf dem gesamtheitlichen Vergleich zwischen dem heutigen saamischen Namenssystem und den Namenssystemen verschiedener saamischer Substratgebiete. Dabei richtet sich die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Verbindungen und Unterschiede zwischen der in verschiedenen Gebieten im Namengut verwende-

ten Terminologie sowie auf Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede der im Namengut angewandten lexikalischen Konventionen.

Im folgenden wird das "saamische Namengut" Finnlands und Nordrußlands für jedes der drei oben genannten Kriterien separat untersucht. Gleichzeitig wird versucht, ein Gesamtbild dessen zu geben, was in der russischen und finnischen Forschung bisher als "saamisch" betrachtet wurde, und kritisch über die Projektion der saamischen Ethnizität auf das Namenmaterial verschiedener Gebiete diskutiert.

## 4. Das in lautlicher Hinsicht saamische Namengut

### 4.1. Allgemeines

Wenn man von Gebieten spricht, für die man eine Jahrtausende zurückreichende finnisch-ugrische Siedlungskontinuität annimmt, muß man bei der etymologischen Erklärung der Toponymie alle lautlich und semantisch möglichen Deutungsalternativen berücksichtigen, die die historisch-vergleichende Methode anbietet. Das Namengut muß nicht nur mit der heutigen Sprache verglichen werden, sondern darüber hinaus auch mit den sprachgeschichtlichen Rekonstruktionen, dem Ursaamischen und Urfinnischen, sowie mit dem Frühurfinnischen oder der finnisch-ugrischen / uralischen Ursprache, die sich, wie oben erwähnt, sehr nahe stehen.

Der Vergleich des Namenguts mit rekonstruierten Ursprachen bedeutet natürlich nicht, daß wir von der Annahme ausgingen, z. B. die Russen hätten Namengut aus dem Ururalischen entlehnt, das vielleicht vor 5000–3500 Jahren gesprochen wurde, Jahrtausende vor dem Eintreffen der Slaven in Rußland.[13] Es ist jedoch möglich, daß sich in Nordrußland und Binnenfinnland lautlich zumindest in irgendeiner Hinsicht archaische Sprachformen erhalten haben, die sich sowohl vom heutigen Ostseefinnischen als auch vom Saamischen unterschieden (dies hat für Binnenfinnland Salminen [1999: 15] vorgeschlagen, und auch in der russischen Forschung ist gelegentlich auf diese Möglichkeit hingewiesen worden, insbesondere in Untersuchungen zum Namengut des Meriergebiets in Mittelrußland, s. z. B. Tkačenko 1985). Dies wäre nicht verwunderlicher als die Tatsache, daß das Finnische in vielen Fällen in der ersten Silbe den Vokal der uralischen Ursprache bewahrt hat oder daß im Saamischen als einzigem heutigen Zweig der Sprachfamilie das ururalische *$\delta$ erhalten geblieben ist.

Bei der Suche und Analyse saamischen Namenguts müssen natürlich die Lautsubstitutionen derjenigen Sprache berücksichtigt werden, in der die Namen heute verwendet werden. In der Praxis fallen darunter in unserem Untersuchungsgebiet Lautsubstitutionen im Finnischen, Karelischen, Wepsischen und in den nordrussischen Dialekten. Wenn man das Namengut des gesamten, ausgedehnten nordeuropäischen Gebiets gleichzeitig untersuchen will, muß man versuchen, solche im Urlappischen eingetretenen Lautveränderungen zu finden, die in allen Sprachen des Untersuchungsgebiets zuverlässig zu beobachten sind, unabhängig von Lautsubstitutionen. Dabei stößt man auf zahlreiche Schwierigkeiten.

### 4.2. Zur Adaptation saamischer Namen in den heutigen Sprachen

Die Adaptation von Namengut aus Substratsprachen in die heutigen Sprachen ist im allgemeinen nicht völlig regelmäßig; vielmehr sind auch in ein und demselben Gebiet Variationen in der Substitution von Lauten, Lautverbindungen und Morphemen zu beobachten, vor allem im Wortauslaut. Der in Substratnamen begegnende Wechsel erinnert zu einem gewissen Grad an die Schwankungen, die bei Lehnwörtern im Stadium der Festigung zu beobachten sind. Es wurde denn auch die Ansicht geäußert, gerade die Variation der Lautgestalt sei ein Kriterium, mit dem ein Namenstyp als auf Substrat zurückgehend identifiziert werden könne (Ageeva 1989).

Als saamisch zu identifizierende Lautveränderungen sind sowohl in russischen wie in finnischen Namen vor allem in der ersten Silbe und dem ihr folgenden Konsonantismus zu beobachten. Im Russischen ist die erste Silbe von Substratnamen im allgemeinen regelmäßig betont und hat den Lautbestand der Substratsprache gut bewahrt. Besonders gut erhalten ist der Konsonantismus, da es im Konsonantismus der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen weniger Oppositionen gibt als im Russischen. Beachtenswert ist jedoch die zweifache Substitution des *s*-Lautes der Substratsprache: *s* und *š* (Kalima 1944). Im mit Hilfe der saamischen Sprachen zu etymologisierenden Namengut des Dwina-Beckens scheint ausschließlich die letztgenannte Substitution aufzutreten (offenbar wurde das *s* in der Substratsprache recht palatal ausgesprochen), z.B. *Шу́боля* < PS *supē* 'Espe', *Ши́днема* < PS *sijtę* 'Winterdorf' – allerdings gibt es aus weiter unten zur Sprache kommenden Gründen nur wenige Belege.[14] In den mit Hilfe der ostseefinnischen Sprachen zu etymologisierenden Namen des gleichen Gebiets begegnen dagegen nebeneinander die Substitutionsbeziehungen osfi. *s* > ru. *s* (**sotka*

> *Сóтка* [Fluß im Bezirk Pinega][15]) und osfi. *s* > ru. *š* (**Sula/niemi* > *Шýланемя* [Landspitze / Terrain im Bezirk Pinega][16]). Die Klusile der Substratsprache werden neben stimmhaftem Konsonanten stimmhaft, vgl. z.B. *Шúткурьь*, aber *Шúднема* < **sijtę* 'Winterdorf'. Einzelne Klusile werden zwischen Vokalen stimmhaft, z.B. *Шýбоя*. Das *h* der Substratsprache wurde im Russischen auf verschiedene Weise substituiert (*h* im Wortanlaut, *g* im Inlaut in stimmhafter Umgebung, außerdem wurde in alten Lehnwörtern das *h* vor Vordervokal durch bloße Vokalprothese substituiert (z.B. *Häme* > *Емьь*)), doch da es sich bei *h* in den saamischen Sprachen um einen peripheren Laut handelt, ist dies für die Analyse der saamischen Namen in Nordrußland kaum von Bedeutung.

Im Vokalismus der nordrussischen Namen sind die Substitutionsveränderungen zahlreicher. Dem kurzen *a* der Substratsprache entspricht russ. *a* und *o* (**lahti* > *Лóхта*, *Лáхта*[17]), dem langen *a* wiederum *a* (**sāri* > *сарь* in zahlreichen Namen, z.B. *Сáрова*, ein Fluß, der in die Sura, einen Nebenfluß der Pinega mündet).[18] Die doppelte Vertretung des kurzen *a* ist auf den im Russischen eingetretenen Lautwandel *a* > *o* zurückzuführen, den die ältesten Lehnwörter mitgemacht haben. Insbesondere in den frühesten Siedlungsgebieten der Russen am See Beloozero entspricht sowohl dem *a* wie dem *o* der Substratsprache russ. *o* (Matveev 1968). Im Anlaut ist sowohl vor *o* als auch vor aus *a* hervorgegangenem *o* häufig prothetisches *v* entstanden (**oja-* > *Вóенала* [ein Dorf, Kreis Pinega – das Dorf liegt zwischen dem Fluß Pinega und einem kleinen Bach namens *Вóеналка*], **alho* > *Вóлга*). Dem *ä* entspricht sowohl russ. *'a* (*a* und Palatalisierung des vorangehenden Konsonanten, orthographisch *я*) als auch (seltener) *e* (**härkä* > *Хя́рга*[19], **mänty* > *мéнд-* [in zahlreichen Substratnamen]). In einigen Wörtern entspricht dem *e* der Substratsprache russ. *a* (z.B. *vehka* > *вáхта*, *pehku* > *náхта*[20], offensichtlich vor Hintervokal der zweiten Silbe in der Substratsprache. Der ursaamische Diphthong *uo* wurde wahrscheinlich durch *u* substituiert (*lumba* < PS **luompę-l*). Dem ostseefinnischen *ü* entspricht im allgemeinen *ы* (*kylmä* > *Кы́лма*[21]).

In den russischen Substratnamen zu beobachtende, als saamisch zu identifizierende Lautveränderungen sind vor allem der Konsonantwechsel PU **ś* > PS *ć* und die Vokalwechsel in der ersten Silbe PU / PFU **i*, **ü*, **e* > saN *a*, PU **u* > saN *o* und **a* > saN *uo*, sowie der im Anlaut eingetretene Wandel **a*, **o* > saN *vuo*. Obwohl auch die anderen Lautveränderungen für das Saamische distinktiv sind, spiegeln sie sich im Namengut der russifizierten Gebiete recht schwach wider. Schlecht reflektiert wird in den

russischen Namen beispielsweise der Wandel *ä* > *ie*, und zwar infolge der im Namengut zu beobachtenden Substitutionsverhältnisse **ä*, **e*, **ē* > ru. *e* (*Мéзреза* < **Mäkräjoki*[22], **vieru-* (< **vēr-*) > *véra-*, z.B. in dem Namen *Бéраzора*, ein Hügel im Bezirk Pinega).

Die Lautverhältnisse des saamischen Namengutes und der saamischen Lehnwörter im Finnischen sind seit langem recht gut bekannt. Zu beachtende Konsonantsubstitutionen sind vor allem die Substitution der Affrikate vor Hintervokal durch *j* (z.B. saN *čoalbmi* 'Sund' > *jolma*) und die Substitution von Affrikaten vor Vordervokal durch *k* (z.B. saN *čearru* > *kero*). Die lautliche Deutung des Vokalismus des saamischen Namenguts im Finnischen ist jedoch mit größeren Problemen verbunden. Bei der Adaptation des Vokalismus trat nämlich teilweise sog. etymologische Substitution ein. Damit ist gemeint, daß die zahlreichen etymologisch verwandten Wortpaare, bei denen ein bestimmtes Vokalverhältnis auftritt, z.B. osfi. *i* ~ sa. *a* (vgl. saN *nimi* ~ *namma*), der mehr oder weniger zweisprachigen Sprachgemeinschaft als phonotaktisches Modell dienten, nach dem auch neue Lehnwörter substituiert wurden. So spiegelt sich z.B. in den offensichtlich jungen saam. Lehnwörtern der Hinter-Pohjanmaa-Dialekte (z.B. *kivalo* 'Landrücken' < saN *čavil* < ursa. **cęvēlkē*) dasselbe Vokalverhältnis wider, das auch im alten Wortschatz gemeinsamer Herkunft begegnet (A. Aikio: in Vorbereitung). Einige Belege (z.B. *pisa* in der Wortverbindung *hiiden pisa* 'Teufel' und in den Ortsnamen *Pisavuori*, *Pisuvuori* usw. < *bassi* < PS **pęsē* 'heilig') deuten darauf hin, daß entsprechendes auch bei der Übernahme von Wortschatz und Namengut aus dem Saamischen ins Finnische geschehen ist (Aikio op. cit.).

Die Vokale der unbetonten Silben geben die Laute der Substratsprache im allgemeinen nicht zuverlässig wieder. Dies gilt sowohl für das Finnische wie für das Russische. In den saamischen Substratnamen des Finnischen begegnen an der Grenze zwischen Bestimmungs- und Grundglied zahlreiche morphologische Schwankungen sogar bei Substratnamen, die auf dasselbe Wort zurückgehen, z.B. *Seittomäki*, *Seittenpää*, *Seitniemi*, *Seittyenniemi* < ursa. **siejtē* 'Kultstein' (auch diese Beispiele A. Aikio op. cit.). Im Russischen sind im Wortauslaut grundsätzlich nur drei Vokalphoneme (*a/ja*, *e/o/jo*, *-i/ĭ/j*) möglich, deren Auftreten von Genus und Stamm des Wortes abhängt. Das Genus etymologisch opaker Ortsnamen kongruiert im allgemeinen mit demjenigen des mit dem Namen verbundenen Geländeappellativs (z.B. der Fluß *Кáрза*, weil das entsprechende Geländeappellativ *рекa* 'Fluß' ein Femininum auf *-a*, der Bach *Кáрзой*, weil das

entsprechende Geländeappellativ *ручей* 'Bach' ein auf *-j* endendes Maskulinum ist). Aus diesen Gründen gehe ich im folgenden nicht auf die Vokalsubstitutionen der zweiten Silbe ein. Dagegen ist die dritte Silbe, auf der in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen Nebenbetonung liegt, auch im Russischen oft relativ gut erhalten. Gewöhnlich ist dies die erste Silbe des ursprünglichen Grundglieds (*Ши́днема* < **sijtē-nēmi*; es handelt sich hier um einen ostseefinnisch-saamischen Hybridnamen, s. genauer Abschnitt 6).

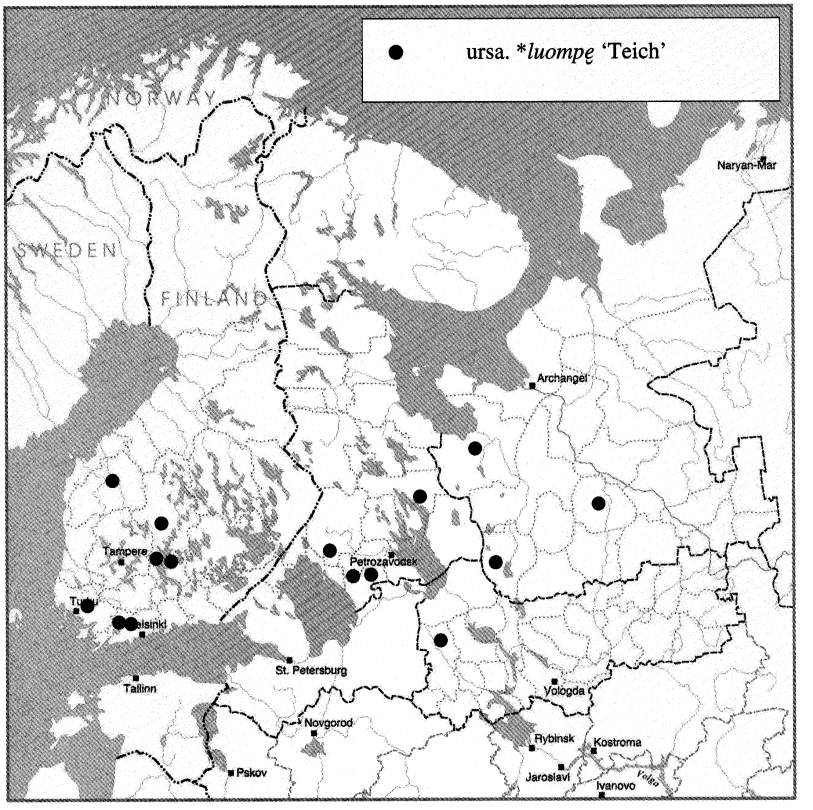
Die morphologische Adaptation der saamischen Namen an das Ostseefinnische ist offenbar ausnahmslos als sog. Teilnachbildung geschehen, durch Übersetzung des Grundglieds (*Guhkesjávri* > *Kukasjärvi*, *Luovvesuolu* > *Luovisaari*). Möglicherweise hat dies damit zu tun, daß bei den saamisch-ostseefinnischen Kontakten Zweisprachigkeit vorherrschte: Die Saamen übersetzten eventuell die Grundglieder ihrer Namen für die Bedürfnisse der ostseefinnischen Bevölkerung. Ins Russische wurden Substratnamen sowohl als Gesamtnachbildung (z.B. *Ку́зонемь* < *Kuusiniemi*, *Шу́боя* < PS **supē* 'Espe', PF **(w)oja*) wie auch als Teilnachbildung übernommen (z.B. *Пе́чгора* < ? PS **pēsē* 'Kiefer', ru. *гора* 'Hügel; Berg'). Aus den russischsprachigen Gebieten liegt jedoch kein einziges unumstrittenes Beispiel für ein saamisches Grundglied vor. Da es in den Gebieten Archangelsk und Vologda im übrigen zahlreiche mit Hilfe der saamischen Sprachen zu etymologisierende Namen gibt, ist dieser Umstand recht überraschend und verlangt nach einer Erklärung (s. genauer Abschnitt 6).

Im folgenden wird die Verbreitung einiger in weiten Gebieten anzutreffender Namentypen betrachtet, die die saamischen Lautveränderungen reflektieren und deren semantischer Inhalt außersprachlich kontrolliert werden kann.

### 4.3. Saamische Lautveränderungen reflektierende Namentypen[23]

Karte 4 zeigt Substratnamen, die wahrscheinlich mit der saamischen Wortfamilie **luompę-l* (> saN *luobbal*) 'Teich' zu verbinden sind. In Finnland haben die Namen die Form *Lummi-*, *Lumpukas-*, *Lummukka-* und *Lummisko-*, in Karelien *Lummas-* (: *Lumbaha-*), *Lumbika-*, *Lummi-* und *Lumba-*, in Rußland *Лу́мбушка-*, *Лу́мба-*, *Лу́мбар-*, *Лу́мбаш-* und *Лу́мб-*. Sie bezeichnen entweder kleine Seen oder Orte, die möglicherweise nach einem in unmittelbarer Nähe gelegenen kleinen See benannt wurden. Es handelt sich um einen lautlich "optimalen" Namenstamm, denn der Wortstamm

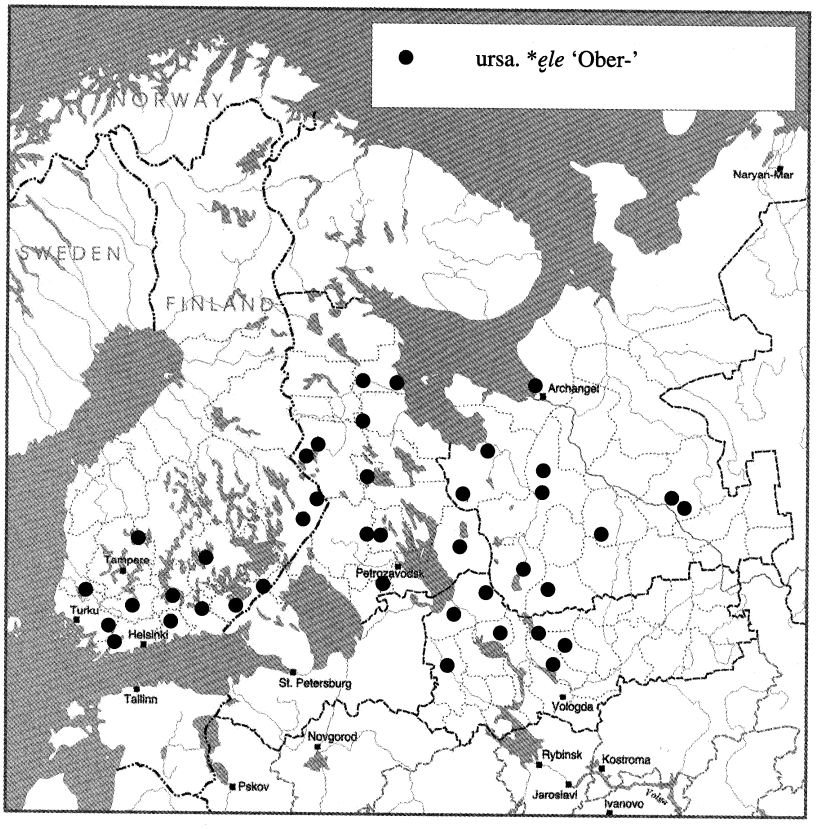
begegnet auch im Ostseefinnischen (fi. *lampi* < PF **lampi* < FS **lampi*), wo er sich lautlich eindeutig von dem saamischen Namenstamm unterscheidet. Zudem läßt sich die semantische Verbindung des Namens mit Teichen im allgemeinen außersprachlich feststellen. Ein Teil der Namen ist allerdings möglicherweise mit der Wortfamilie *lumme* 'Seerose, Nymphaea' zu verbinden. Im heutigen Nordsaamischen begegnet der Namenstamm vor allem als Ableitung *luoppal* 'Teich, durch den ein Bach oder Fluß fließt'. Die Etymologie haben für den finnischen Namen mehrere Forscher vorgeschlagen (u. a. Sammallahti 1998: 183; Salo 2000: 27).[24]




*Karte 4.* Die Distribution von ursa. **luompę* 'Teich' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

Ein Beispiel für einen 'parasaamischen' Namentyp sind die Namen mit dem Stamm *elV-* (Karte 5). In Finnland hat der Stamm die Form *eli-*, *elimä-*, *elämä-*, *elänne-*, *elimys-* und *elin-*, in Karelien *elimä-*, *elin-* und *eligi-* und in den russifizierten Gebieten *элем(V)-*, *элиш-*, *элен-*, *еле-*, *ела-* usw.

Heute wird in den saamischen Sprachen zur Beschreibung einer hochgelegenen Stelle in einem Gewässer die Attributform *bajas* verwendet (vom Stamm *badje-* 'Ober-'). Offenbar wurde in Südfinnland, Karelien und den östlich davon gelegenen Gebieten jedoch in gleicher Bedeutung der ursaamische Stamm **ęlē* 'Ober-' verwendet (> im heutigen Nordsaamischen *alde* 'auf', *alas* 'hinauf' usw.). Überaus zahlreiche Gewässernamen mit




*Karte 5.* Die Distribution von ursa. **ęle* 'Ober' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

dem Element *elV* beziehen sich auf Seen und Flüsse, die innerhalb ihres Wassersystems die höchstgelegenen sind. Für das russische Namengut konnte die Motivation jedoch nicht in allen Fällen überprüft werden. In die Karte wurden jedoch nur mit Gewässern verbundene Namen aufgenommen, in denen das Element *ele-* auf Substratsprache zurückgeht. Dennoch ist es im Prinzip durchaus möglich, daß ein kleiner Teil der Namen in Wirklichkeit etymologisch mit einer anderen Wortfamilie verknüpft ist.

Das Namenselement ist insofern eindeutig, als der darin auftretende Vokalwechsel regelmäßig und mit der für die saamischen Sprachen charakteristischen Vokalrotation verbunden ist. Interessant ist, daß fast überall in den Gebieten Archangelsk und Vologda neben *ele-* auch der Namenstamm *ile-* begegnet, der ebenfalls mit hochgelegenen Gewässern in Verbindung steht (z. B. in den oft anzutreffenden Namentypen *Йлеша, Йлекса*, die die obersten Bäche bestimmter Gewässersysteme benennen). Für diese Namen ist jedoch lautlich auch ostseefinnische oder andere finnisch-ugrische Herkunft möglich (aus dem urural. Stamm **ülä*).

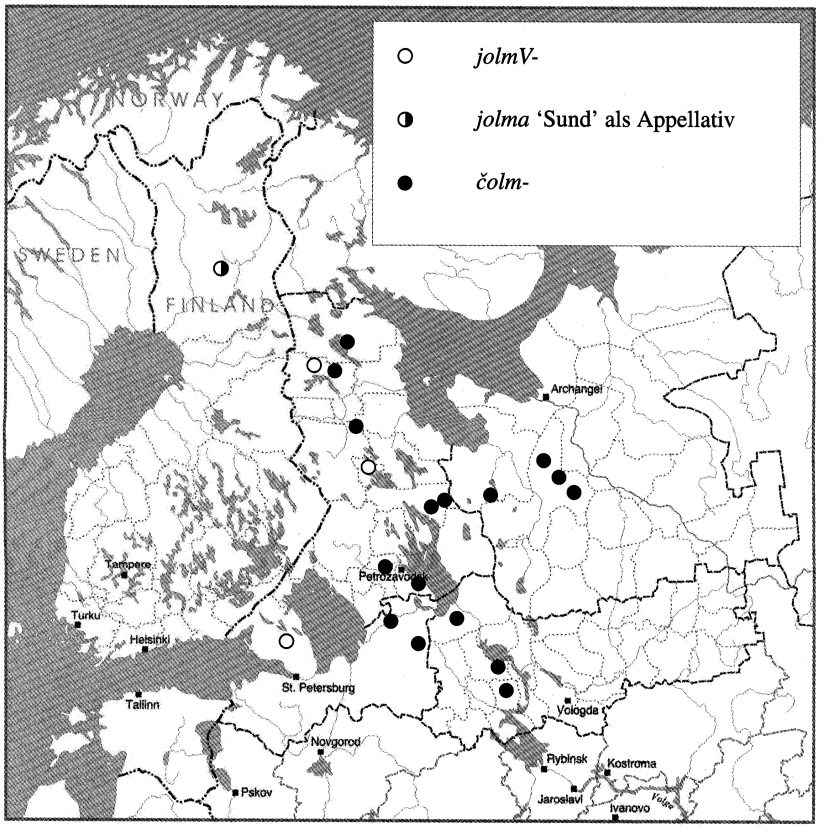
Mullonen (2002: 232–244) hat nachweisen können, daß in der Umgebung des Swir eine areale Korrelation zwischen **ilm-* und **elm*-Stämmen besteht, und zwar dergestalt, daß die letzteren weiter nördlich vorkommen. Es bleibt der künftigen Forschung vorbehalten, zu klären, inwieweit andere mit diesem Namentyp verknüpfte areale Korrelationen in anderen Teilen Nordrußlands zu finden sind.

Ein Deutungsproblem besteht auch bei den Namen mit dem Stamm *čolm-*, die mit Sunden verbunden sind (Karte 6). Hinter ihnen steht möglicherweise ein Lexem, das PS **ćɔ̄lmē* 'Sund' entspricht (dies wiederum ~ fi. *salmi* 'Sund' < FS **śolma*, möglicherweise eine Ableitung aus **śola* 'Darm', Nikkilä 1998). Das Namenelement ist in diesen Fällen stabil, doch in der suffixalen Stellung begegnen Variationen.

Die saamische Herkunft des Namentyps ist möglicherweise fraglich. Da sich die Reflexe des alten palatalisierten Sibilanten und der palatalisierten Affrikate in den saamischen und den ostseefinnischen Sprachen nicht voneinander unterscheiden, ist es möglich, daß das ostseefinnische *salmi* und das saamische **ćɔ̄lmē* nicht auf **śolma,* sondern auf die affrikativ anlautende Form **ćolma* zurückgehen. In diesem Fall könnten also die *čolm*-Namen in Nordrußland lautlich sowohl das Ostseefinnische repräsentieren als auch eine Sprache, die altertümlicher ist als das Saamische. Es ist natürlich auch sonst möglich, daß der Wandel *ś* > *ć* bereits auf der vor dem

Ursaamischen liegenden Rekonstruktionsebene, im Frühurfinnischen erfolgte (falls man eine solche Rekonstruktionsebene annehmen will). In diesem Fall wäre im Ostseefinnischen die Entwicklung *ć* > *s* eingetreten. (Mündlicher Hinweis von Pekka Sammallahti.)

Im Hinblick auf den Vokalismus ist der Beweiswert der *čolm*-Namen gering, da die Lautbeziehungen Substratsprache **a* ~ ru. *a* und **a* ~ ru. *o* in den Ortsnamen möglicherweise auch im selben Gebiet auftreten. Falls jedoch der von Matveev (1968) vorgebrachte Gedanke zutrifft, das Areal osfi. *a* ~ ru. *o* sei in Nordrußland im wesentlichen auf das Gebiet der alten ostseefinnisch-russischen Kontakte in der Umgebung des Beloozero be-




*Karte 6.* Die Distribution von ursa. **ćə̄lmē* 'Sund' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

grenzt, befinden sich die östlichsten *čolm*-Namen des Dwina-Beckens bereits im Gebiet der Lautbeziehung **a ~ a*, so daß der Vokal der ersten Silbe der *čolm*-Namen auf **o* der Substratsprache zurückgehen müßte. In diesem Fall könnte das *o* auf eine Substratsprache saamischen Typs zurückgehen. Andererseits ist sowohl osfi. *salmi* als auch saN *čoalbmi* < PS **ćōlmē* wie gesagt auf die Form **śolma* oder **ćolma* (mit *o* in der ersten Silbe) zurückzuführen (vgl. *sarvi* < **śorva*, *talvi* < **tälvä* usw.). Daher können die nordrussischen *čolm*-Namen im Prinzip auch aus einer Sprache stammen, die einen altertümlicheren Vokalismus vertrat als das Ostseefinnische und das Saamische.

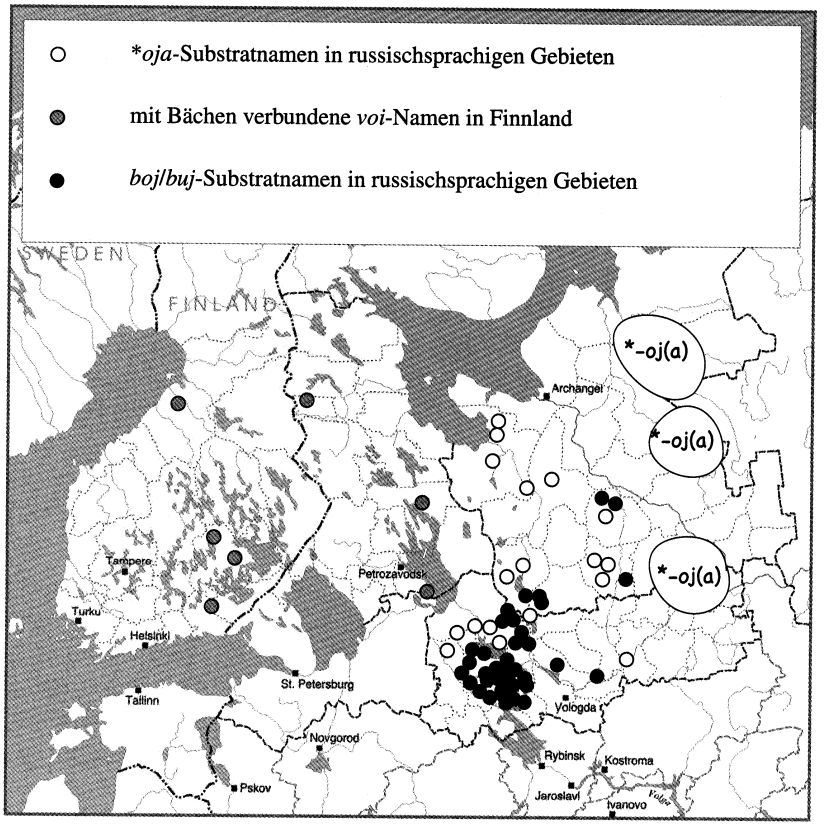
Die frühere Existenz von lautlich altertümlichen, sowohl vom Ostseefinnischen als auch vom Saamischen abweichenden Sprachformen in Nordrußland dürfte kaum reine Spekulation sein. In den Dialekten des südlichen Teils des Gebiets Archangelsk (in den Bezirken Šenkursk und Ober-Tojma) begegnet auch das Appellativ *чи́льма* 'Morastloch, Blänke'. Es handelt sich eindeutig um ein finnisch-ugrisches Lehnwort (dies hat bereits Matveev 1978 nachgewiesen), und das Wort geht fraglos auf die Form **ćilmä* in der Substratsprache zurück. In diesem Wort ist also der für das Saamische typische Wandel *ś* > *ć* eingetreten, während die gleichermaßen typischen Vokalveränderungen ausgeblieben sind. Zudem steht das Wort semantisch in Verbindung mit einer im Saamischen unbekannten Metapher, die ein im Moor gelegenes offenes Gewässer als 'Auge' bezeichnet. Es wäre denn auch verlockend, das Wort *чи́льма* als Beleg dafür anzusehen, daß der Wandel *ś* > *ć* schon vor Beginn der saamischen Sonderentwicklung eingetreten ist. Das "parasaamische" **ćolma* wäre ein deutlicher Parallelfall.

Karte 7 zeigt die mit Bächen verbundenen Namen auf *-вой*, *-бой* und *-буй* in Nordrußland. Als saamisch wurden sie u.a. von Matveev (2001: 256–261; 1970) gedeutet, der in diesem Zusammenhang auf die ostsaamischen Wörter mit der Bedeutung 'Bach' hinwies (saKo *vuå'jj*, auch Kld, T). Diese wiederum sind Entsprechungen des finnischen Wortes *oja*. Das anlautende *v* geht jedoch auf sekundäre Entwicklung im Ostsaamischen zurück – die ursaamische Form wäre **ōjē*. Die Karte beruht für Nordrußland auf der Quelle Matveev 1970, Karte 15 und 2001, Karte 3, S. 341.

Ein Teil der *voj-/boj-/buj*-Namen kann im Prinzip auch das ostseefinnische Element **oja* enthalten. Dieses Element begegnet im Gebiet Archangelsk und Vologda im Namengut in einigen Gegenden, mit den Varianten *-оя*, *-ой*, *-ая*, *-ай*. Es ist möglich, daß in einigen Namen das *v* oder

*b* ursprünglich zum Bestimmungsglied des Namens gehörte (z.B. *Куйвой* < **Kuivaoja*). Auf der Karte begegnen auch einige Namen in Finnland und Karelien, bei denen das Bestimmungsglied *-voi* mit Bächen in Verbindung steht. Schon aufgrund der geringen Anzahl der Namen ist jedoch unklar, ob derartige Namen mit den *voja-/boja*-Namen Nordrußlands in Verbindung stehen.

Auch wenn der Labial zum Namensstamm gehören sollte, stößt man auf Probleme, wenn man die *boj-/voj*-Namen ausdrücklich als saamisch interpretiert. Erstens ist der in den Namen reflektierte "saamische" Wechsel *oa* > *voa* ausschließlich ostsaamisch. Zweitens ist das alte uralische



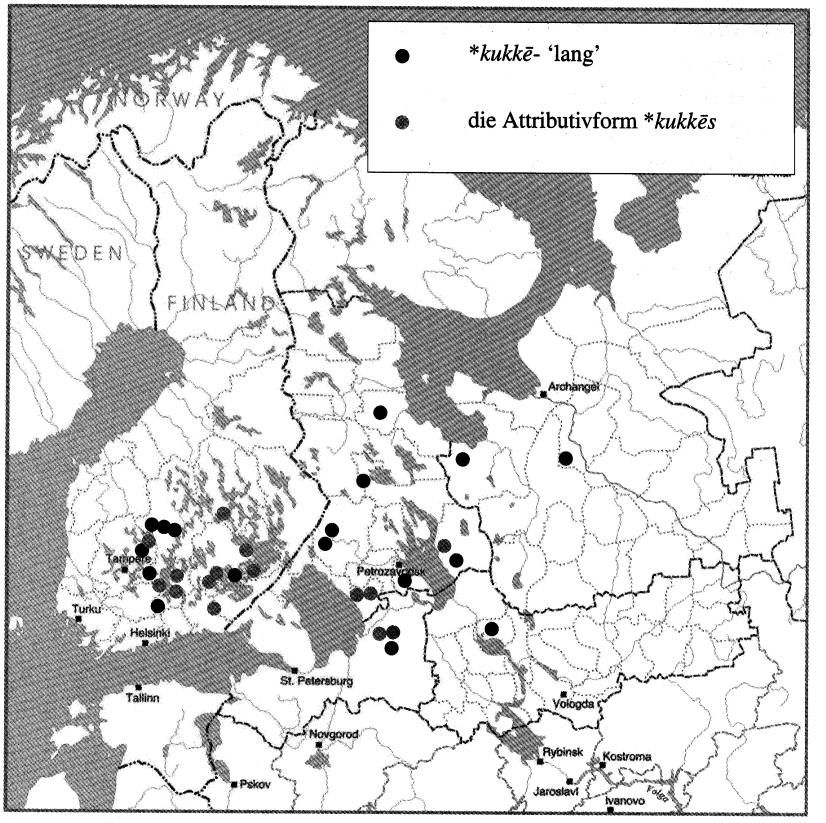

*Karte 7.* Die Distribution des urfi. **oja*- 'Bach' und seiner evtl. sa. Entsprechungen in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

anlautende **w* in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen geschwunden (vgl. fi. *olka* ~ ung. *váll* < PU **wolka*, fi. *os-ta-* ~ ko *vuz* < PU **wosa-* [dies wiederum < idg. **wosā* 'Handelsware', s. Koivulehto 1991: 83]). Da das Wort *oja* außerhalb des Ostseefinnischen und der saamischen Sprachen keine Entsprechungen hat, besteht die Möglichkeit, daß ein Name mit dem Element *v* eine Sprachform vertritt, in der PU **woja* (> PF *oja*) erhalten geblieben war. Die Tatsache, daß Bachnamen mit der Endung *-oj* auch in Komi (Turkin 1988) und Udmurtien (Atamanov 1986) begegnen, deutet andererseits darauf hin, daß auch die **oja*-Variante alt ist. Jedenfalls weist das Substratnamengut im Gebiet Archangelsk im Hinblick auf diesen Namensstamm auf eine alte Doppelvertretung hin (einerseits **oja*, andererseits **woja*), die wahrscheinlich die gleichzeitige Existenz zweier Substratsprachen in diesem Gebiet widerspiegelt.[25] Auch die mit Bächen verbundenen Namen mit dem Stamm *voi* in Finnland und Karelien sind mit demselben Problemkreis verknüpft.

Der morphologischen Struktur der Substratsprache entspricht in der Sprache, in der der Name heute verwendet wird, meist die phonologische Struktur. Daher kann man die Reflexe der für die saamischen Sprachen typischen Morpheme, z.B. der Attributform der Adjektive im Namentyp *Guhkesjávri*, im Zusammenhang mit dem als saamisch zu definierenden Namengut phonologisch untersuchen. Auf der folgenden Karte (8) wurden die auf den saamischen Stamm **kukkē-* 'lang' zurückgehenden Namen und die Namen mit Attributform separat vermerkt. Die Namen haben im finnischen Gebiet den Stamm *kukas-*, *kukka-*, *kukkamo-*, *kukkas-*, *kukkia-*, *kukko-*, *kuukka-*, in Karelien *kukas-*, *kukka-* und *kuukka-*. In den russifizierten Gebieten begegnet der Namenstamm in der Form *кукас-* und *кук-*.

Der Namenstamm ist offensichtlich eine Ableitung vom uralischen Stamm **kuwa-* 'lang' (> **kuwa-kka* PS **kūkkā*), dessen Nachfolger mdE *kuvaka* und mdM *kə̑vaka* 'lang' sind (Aikio 2000). Im Hinblick auf die frühere Verbreitung der saamischen Besiedlung sind besonders die auf *-s* endenden Attributformen interessant. Sie reflektieren eines der sprachtypologisch eigenartigsten und historisch rätselhaftesten Morpheme der Sonderentwicklung des Saamischen. Die Karte, die die *kuka(s)*-Namen Finnlands darstellt, wurde früher u.a. bei Vahtola (1995: 112) veröffentlicht.

Einige saamische Namen in Nordrußland reflektieren einen nur im Saamischen eingetretenen Lautwandel, der jedoch sporadisch und unerklärt

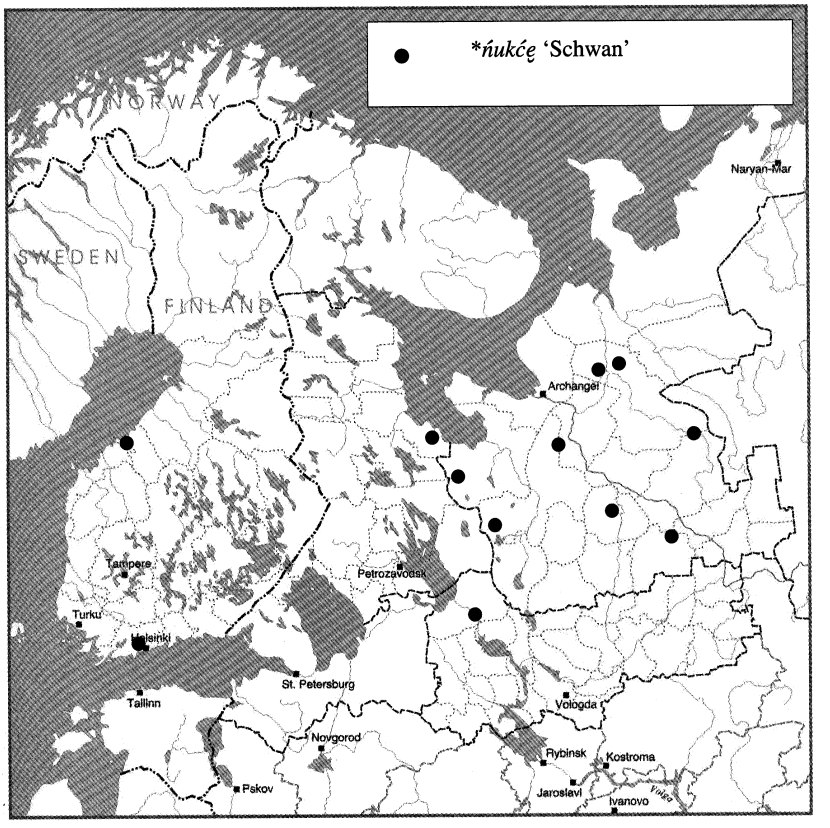



*Karte 8.* Die Distribution von ursa. **kukkē-* 'lang' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

ist. Hierzu zählen die Namen mit dem Stamm *нюхч-* und *нюкш-* (Karte 9), die bereits in der ältesten Untersuchung zum saamischen Namengut (Wiklund 1911; Matveev 1970) mit dem saamischen Wort PS **ńukćę* (> saN *njukča*) 'Schwan' in Verbindung gebracht wurden. Dieses gehört zu einer Wortfamilie, die in den meisten Zweigen der uralischen Sprachfamilie eine Art von Entsprechungen hat (fi. *joutsen*, mdE *lokśij*, *lokśťim*, maL *ďükšə*, ko. und udm. *juś* u. a.). In den Entsprechungen ist jedoch eine (in den uralischen Sprachen für Vogelnamen generell typische) lautliche Unregelmäßigkeit zu beobachten. Im Saamischen ist die Entwicklung *j* > *ń* im Anlaut sporadisch und bisher nicht erklärt. Insgesamt ist die Wortfamilie

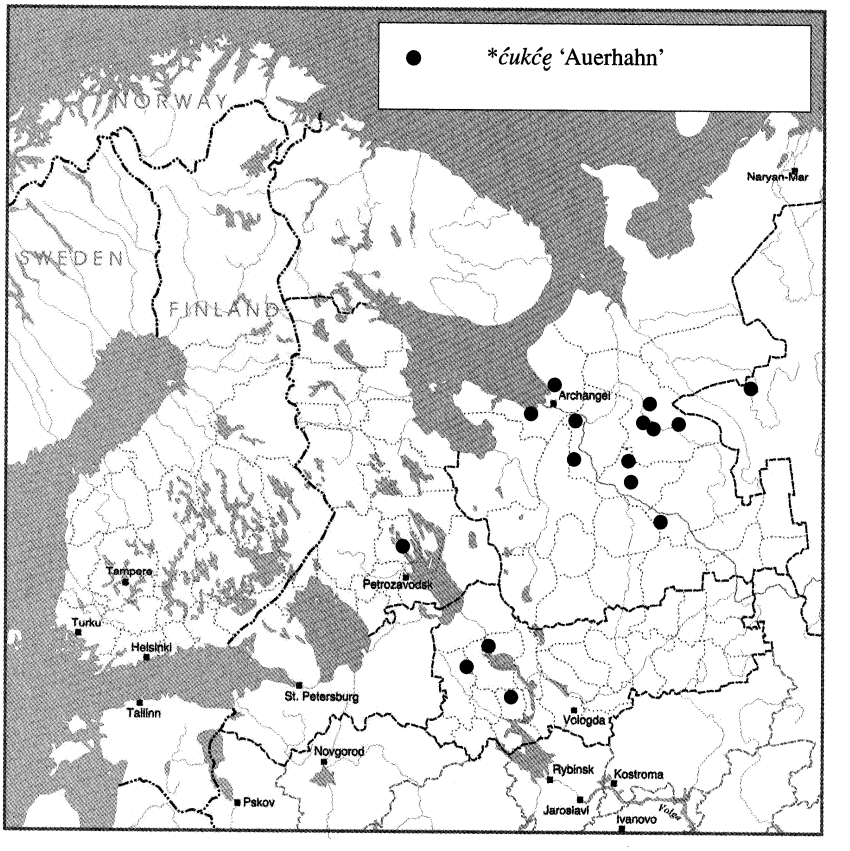
so verworren, daß eine zuverlässige Rekonstruktion der ururalischen Form nicht möglich ist.

Es darf jedoch als wahrscheinlich gelten, daß die *ńukćę*-Namen in Nordrußland auf die eine oder andere Weise mit diesem saamischen Wort in Verbindung stehen. Es gibt offensichtlich keine anderen bei der Namenbildung verwendeten Wortstämme, von denen der Name auf der Basis der ostseefinnischen und saamischen Sprachen abgeleitet werden könnte. Zudem ist das Vorkommen eines Schwans auch in den russischen Namen am Dwina-Becken eine übliche Benennungsmotivation (vgl. Namen des Typs *Лебяжье озеро* < *лебедь* 'Schwan', die üblich sind).




*Karte 9.* Die Distribution von ursa. **ńukćę* 'Schwan' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

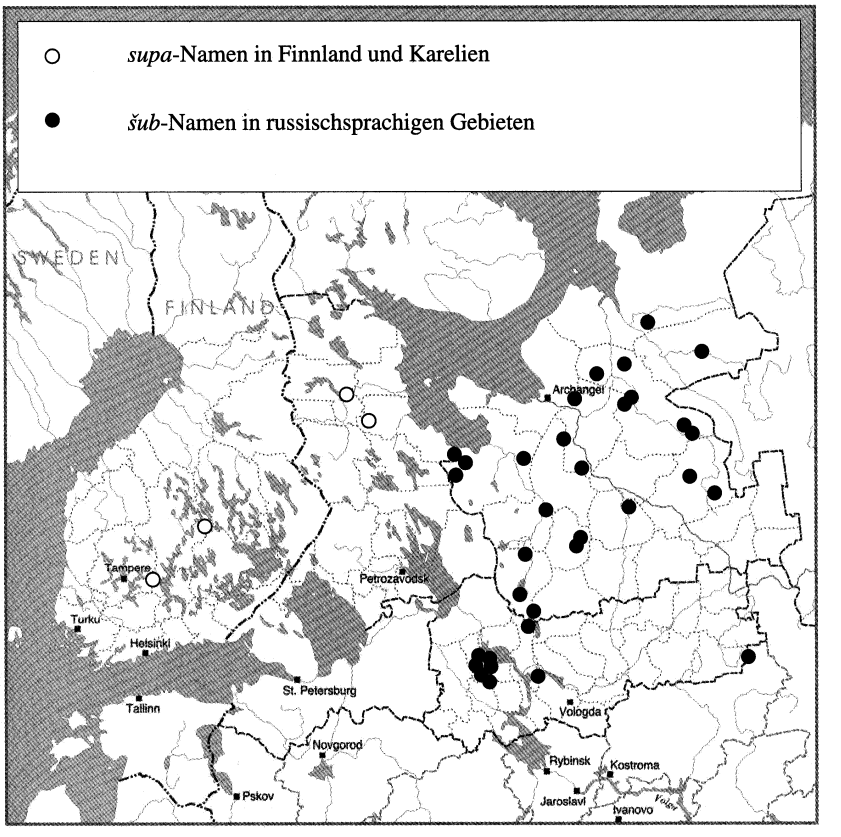
Auch ein zweiter saamischer Vogelname, PS **ćukćę* (> saN *čukčá*) 'Auerhahn, Tetrao urogallus' begegnet allgemein im Namengut des Gebiets Archangelsk in der Form *чухч-* und *чукш-* (Karte 10). Hierauf wurde bereits in der früheren russischen Forschung hingewiesen (Matveev 1970; 1980). Dieses Wort hat einige mögliche uralische Parallelen (z. B. führt UEW die Wörter mdE *suvoźej*, maL *suzə̑* u. a. an, die jedoch keine regelmäßigen Entsprechungen des saamischen Wortes sind), doch auch diese Wortfamilie ist so verworren, daß eine direkte uralische Ausgangsform kaum zu rekonstruieren ist (vgl. jedoch UEW: **cukcə*). In den nördlichen Dialekten des Russischen begegnet das entlehnte Appellativ *чухáрь* 'Auerhahn', das ebenfalls eine Entlehnung aus dieser Wortfamilie ist (*-ar'* ist ein Ableitungssuffix,




*Karte 10.* Die Distribution von ursa. **ćukćę* 'Auerhahn' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

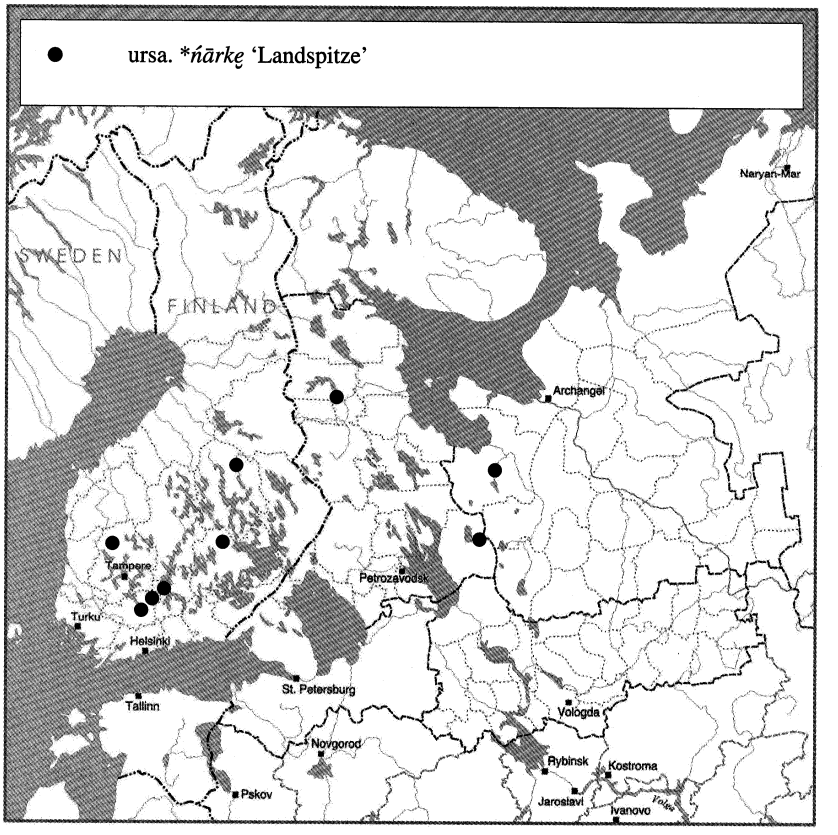
vgl. auch russ. dial. *кóпала* 'Auerhuhn' < osfi. *koppelo*). Entgegen der Auffassung des UEW ist auch das im Komi dialektal auftretende *čukči* 'Auerhahn' keine etymologische Entsprechung des saamischen Wortes, sondern sowohl aufgrund seiner dialektalen Verbreitung als auch seiner lautlichen Gestalt eher eine Entlehnung aus den Substratsprachen am Dwina-Becken. Schon früher hat Žerebcov (1982: 195) die Ansicht geäußert, es könne sich um ein saamisches Lehnwort handeln.

Ein Namentyp, der von seiner Verbreitung her an die beiden bereits genannten erinnert, ist die in den russifizierten Gebieten mit dem Stamm *šub-* auftretende Gruppe von Substratnamen (Karte 11), hinter der offensicht-




*Karte 11*. Die Distribution von ursa. **supē* 'Espe' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

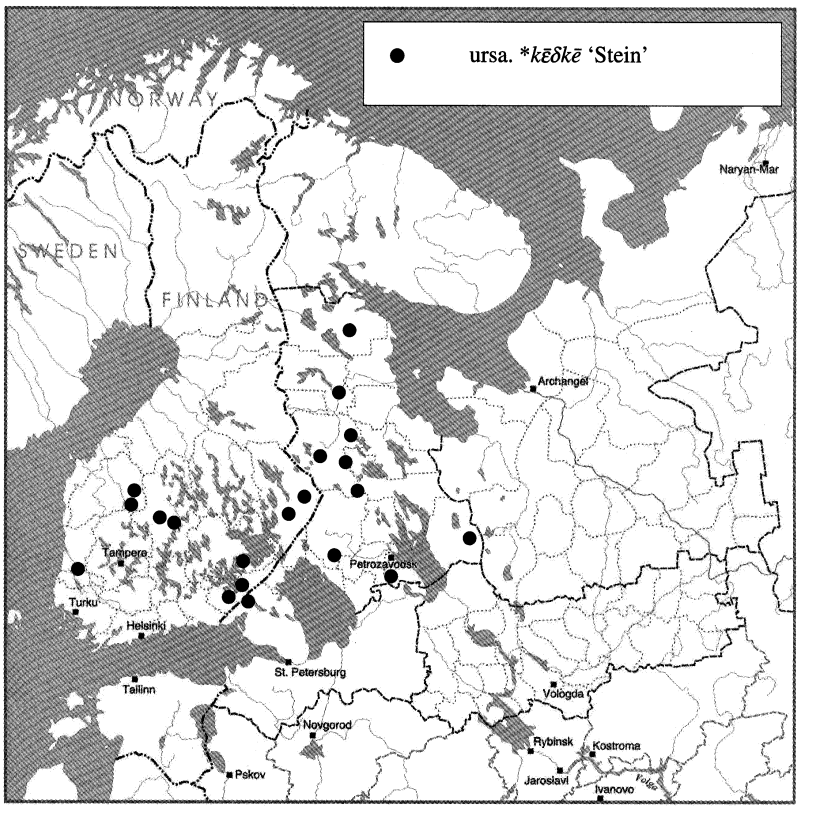
lich die Wortfamilie PS **supē* 'Espe' (> saN *suhpi*) steht (Matveev 1970; 1980). In Nordrußland beziehen sich zumindest einige der Namen mit dem Stamm *šub-* auf Gegenden, in denen auch heute vor allem Espen wachsen. In Finnland und Karelien gibt es einige wahrscheinlich hierzu gehörende Substratnamen mit dem Stamm *supa* (s. Aikio: in Vorbereitung). Die Annahme ist naheliegend, daß PS **supē* auf irgendeine Weise mit der osfi. Wortfamilie *haapa* in Verbindung steht, doch das Lautverhältnis zwischen dem ostseefinnischen und dem saamischen Wort ist unregelmäßig (*a* ~ *u* statt *a* ~ *uo*).[26]




*Karte 12.* Die Distribution von ursa. **ńārkę* 'Landspitze' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

## 5. Das in lexikalischer Hinsicht saamische Namengut

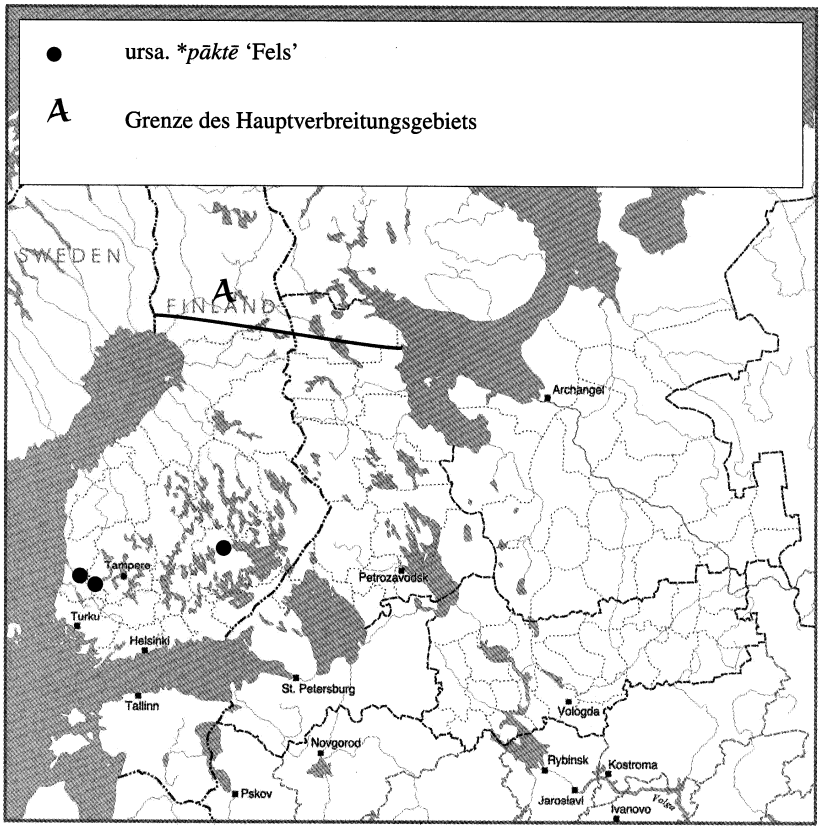
Die mit der Wortfamilie PS **ńārkę* > saN *njárga* 'Landspitze' in Verbindung stehenden Namen (Karte 12) haben in Finnland und Karelien den Stamm *nerkoo* (~ *neros*), *nero* (: *nerko*), in den russifizierten Gebieten *нерг(V)-*. Im Prinzip handelt es sich um einen optimalen, für das Saamische lexikalisch distinktiven Namentyp, denn die Verbindung der Namen mit Landspitzen ist im allgemeinen selbst mit Karten in großem Maßstab nachprüfbar. Zudem ist der aus vier Phonemen bestehende Namenstamm verhältnismäßig lang, so daß seine Zugehörigkeit zu einer anderen Wortfamilie nicht wahrscheinlich ist.




*Karte 13.* Die Distribution von ursa. **kēδkē* 'Stein' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

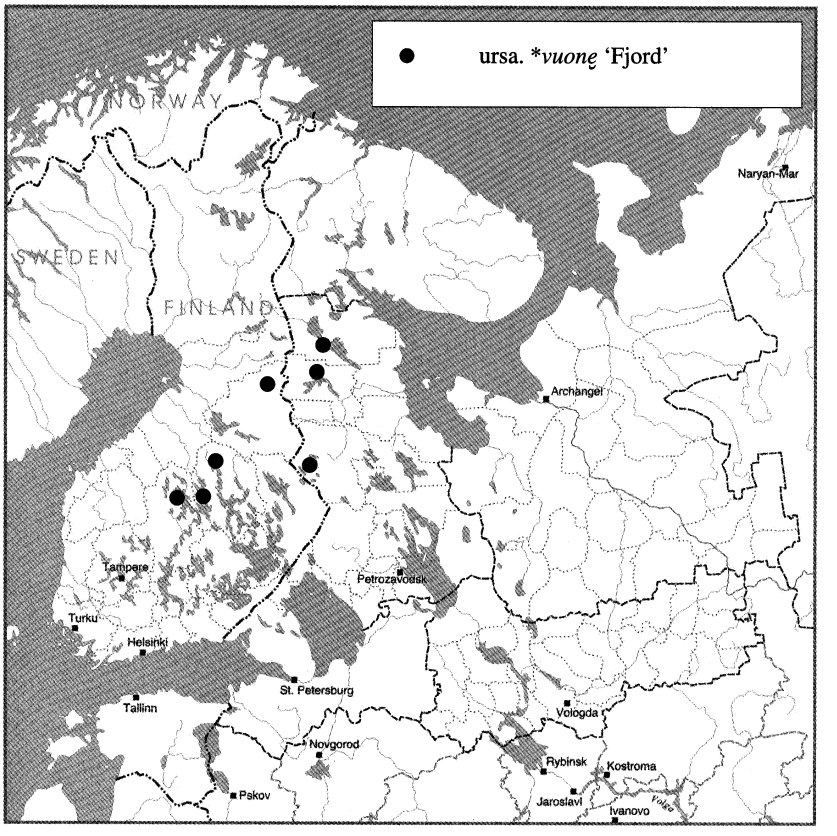
Die Namen mit dem Stamm PS **kēδkē* 'Stein' (Karte 13) sind zur Distinktion des Saamischen weniger optimal, denn ihre Verbindung mit steinigen Stellen ist nicht immer nachprüfbar. In Finnland und Karelien haben die Namen den Stamm *kätkä-*, *kälkä-* und *ketka-*, in den russifizierten Gebieten *кетк(V)-*. Ein Teil der Namen kann durchaus auch mit PS **kētkē* 'Vielfraß' in Verbindung stehen. Auch dabei handelt es sich um ein lexikalisch für das Saamische distinktives Wort unbekannter Herkunft.

Mit dem Wort PS **pāktē* 'Fels' zu verbindende Namen (Karte 14) begegnen im Licht des verfügbaren Materials nur vereinzelt in Finnland. Sie ha-




*Karte 14.* Die Distribution von ursa. **pāktē* 'Fels' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

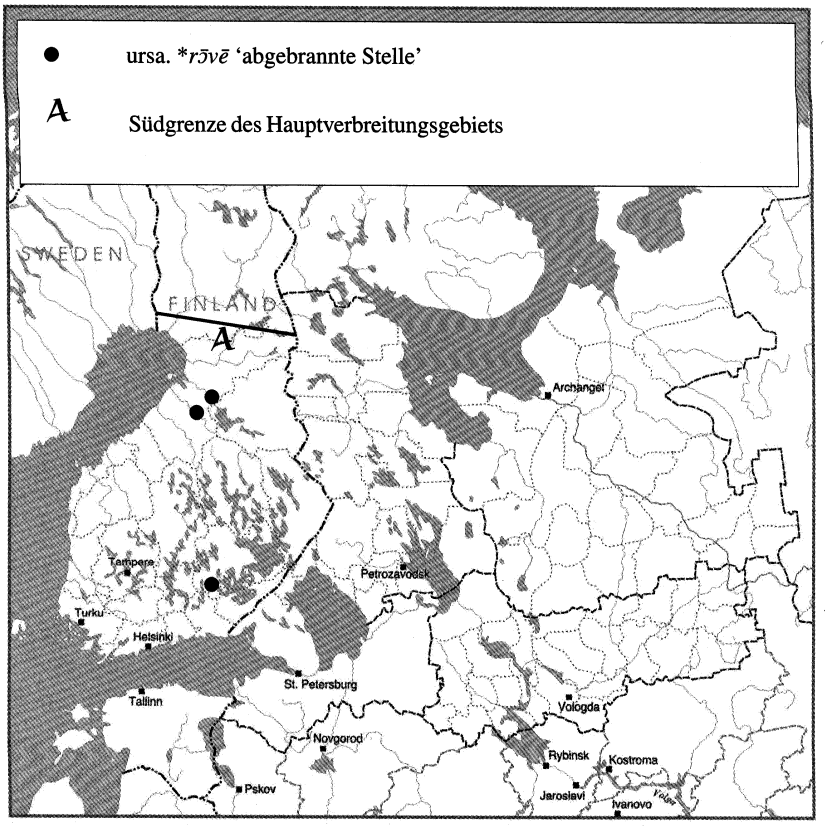
ben den Stamm *Paahta-*, *Paht-* und *Päht-*. Einige dieser Namen beziehen sich auf steinige oder felsige Orte, bei anderen ist zumindest aufgrund der Karten keine derartige Verbindung zu erkennen. Die geringe Verbreitung des Namentyps außerhalb des heutigen saamischen Gebiets ist rätselhaft, denn in den heutigen saamischen Gebieten und auch im erst in jüngerer Zeit fennisierten Sprachgebiet der Hinter-Pohjanmaa-Dialekte gehören Namen mit dem Stamm **pāktē* zu den häufigsten Namentypen. In Rußland ist in den Küstendialekten am Weißen Meer und auf der Halbinsel Kola allerdings das Lehnappellativ *náxта* 'senkrecht abfallender Fels, Steilufer' (< sa.) bekannt.




*Karte 15.* Die Distribution von ursa. **vuonę* 'Fjord' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

Namen mit dem Stamm PS **vuonę* (Karte 15) haben in Finnland und Karelien den Stamm *vuono-*, *vuonamo-* und *vuonnis-*. Die zu diesem Typ gehörenden Namen beziehen sich auf längliche Buchten. Im Finnischen begegnet *vuono* dialektal nur im nördlichsten Teil des Landes sowie in der Bildungssprache. In den russifizierten Gebieten finden sich keine mit diesem Wort gebildete Namen.

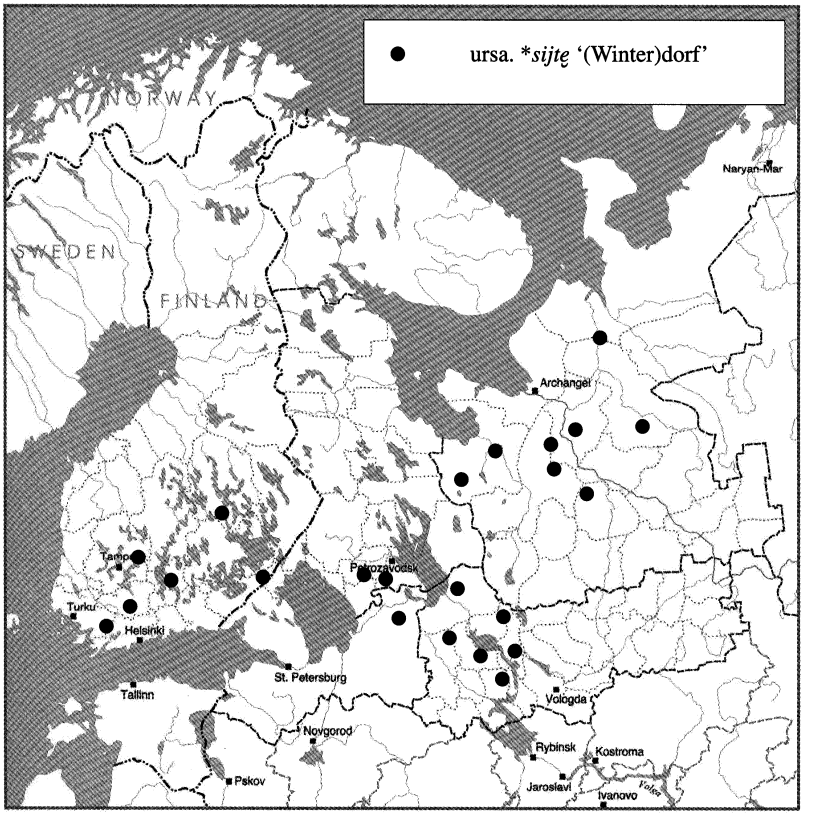
Mit der Wortfamilie PS **rə̄vē* 'abgebrannte Stelle' verbundene Namen (Karte 16) gehören zu den häufigsten Namentypen des heutigen saamischen Namenguts. Einige finnische Namen weisen das Element *rova* auch in solchen Gebieten auf, in denen das saamische Lehnappellativ *rova* unbekannt ist. In Karelien und Rußland sind keine zu diesem Typ gehörende Namen




*Karte 16.* Die Distribution von ursa. **rə̄vē* 'abgebrannte Stelle' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

belegt, und auch in Südfinnland gibt es nur einen isolierten Beleg. Die Beziehung dieses Wortes zu dem Wort *rovio* 'Scheiterhaufen; Holzstoß' in den finnischen Dialekten und zu den damit gebildeten Namen ist jedoch ungeklärt. Wenn es in Südfinnland *rova*-Namen gegeben hat, haben sie sich z. T. möglicherweise mit dieser Wortfamilie vermischt.

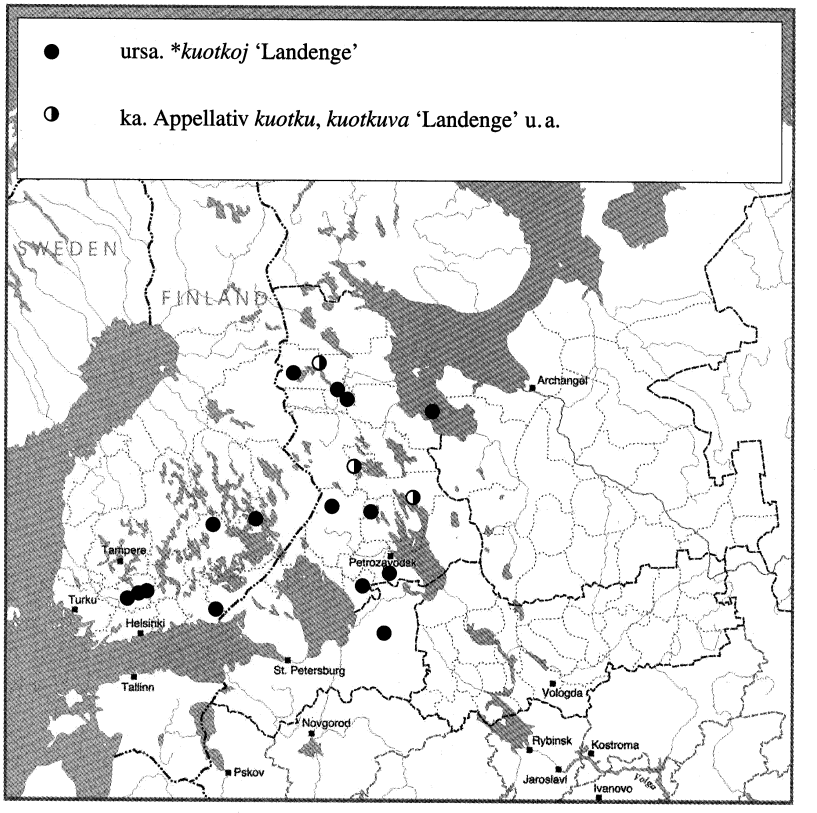
Die zur Wortfamilie PS **sijtę* '(Winter)dorf' gehörenden Namen (Karte 17) haben in Finnland den Stamm *Siita-*, *Siitta-*, *Siiti-*, *Siitime-*, *Siitte-* und *Siittee-*, in Karelien *Siit-*, *Siid-* und *Siil-* und in den russifizierten Gebieten *Шиð(V)-* und *Шит-*. Ein Teil der Namen könnte im Prinzip mit der osfi. Wortfamilie *sitta* 'Schlacke, Schmutz' (fi., ka.) in Verbindung stehen. Da es sich bei den benannten Orten hauptsächlich um Makrotoponyme han-




*Karte 17.* Die Distribution von ursa. **sijtę* '(Winter)dorf' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

delt, ist dies jedoch unwahrscheinlich. Zumindest in Finnland kann sich ein Teil der Namen auch mit denjenigen Namen vermischt haben, die die Wortfamilie PS **siejtē* 'Kultstätte; heiliger Stein o. ä. Naturgebilde' enthalten – auch dabei handelt es sich um ein für das Saamische distinktives Wort. Von den lexikalisch für das Saamische distinktiven Namentypen weisen nur die **sijtę*-Namen in Rußland eine weite Verbreitung auf.[27]

Im Zusammenhang mit den in lexikalischer Hinsicht saamischen Namen kann noch ein weiterer Namentyp behandelt werden, der allerdings möglicherweise eine Parallele im Ostseefinnischen hat, jedoch nicht in




*Karte 18.* Die Distribution von ursa. **kuotkoj* 'Landenge' in Substratnamen Nordosteuropas.

toponymischem Gebrauch. Es handelt sich um die Namen mit dem Stamm PS **kuotkoj*, die die Bedeutung 'Landenge' haben (Karte 18).

Auf die saamische Herkunft der finnischen **kotko*-Namen hat Pekka Sammallahti (1998: 183; 2002: 168) aufmerksam gemacht – auf russischem Gebiet begegnet derselbe Stamm auch in der Form *котк-*. Die lautgesetzliche Entsprechung der Wörter im Ostseefinnischen ist *katko* 'Unterbrechung', das jedoch zur selben Wortfamilie gehört wie das Verb *katketa* 'brechen'. Nur im Saamischen hat sich für das Wort die Bedeutung eines Geländeappellativs entwickelt. Die semantische Verbindung zwischen 'Unterbrechung' und 'Landenge' ist möglicherweise so zu verstehen, daß eine Landenge einen Wasserweg unterbricht.

## 6. Das saamische Namengut Nordrußlands aus typologischer Perspektive

Wie aus dem oben gesagten hervorgeht, unterscheidet sich das nach lautlichen Kriterien definierte saamische Namengut in seiner Verbreitung in Nordrußland von dem nach lexikalischen Kriterien definierten. Zudem gibt es auch innerhalb dieser beiden Hauptgruppen Unterschiede in der Verbreitung der Namentypen. Im Einzugsgebiet der Dwina gibt es "saamische Namen" von denen jedoch viele eine aus der Sicht der saamischen Lautgeschichte unregelmäßige oder sekundäre Entwicklung reflektieren. Namen, die regelmäßige Lautentwicklungen aufweisen, begegnen hauptsächlich im südwestlichen Teil des Gebiets Archangelsk, im Einzugsgebiet des Oberlaufs der Wolga und im südöstlichen Teil des Einzugsgebiets der Dwina. Namentypen, die die saamischen Sprachen im Licht des lexikalischen Kriteriums differenzieren, begegnen mit Ausnahme der **sijtę*-Namen in keiner dieser beiden Regionen. Von den Namentypen, die die saamischen Sprachen lexikalisch differenzieren, haben sich einige (PS **ńārkę*, PS **kēδkē*) in der Umgebung des Onegasees und in dem von dort nach Westen reichenden, heute zur Republik Karelien gehörenden Gebiet verbreitet. Die Verbreitung einiger Termini (PS **rɔ̄vē*, PS **vuonę*, PS **pāktē*) erstreckt sich noch erheblich weiter nach Westen oder Norden (Karte 17).

Von welcher Art verschwundenen "Saamentums" kann man nun im Licht der Substratnamen im Einzugsgebiet der Dwina sprechen? Zur Veranschaulichung dient ein Vergleich des frequentesten Wortschatzes im Namengut der ostseefinnischen und saamischen Sprachen mit dem Wortschatz, der in den Ortsnamen des Einzugsgebiets der Dwina begegnet.

Die 50 häufigsten Grundglieder im Namengut Finnlands sind nach Kiviniemi (1990: 127–128) *-la* (Lokalsuffix), *pelto* 'Acker', *mäki* 'Hügel', *niemi* 'Landspitze', *suo* 'Sumpf, Moor', *saari* 'Insel', *lampi* 'Teich', *lahti* 'Bucht', *niitty* 'Wiese', *vainio* 'Acker', *talo* 'Haus, Hof', *kangas* 'Heide', *aho* 'Wiese', *ranta* 'Ufer', *oja* 'Bach', *järvi* 'See', *kallio* 'Fels', *korpi* 'Einödwald', *maa* 'Land', *tie* 'Weg', *lato* 'Scheune', *koski* 'Stromschnelle', *rinne* 'Abhang', *kivi* 'Stein', *kytö* 'Anbau auf Moorland', *harju* 'Os', *metsä* 'Wald', *joki* 'Fluß', *silta* 'Brücke', *tupa* 'Hütte', *portti* 'Tor', *sarka* 'Ackerstreifen', *piha* 'Hof', *vaara* 'Berg', *neva* 'Weißmoor', *rinta* 'Abhang', *kari* 'Klippe', *kylä* 'Dorf', *paikka* 'Stelle', *luoto* 'Klippe', *lehto* 'Hain', *lähde* 'Quelle', *pirtti* 'Häuschen', *kuja* 'Gasse', *kaivo* 'Brunnen', *vuori* 'Berg', *salmi* 'Sund'. Im Substratnamengut Nordrußlands (und in einigen Fällen auch im appellativen Wortschatz) sind von diesen Wörtern die folgenden mit großer Sicherheit verbreitet (in Klammern die häufigsten Varianten in russischen Substratnamen, vor allem nach Matveev 1970, 1980 und 2001, s. auch Saarikivi 2002): *-la* (*ла*), *pelto* (*пелда*), *niemi* (*немь*, *мень*, *мина*, *мена*), *saari* (*сарь*), *lahti* (*лахта*, *лохта*, app. *ла́хта*, *ло́хта*), *ranta* (*ранда*, *ронда*), *oja* (*ой*, *оя*, *ай*, *ая*), *järvi* (*явр-*, *ягр-*), *korpi* (app. *ко́рба*), *maa* (*ма*), *koski* (*кошка*), *kivi* (*кив*), *joki* (*-га*, *-нга*, *ёк-*), *vaara* (*вара*, *вора*), *kylä* (*кула*), *luoto* (*луда*, app. *лу́да*), *pirtti* (*перт*, *нёрт*), *lehto* (*лехт*), *salmi* (*салма*, *солма*), d.h. 19 Grundglieder. Von den zehn häufigsten finnischen Grundgliedern enthält die Liste sieben. Von ihrem Vorkommen her selten und zu einem gewissen Grad fraglich sind *mäki* (begegnet in mindestens einem Namen im Bezirk Pinega – außerdem ist das dialektale Lexem *мег* 'Flußbiegung' möglicherweise eine Entsprechung dieses Wortes (diesen Gedanken hat bereits Veske [1890] geäußert))[28], *lampi* (begegnet in osfi. Form in zwei Namen im Bezirk Onega), *metsä* (*меч-*), *suo* (*со-*) und *niitty* (*нит-*, begegnet nur in der Nachbarschaft des wepsischen Gebiets). Ferner treten in einigen Namen möglicherweise *aho*, *harju* und *kytö* ~ *keto* sowie *vuori* auf (die Vorkommen des letztgenannten sind sehr schwer von denen des Wortes *vaara* zu unterscheiden).

Von den Grundgliedern des finnischen Namenguts, die in Nordrußland nicht vorkommen, sind viele mit der Landwirtschaft verbunden und begegnen hauptsächlich in Mikrotoponymen. Diese Umstände erklären ihre Abwesenheit in den russifizierten Gebieten Nordrußlands, wo sich hauptsächlich auf größere Formationen bezogene Ortsnamen finnisch-ugrischer Herkunft erhalten haben. Es ist also eine begründete Behauptung, daß im Einzugsgebiet der Dwina vor der Russifizierung des Gebiets Sprachen gespro-

chen wurden, die zumindest im Bereich des Geländewortschatzes stark an die heutigen ostseefinnischen Sprachen erinnern.

Hinsichtlich der saamischen Sprachen stellt sich die Situation zu einem gewissen Grad anders dar. Oben wurde bereits erwähnt, daß von den frequentesten Grundgliedern des saamischen Namenguts nur die 22 häufigsten Elemente im Inarisaamischen bekannt sind: *jávri* 'See', *suálui* 'Insel', *njargâ* 'Landspitze', *jáávráš* 'kleiner See', *vääri* 'Berg', *luohtâ* 'Bucht', *vuonaš* 'Fjord', *juuhâ* 'Fluß', *luobâl* 'Flußsee', *uáivi* 'Bergspitze', *jeggi* 'Sumpf, Moor', *váárääš* 'kleiner Berg', *vyeppee* 'Nebenbucht', *keđgi* 'Stein', *čielgi* 'Landrücken', *ruávi* 'abgebrannte Stelle im Wald', *čuálmi* 'Sund', *uáivuš* 'Stelle oberhalb einer Stromschnelle', *kuoškâ* 'Stromschnelle', *njälmi* 'Flußmündung', *vei* 'Fluß' (veraltet). Von diesen begegnen im Einzugsgebiet der Dwina Entsprechungen für die Termini *jávri* < PS **jāvrē* (> saN *jávri*; in ru. Substratnamen *явр*, *ягр*), *suálui* < PS **suolōj* (> saN *suollu*; in ru. Substratnamen *сол-*), *vääri* < PS **vārē* (> saN *várri*; *вара*, *вора*), *luohtâ* < PS **luoktę* (*лохта*), *luobâl* < PS **luompęl* (> saN *luoppal*; *лумб-*), *jeggi* < PS **jēŋkē* (> saN *jeaggi*; *янга* – in den Dialekten des südwestlichen Teils des Gebiets Archangelsk gibt es auch die Appellativentsprechung *йанга* (Komjagina 1994: 51)), *čuálmi* < PS **ćōlmē* (> saN *čoalbmi*; in ru. Substratnamen *чолма*), *kuoškâ* < PS **kuoškę* (> saN *guoika*; in ru. Substratnamen *кошка-*). Sehr wahrscheinlich hat auch das Wort *njälmi* < PS **ńālmē* (> saN *njálbmi*; in ru. Substratnamen *нелм-*) eine Entsprechung (*Нéльменьга* – Nebenfluß der Pinega). In einer Reihe von Bachnamen begegnet *vej*, eine mögliche Entsprechung des saIn Wortes *vei*. Diese enthalten jedoch im allgemeinen ein mit Hilfe der permischen Sprachen zu etymologisierendes Grundglied (Turkin 1989; Matveev 2001: 257). Da auch im Komi früher im Namengut das Hydronym **vej* 'Bach' in Gebrauch war, das wahrscheinlich keine etymologische Verbindung zu dem gleichartig aussehenden Terminus der saamischen Sprachen hat (saN *veadji* < PS **vējē*), kann das Auftreten des saamischen Wortes im Namengut des Einzugsgebiets der Dwina nicht als gesichert gelten. Im Prinzip ist es natürlich möglich, daß das dialektale *vej* im Komi eine Entlehnung aus einer der ausgestorbenen Substratsprachen des Gebiets Archangelsk wäre.

Insgesamt finden sich also Entsprechungen für zehn Termini, für weniger als die Hälfte der in der Liste enthaltenen Geländewörter. Aufgrund des lautlichen Kriteriums als saamisch zu identifizieren sind von diesen jedoch nur die Entsprechung *lumb-* des Wortes *luobâl*, die Entsprechung *javr-* des Wortes *jávri* und die Entsprechung *čolm-* des Wortes *čuálmi*. Die Deutungs-

probleme der beiden letztgenannten Worte wurden in Abschnitt 3.2 bereits angesprochen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist anzumerken, daß auch bei dem Wort *jávri* die Entsprechungen in der Form *йаєр* in den Ortsnamen Nordrußlands nicht ohne weiteres als saamisch gelten können. Im größten Teil des Gebiets Archangelsk begegnet die Entsprechung des Wortes in der Form *ягр-* oder *яхр-* (z. B. Matveev 2001: 344). Ebenso verhält es sich im Meriergebiet Mittelrußlands (Ahlqvist 2001: 458). Auf denselben Umstand verweist auch das Wort *я́гровица* 'nasses, vermoortes Seeufer; nasse Stelle im Moor' in den russischen Dialekten von Beloozero (Subbotina 1988: 22; s. auch Matveev 2002). Der Wandel *-kr-* > *-vr-* wiederum scheint im Wortinlaut zumindest in einigen nordrussischen Dialekten eingetreten zu sein (z. B. *Кевропа* Dorf im Bezirk Pinega < 1137 *Кегрьла*). So muß zumindest ein Teil der nordrussischen *javr*-Namen als sekundär im Russischen entstandene Namen angesehen werden, hinter denen Namen mit dem Element **jagr-* stehen (substratspr. **jäkrä* 'See' – dessen Beziehung zu den Wörtern der Wortfamilie *järvi* in den lebenden uralischen Sprachen ist ungeklärt).

Bei den Entsprechungen der Wörter *suálui*, *vääri*, *luohtâ* und *kuoškâ* in den Ortsnamen des Einzugsgebiets der Dwina ist es schwierig oder unmöglich, zwischen Ostseefinnisch und Saamisch zu trennen. Die mögliche Entsprechung des Wortes *čielgi*, *щелья*, beginnt mit dem in Substratnamen sonst nicht auftretenden Laut *щ*, was darauf hindeutet, daß es sich um eine im Russischen eingetretene Kontamination mit dem Terminus *щель* 'Spalte' handelt.[29] Auch in diesem Fall dürfte es unmöglich sein, Klarheit darüber zu gewinnen, ob in der Substatsprache im Anlaut ostseefinnisches *s*, saamisches *ć* oder das ältere *ś* vorlag. Die letztgenannte Alternative ist jedoch angesichts fehlender Parallelen eher theoretisch.[30]

Im finnisch-ugrischen Substratnamengut des Einzugsgebiets der Dwina begegnen also nur solche saamischen Geländeappellativa, die eine Entsprechung im Ostseefinnischen (**jāvrē*, **suolɔ̄j*, **luoktę*, **jokę*, **luompęl*, **ćēlkē*, **ćɔ̄lmē*) oder andere uralische Parallelen aufweisen (**jēnkē*, **ńālmē*). Wortschatz, der nur im Saamischen begegnet und keine uralischen Parallelen hat (**ńārkę*, **vuonę*, **pāktē*, **kēδkē*, **rɔ̄vē* und auch **kuotkɔ̄*), kommt im Namengut der Gebiete Archangelsk und Vologda nicht vor. Im Substratnamengut des Einzugsgebiets der Dwina begegnet also weitgehend dieselbe Schicht von Geländeappellativa wie in den heutigen ostseefinnischen Sprachen.

Hinzu kommt, daß die "saamischen Namen" des Dwina-Beckens tatsächlich oft Kombinationen aus einem mit Hilfe der saamischen Sprachen zu etymologisierenden Bestimmungsglied und einem mit Hilfe der ostsee-

finnischen Sprachen zu etymologisierenden Grundglied sind. Die Forschung hat denn auch zumindest seit Vasmer (1936) und Kalima (1951) auf saamisch-ostseefinnische Hybridnamen aufmerksam gemacht wie *Чýхчанемь* (< PS **ćukćē* 'Auerhahn' und PF **nēmi*), *Шýбоя* (< PS **supē* 'Espe' und PF **oja*), *Шúднема* (< PS **sijtē* 'Winterdorf' und PF **nēmi*), *Нúохчалакша* (< PS *ńukcę* 'Schwan' und kar. *lakši* 'Bucht') – die Beispiele stammen aus dem Kreis Pinega. Im Hinblick auf diese Namen wurde in der russischen Forschung sowohl die Deutung vorgeschlagen, es handle sich um saamisch-ostseefinnische Teilanpassungen, die durch Vermittlung des Ostseefinnischen ins Russische gelangt seien, als auch eine andere Interpretation, wonach die betreffenden Namen saamisch seien, die in der Region gesprochenen saamischen Dialekte sich jedoch lexikalisch von den heutigen saamischen Sprachen unterschieden hätten (z. B. Gusel'nikova 1994).

Gegen die Teilanpassungserklärung spricht, daß in den Namen dieser Art keine Spur einer ostseefinnischen lautlichen Adaptation zu sehen ist. Beispielsweise würde aus dem hypothetischen saamischen Namen **ńukčęluoktę* 'Schwanenbucht' bei der Übernahme ins Karelische nicht **Njuhčalakši*, sondern mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit **Nukšulakši* oder **Nūkšulakši*. Daraus würde im Russischen wahrscheinlich **Nukšalakša* (ortogr. *Нукшалакша*), aber nicht *Нúохчалакша*. Generell ist die Lautverbindung *-hč-* in keiner ostseefinnischen Sprache bekannt. Aus diesem Grund scheint die einzige wahrscheinliche Erklärung die zu sein, daß die Hybridnamen des Dwina-Beckens in einer einzigen Sprache entstanden sind. Dies wiederum beweist, daß sich die Substratsprachen des Dwina-Beckens lexikalisch sowohl vom heutigen Ostseefinnischen als auch vom Saamischen unterschieden haben.

Die Schlußfolgerung, daß im Einzugsgebiet der Dwina Substratsprachen gesprochen wurden, die sich lexikalisch zumindest teilweise sowohl vom Saamischen als auch vom Ostseefinnischen unterschieden, erscheint auch aus anderen Gründen zwingend. Im gesamten Gebiet begegnen einige ausgesprochen häufige Namentypen, die zwar mit Hilfe des Ostseefinnischen und des Saamischen etymologisiert werden können, die aber entweder in den heutigen Sprachen marginal sind oder einen Ableitungstyp vertreten, der in den heutigen Sprachen keine exakte Entsprechung hat. Beispielsweise sind auf *-sara* und *-sora* endende Namen für Quellflüsse im gesamten Gebiet Archangelsk verbreitet. Etymologisch können sie am ehesten mit dem Wort *saara* 'kleiner Fluß' der Südostdialekte des Finnischen verbunden werden. Dieses wiederum könnte lautlich durchaus eine Variante des finni-

schen Wortes *sahra* 'Kartoffelpflug' und ein saamisches Lehnwort sein (< PS **sārē* 'Zweig, Zwischenraum zwischen Fingern od. Zehen', A. Aikio 2002). Das angenommene Ausgangswort hat jedoch nicht die Bedeutung 'Quellfluß'. Dennoch halte ich es – mit Mullonen (2002) – für wahrscheinlich, daß das in einem kleinen Gebiet verbreitete fi. Dialektwort *saara* auf die eine oder andere Weise von der Bedeutung 'Zweig' abzuleiten ist, insbesondere, da nach Kepsu (1981: 151–154) und Vahtola (1980: 380–381) die *saara*-Namen häufig Angaben über die Verzweigtheit der Designate enthalten. In diesem Fall würden die *sara-* und *sora*-Namen der nordrussischen Dialekte und die *saara*-Namen Südostfinnlands eine parallele semantische Entwicklung repräsentieren: In beiden hätte ein Verzweigtheit bezeichnendes Wort die Bedeutung 'kleiner Flußarm' angenommen.

Entsprechend gibt es in weiten Gebieten Nord- und Mittelrußlands eine Vielzahl von Ansiedlungen, bei denen als Grundglied des Namens **pala* rekonstruiert werden kann. Obwohl ein solches Wort in der Bedeutung 'Dorf' in keiner der heutigen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen begegnet, dürfte an der finnisch-ugrischen Herkunft der zahlreichen Substratsiedlungsnamen mit der Endung *-pala/-pola/-bala/-bola* nicht zu zweifeln sein (Matveev 2001: 206–211). Die einzige natürliche Erklärung wäre, daß die Sprachen, in denen solche Siedlungsnamen entstanden sind, sich zu einem gewissen Grad von allen heutigen uralischen Sprachen unterschieden haben. In anderem Zusammenhang (Saarikivi: im Druck) habe ich auch einige nordrussische etymologisierbare, aber keine direkten finnisch-ugrischen Parallelen aufweisende Appellativa behandelt. Hierzu gehören u.a. *ку́рья* 'Flußbucht' < **kurV* 'schmale, oft wässrige Stelle' – derselbe Stamm dürfte in den osfi. Wörtern fi. *kuru* 'Schlucht', *kurimus* 'Strudel', est. *kuristik* 'Schlucht' u.ä. repräsentiert sein –, *му́рга* 'trichterförmige Grube in der Erde' < **murV* 'weich, bröckelnd', vgl. fi. dial. *muramaa* 'Kiesboden', derselbe Stamm vermutlich auch in allgemeinsprachlich *murentua* 'zerbröckeln', *во́лгас* 'flache, überschwemmte Uferwiese' < **alhos* sicher vom selben Stamm wie fi. *alho* 'Niederung'.

## 7. Schlußfolgerungen und Diskussion

### 7.1. Das "Saamentum" in der Toponymie und die Verbreitung des saamischen Namenguts

Die Analyse der mit Hilfe der saamischen Sprachen zu etymologisierenden nordrussischen Toponymie zeigt, daß die Namenkunde keine eindeuti-

gen Antworten auf Fragen nach der früheren Ausdehnung der saamischen Besiedlung geben kann.

In der russischen Toponymie ist nur ein kleines Fragment der Substratsprache des jeweiligen Gebiets erhalten geblieben. Bei der Analyse des Namenguts, das verhältnismäßig nah verwandte Sprachen wie das Ostseefinnische und das Saamische hinterlassen haben, gibt es viele Deutungsmöglichkeiten und wenig zu deutendes Namenmaterial. Es ist ferner wahrscheinlich, daß die in der Vergangenheit gesprochenen ostseefinnischen und saamischen Sprachen oder Dialekte – sowie die eventuellen Zwischenmundarten zwischen diesen Gruppen – sich ergeblich von den heutigen Sprachformen unterschieden haben, was die Deutung des geringfügigen und opaken Materials weiter erschwert.

Das lautlich, lexikalisch und typologisch definierte saamische Namengut weist jeweils unterschiedliche Verbreitung auf, zudem schwankt auch die Verbreitung einzelner Namentypen innerhalb dieser Gruppen beträchtlich. Das "saamische Namengut" in Rußland teilt sich in mindestens drei Zonen, die wahrscheinlich auf die eine oder andere Weise die areale und historische Ausformung der saamischen Ethnie widerspiegeln.

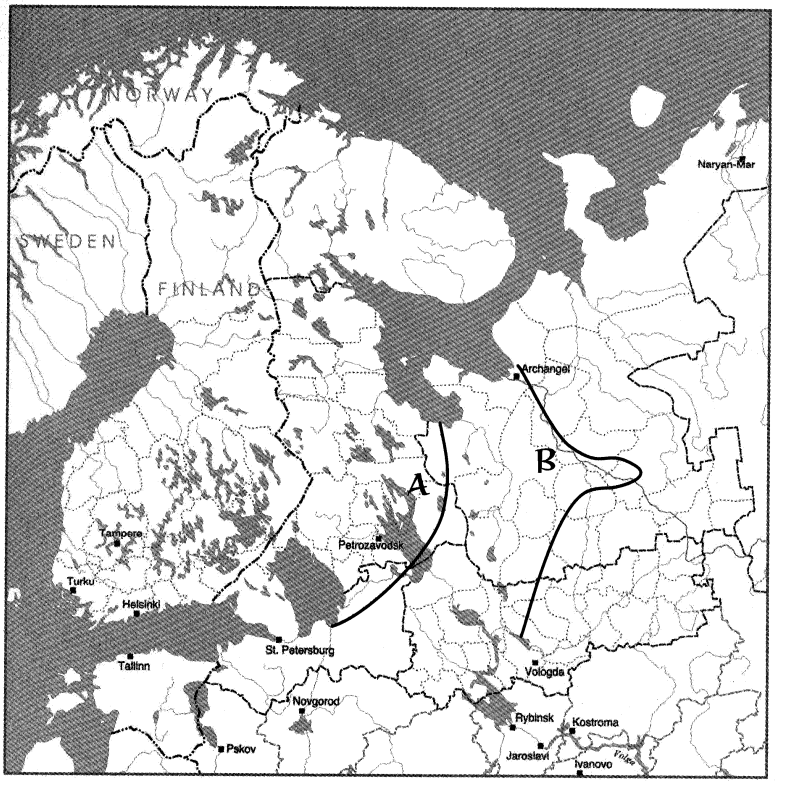
Die Zone zwischen Beloozero und dem heutigen Stausee Rybinsk bildet die südöstliche Grenze des in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen gebräuchlichen Geländewortschatzes. So sind z.B. die für fast das gesamte nordrussische Sprachgebiet typischen Grundglieder des Substratnamenguts *-ой* (< **oja*), *-немь* (< **nēmi*), *-лохта* / *-лахта* (< **lakti*), *-матка* 'Landenge' (< **matka*), *-сарь* (< **sāri*), *сельга*, *шалга*, *щелья* (< *selkä*), *-солово* (< PF **saloj* / PS **suolōj*) 'Insel' usw. im Meriergebiet nicht anzutreffen (Ahlqvist 2001). Fast im selben Gebiet, d.h. im Nordteil des Einzugsgebiets der Dwina, begegnen einige "parasaamische" Namentypen, zu denen die Namen mit dem Stamm **ńukćę-* 'Schwan', **ćukćę-* 'Auerhahn', **supē* 'Espe', **sijtē-* 'Winterdorf' gehören. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß sich diese Namentypen etymologisch zwar am natürlichsten als saamisch deuten lassen, in Finnland und Karelien jedoch auffallend selten vorkommen. In der Sprache, in der diese Bestimmungsglieder des Namenguts vorkamen, wurden heute nur im Ostseefinnischen bekannte Geländeappellativa zur Namenbildung verwendet, während ihr der gesamte Geländewortschatz fehlte, der das Saamische heute vom Ostseefinnischen unterscheidet. Aus dem Gebiet, in dem diese Sprachform gesprochen wurde, liegen auch keine eindeutig auf die Saamen bezogenen historischen Quellen vor. Es hat daher den Anschein, daß die betreffende Sprache vielleicht von jener Population gesprochen wurde, die die Russen als Tschuden bezeichneten.

Im Südteil des Gebiets Archangelsk und im Westteil des Gebiets Vologda begegnen Namentypen, die regelmäßige saamische Lautveränderungen widerzuspiegeln scheinen (s. Karte 19, Linie B): den Wandel *ś* > *ć* (*čolm-* 'Sund'), die Vokalrotation (*luompę-(l)* 'Teich', *ęlē-* 'Ober-') und den ostsaamischen oder entsprechenden Wandel *oa* > *voa* im Anlaut (PS **ɔ̄jē* > Proto-Ostsaamisch **vɔ̄jē* 'Bach'). Obwohl es aus verschiedenen Gründen nicht als sicher gelten kann, daß es sich in allen Namentypen um eindeutig saamische Lautveränderungen handelt, deutet die Verbreitung verschiedener Lautveränderungen im selben Gebiet darauf hin, daß es sich um Namen handelt, die aus einer Sprache saamischen Typs stammen. Die Verbreitung der in lautlicher Hinsicht saamischen Namentypen reicht nicht so weit nach Osten wie diejenige des Geländewortschatzes vom ostseefinnischen Typ, deckt jedoch einen beträchtlichen Teil des heutigen Einzugsgebiets der Dwina ab. Beachtenswert ist, daß die Verbreitung dieses Namenguts größer zu sein scheint als die des lexikalisch als saamisch definierten Namenschatzes. Seine Verbreitung liegt auch weiter südlich als die der 'parasaamischen' Namentypen (**ńukćę-* 'Schwan', **ćukćē-* 'Auerhahn', **supē-* 'Espe' und *sijtē-* 'Winterdorf'). Aus dem Verbreitungsgebiet des lautlich (möglicherweise) saamischen Namenguts liegen auch einige, wenngleich verschieden auslegbare historische Angaben über Saamen vor, und in der Toponymie begegnet das russische Ethnonym der Saamen, wenngleich nur in vereinzelten Namen.

Die historische Maximalverbreitung der für die saamischen Sprachen typischen und in ihrer Herkunft unklaren Attributform der Adjektive kann mit Hilfe der Attributform **kukkēs* 'lang' untersucht werden. Ihre Verbreitung scheint nur bis zur Umgebung des Onegasees zu reichen (s. Karte 19, Linie A), deckt also jene Gebiete ab, aus denen auch historische Angaben über die Saamen sowie von den Saamen handelnde Besiedlungssagen vorliegen. Sofern östlich und südlich dieser Linie tatsächlich keine Attributformen im Namengut vorkommen, würde dies darauf hindeuten, daß sich die saamische Attributform in einem geographisch engeren Raum entwikkelt hat als einige für das Saamische charakteristische Lautveränderungen.

Im großen Ganzen gleicher Art wie die Verbreitung der Attributform ist auch die Verbreitung der beiden im heutigen Saamischen zentralen Geländeappellativa *ńārkę* 'Landspitze' und *kēδkē* 'Stein'. Das Verbreitungsgebiet mehrerer Geländeappellativa, die heute für die saamischen Sprachen distinktiv sind, liegt noch wesentlich weiter westlich und nördlich (s. Karte 20). Je weiter man nach Norden und Westen geht, desto stärker beginnt das

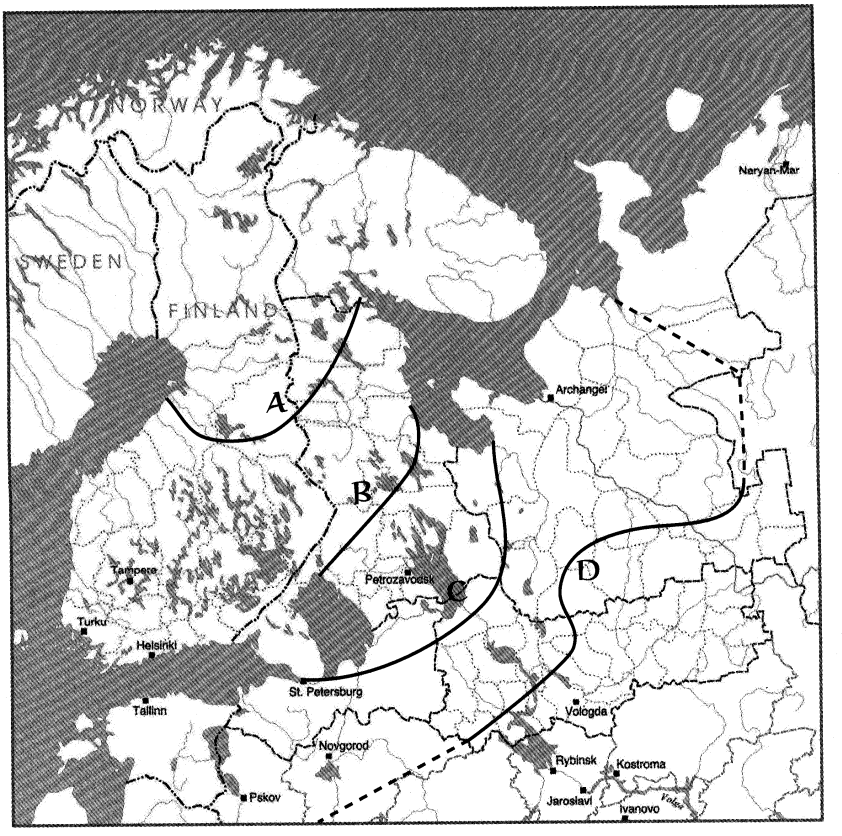
saamische Namengut in typologischer Hinsicht dem Namengut der heutigen saamischen Sprachen zu gleichen. Die schmale Verbreitung einiger für das Saamische distinktiver Geländewörter (**pāktē*, **rɔ̄vē*) in Südfinnland zeigt jedoch, daß auch die ehemaligen saamischen Sprachen Südfinnlands sich lexikalisch von den heute auf der Nordkalotte gesprochenen unterschieden haben.




*Karte 19.*

Linie A: Maximalverbreitung der Attributform des Adjektivs der saamischen Sprachen in Substratnamen.

Linie B: Maximalverbreitung einiger distinktiver saamischer Lautveränderungen (**ś* > **ć*, **a* > **uo*, **i* > **ę*) in Substratnamen.




*Karte 20.*

Linie A: Maximalverbreitung des Geländeappellativs **rȭvē* in Substratnamen.

Linie B: Maximalverbreitung der Geländeappellativa **vuonę*, *pāktē* in Substratnamen.

Linie C: Maximalverbreitung der Geländeappellativa **kēδkē*, **nārkę* in Substratnamen.

Linie D: Maximalverbreitung der Vogelnamen **ńukćę* und **ćukćę* sowie einiger zentraler ostseefinnischer Geländeappellativa (**nēmi*, **oja*, **lakti*) in Substratnamen.

## 7.2. Das Sprachgebiet des Ursaamischen und die eventuellen Kontakte mit paleuropäischen Sprachen

Sofern die Annahme, die für die saamischen Sprachen typischen Lautveränderungen spiegelten sich in der Toponymie der südöstlichen Teile des Gebiets Archangelsk und der westlichen Teile des Gebiets Vologda wider, zutrifft, handelt es sich um eine ausgesprochen interessante Beobachtung. Es ist nämlich weitgehend unumstritten, daß in der Umgebung des Beloozero auch zahlreiche ostseefinnische Namen zu finden sind (z. B. Matveev 2001, 1970; Subbotina 1988). Dies würde bedeuten, daß das Saamische und das Ostseefinnische als separate Sprachformen weit außerhalb ihrer heutigen Sprachgebiete, in der Nähe des Meriergebiets in Mittelrußland existiert hätten. Da das Namengut sowohl der saamischen wie der ostseefinnischen Sprachen sich lexikalisch deutlich von dem des Meriergebiets unterscheidet, darf man annehmen, daß vielleicht gerade die Umgebung des Beloozero, und auch die südwestlich davon gelegenen Gebiete Tver und Novgorod, für die Herausbildung des Ostseefinnischen und des Saamischen irgendwie zentral waren.

Nach der zur Zeit gängigsten Auffassung sind das Ostseefinnische und das Saamische in ihren heutigen Sprachgebieten entstanden, wo ihre Geschichte bis in die Steinzeit zurückreicht. Wie fügt sich die weite Verbreitung des ostseefinnischen und saamischen Namenguts auch außerhalb des heutigen Sprachgebiets in dieses Bild? Auch die indogermanischen Entlehnungen im Ostseefinnischen und Saamischen deuten darauf hin, daß diese Sprachformen separat voneinander in der näheren Umgebung der baltischen und iranischen lehngebenden Sprachen gesprochen wurden (Koivulehto 1999b). Da man weiß, daß die baltischen Stämme noch im Mittelalter weite Teile Mittelrußlands im Einzugsgebiet der Wolga besiedelten, bieten sich gerade die Gegenden südlich des im Einzugsgebiet des Oberlaufs der Wolga gelegenen Beloozero als das Gebiet an, in dem das Ostseefinnische und das Saamische Entlehnungen aus baltischen Quellen übernahmen. Zur Vervollständigung des Gesamtbildes müssen natürlich auch die Berührungsflächen mit den germanischen Sprachen im Auge behalten werden. Diese lagen offensichtlich weiter westlich.

Ich habe oben dargelegt, daß viele Geländeappellativa, die lexikalisch für das Saamische distinktiv sind, möglicherweise aus verschwundenen paleuropäischen Substratsprachen entlehnt wurden. Diese Wörter müssen in dem Gebiet entlehnt worden sein, wo sie im Namengut auftreten. Es

erscheint möglich, daß in der Umgebung des Onegasees und des Weißen Meeres eine Substratsprache gesprochen wurde, aus der das Ursaamische einige zentrale Geländeappellativa entlehnt hat. Bemerkenswert ist, daß es *sich um Wörter handelt, die in allen heutigen saamischen Sprachen* bekannt sind. Es besteht denn auch Grund zu der Annahme, daß Lehnwörter dieser Art in das noch relativ undifferenzierte Ursaamische übernommen wurden. Andererseits sind die westlichsten und südlichsten saamischen Sprachen verschwunden, so daß das "Ursaamisch" der Komparatisten das verbliebene nördliche Saamisch ist, das auch nördlich des Onegagebiets gesprochen wurde. Da einige Entlehnungen ins Ursaamische recht weit nördlich und westlich verbreitet sind, ist anzunehmen, daß das Saamische bereits relativ früh auch auf der Höhe des Flusses Oulujoki gesprochen wurde. Die im heutigen saamischen Gebiet anzutreffende opake Toponymie und der phonotaktisch neu wirkende offensichtliche Substratwortschatz der einzelnen saamischen Sprachen deuten jedoch darauf hin, daß sich das Saamische erst in Nordfennoskandien verbreitete, als sich das Ursaamische bereits differenzierte (weitere Belege bietet ein kürzlich erschienener Beitrag, Aikio 2004).

Das Material kann auch anders interpretiert werden. Es ist z.B. möglich, daß die Substratentlehnungen, die die saamischen Geländeappellativa kennzeichnen, sich mit einer saamischen Bevölkerungsgruppe von Norden nach Süden verbreitet haben. Eine solche Entwicklung wirkt jedoch unwahrscheinlicher.

Da es auch im Ostseefinnischen wahrscheinlich auf Substrat zurückgehende Geländeappellativa gibt (s. Saarikivi: im Druck), die in der Toponymie des gesamten Dwinagebiets begegnen, kann man annehmen, daß diese in Gebieten entlehnt wurden, die südlicher lagen als das Entlehnungsgebiet des distinktiven Geländewortschatzes der saamischen Sprachen. Möglicherweise waren gerade die Umgebung des Beloozero, die Gebiete Twer und Nogorod und die westlich davon gelegenen Gegenden eine solche Kontaktzone. Andererseits kann auch der ostseefinnische Geländewortschatz auf vielerlei Weise in die Toponymie verschiedener Gebiete gelangt sein. Als möglich kann auch die Verbreitung der ostseefinnischen Stämme aus der Umgebung des Finnischen Meerbusens in verschiedene Richtungen gelten – also die von der klassischen "Kontinuitätstheorie" der Finnougristik geschilderte Situation: Dies müßte jedoch auch unter dem Aspekt beurteilt werden, daß das historische ostseefinnische Gebiet im Osten und Südosten deutlich ausgedehnter war als das heutige ostseefinnische Gebiet. Da man

weiß, daß gerade in dieser Richtung zu den anderen Zweigen der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachfamilie gehörende Sprachen gesprochen werden, könnte man vermuten, daß im Hinblick auf die Entwicklung des Ostseefinnischen und auch des Saamischen diese heute russifizierten Gebiete und die dort eingetretenen Sprachkontakte bedeutsam waren.

### 7.3. Möglichkeiten der finnougristischen Namenforschung

Die Erforschung der Verbreitung des distinktiven Geländewortschatzes der saamischen Sprachen und der die saamischen Sprachen kennzeichnenden Lautveränderungen in der Toponymie scheint zu einem gewissen Grad neuartige ethnohistorische Schlußfolgerungen zu ermöglichen. Sie präzisiert das von der früheren Namenkunde gezeichnete Bild eines unermeßlich großen saamischen Gebiets, das sich von Komi bis an den Bottnischen Meerbusen erstreckte. Das im Namengut begegnende Saamentum entpuppt sich als Komplex mehrerer Faktoren, nicht als monolithische Ethnizität.

In der Vergangenheit wurden in Rußland finnisch-ugrische Sprachformen gesprochen, die sich von den heutigen erheblich unterschieden. Trotz allem fügen sich die Ergebnisse der Namenkunde in das mit Hilfe der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft geschaffene Grundbild von der fernen Vergangenheit der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen ein. Die historische Lautlehre und die Etymologie sind auch das Fundament, auf dem die Namenforschung steht, wenn sie die Ethnizität eines Gebiets zu rekonstruieren versucht.

Im Prinzip könnte man sich vorstellen, mit einer entsprechenden Methodik auch über die Vorgeschichte anderer finnisch-ugrischer Gebiete Aufschluß zu gewinnen. Trotz der Verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen weist ihr bei der Ortsnamenbildung aktiver Geländewortschatz erhebliche Unterschiede auf. Die ehemalige Maximalverbreitung sowohl lexikalischer als auch lautlicher Erscheinungen ist mit den Mitteln der Namenforschung leicht zu überprüfen, sofern für ein Gebiet hinreichendes Namenmaterial zur Verfügung steht.

## Anmerkungen

1. Auf meine Bitte haben Prof. emer. Jorma Koivulehto, Prof. Ulla-Maija Kulonen, Doz. Juhani Nuorluoto und Mag. phil. Ante Aikio das Manuskript dieses Beitrags gelesen und kommentiert. Alle Verbesserungsvorschläge haben zu Veränderungen und Präzisierungen geführt. Auch die Veränderungsvorschläge der Gutachter, Prof. Ritva Liisa Pitkänen und Prof. Pekka Sammallahti, wurden berücksichtigt. Ich danke allen Genannten für ihre Kommentare.
2. Die in den letzten Jahren in der Finnougristik geführte Debatte über sprachliche Substrateinflüsse wurde von den "Revolutionären" der Finnougristik dominiert, u. a. von Kalevi Wiik (2002), Ago Künnap und Kyösti Julku. Die Debatte hat gezeigt, daß die Methodik und die Ergebnisse dieser Forschungsrichtung in den meisten Fällen einer normalen wissenschaftlichen Kritik nicht standhalten. Der vorliegende Beitrag nähert sich dem sprachlichen Substrat aus einer ganz anderen Perspektive. Insbesondere wurde die auf eine ursprünglich von Sarah Thomason und Terrence Kaufman (1988) dargelegte Theorie zurückgehende, simplifizierte Auffassung verworfen, Substrateinflüsse seien in erster Linie unter den morphosyntaktischen und phonetischen Eigenschaften zu suchen. Nach Ansicht des Verfassers treten die für die ethnohistorische Forschung wesentlichen Substrateinflüsse immer speziell als lexikalische Einflüsse zutage, als Entlehnungen von Ortsnamen und Wortschatz (s. genauer Saarikivi 2000, Saarikivi: im Druck).
3. Ich danke Prof. A. K. Matveev von der Uralischen Universität und Doz. Irma Mullonen, wiss. Mitarbeiterin des Karelischen Wissenschaftszentrums, für die Erlaubnis, das Forschungsmaterial ihrer Institute benutzen zu dürfen, sowie für die Zusammenarbeit und für interessante Gespräche über Fragen des Namenguts.
4. Das folgende Referat über die Archäologie der nördlichen Teile Fennoskandiens beruht hauptsächlich auf Carpelan 1994 und 2003 sowie Halinen 1999.
5. Den radikalsten Interpretationen zufolge hätten in Finnland nach der Eiszeit ausschließlich finnisch-ugrische Populationen gelebt (Sammallahti 1995; Wiik 2002 u. a.). Diese Deutungen ignorieren jedoch eine Reihe allgemeiner Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Sprachentwicklung, u. a. die Notwendigkeit, ein relativ eng begrenztes Sprachgebiet der Ursprache anzunehmen (Kulonen 2002), und sind deshalb nicht glaubwürdig.
6. Die nationale Identität der Saamen ist vielschichtig, und ihre Geschichte ist nicht ausreichend erforscht. Es scheint jedoch offensichtlich, daß die heutige, alle Sprecher der saamischen Sprachen einschließende saamische Identität im wesentlichen eine moderne Konstruktion ist. In der historischen Zeit haben einzelne saamische Gruppen (u. a. Nordsaamen und Skolten) sich als ganz unterschiedliche Völker betrachtet. Andererseits teilen alle Saamen ein gemeinsames Ethnonym, was darauf hindeutet, daß die ethnische Identität der Saamen früher einheitlicher war als in der historischen Zeit.
7. Als Anekdote sei erwähnt, daß sogar ein baskisches Substrat im Saamischen vorgeschlagen worden ist (Wiik 2002: 391). Sprachliche Argumente im eigentlichen Sinn wurden für diese Hypothese jedoch nicht vorgebracht.
8. Bei der letzten Überarbeitung meines Beitrags erhielt ich von Aslak Aikio weitere

Informationen über die Verbreitung von auf das Saamische bezogenen historischen Quellen und Besiedlungssagen in Finnland, die die auf der Karte dargestellte Linie veränderten. Für diese Ergänzung danke ich herzlich.

9. Z. B. habe ich selbst feststellen können, daß im Bezirk Pinega im Gebiet Archangelsk für die regelmäßig die Winterweiden besuchenden Nenzen auch heute diese Bezeichnung verwendet wird.
10. Beim Sammeln von Namengut im nordsaamischen Sprachgebiet im Sommer 2003 und 2004 konnte ich die Beobachtung machen, daß die durchschnittliche Namenkenntnis der saamischen Rentierzüchter wesentlich besser war als die der nordrussischen und karelischen Landbevölkerung, bei der ich früher Namen gesammelt hatte. Während in Nordrußland und Weißmeerkarelien ein normaler Informant im allgemeinen ca. 100–150, ein ausgezeichneter 200–300 Namen beherrscht, kannten die saamischen Rentierzüchter im allgemeinen allesamt rund 300, einige sogar 400 Namen.
11. Weitere aus dem Saamischen entlehnte Wörter der Hinter-Pohjanmaa-Dialekte sind *lompolo* 'Teich' < PS **luompe̮l-e* (saN *luoppal*), *oiva* 'Fjellgipfel' < PS **ōjvē* (saN *oaivi*), *jänk(k)ä* 'Jänkä-Moor' < PS **jēnkē* (saN *jeaggi*), *vuopaja* 'lange, schmale Bucht' < PS **vuopējē* (saN *vuohppi*), *rova* 'altes Waldbrandgebiet' < PS **rōvē* (saN *roavvi*) und *jolma* 'Sund' < PS **ćōlmē* (saN *čoalbmi*).
12. Damit ist gemeint, daß es sich aus der Sicht der Sprache, in der die Substratnamen auftreten, im allgemeinen um aus einem Morphem bestehende opake Wörter oder um aus zwei Morphemen bestehende Wörter handelt, deren zweites Glied ein Geländeappellativ ist, während als erstes Glied eine aus der Substratsprache stammende, als "Index" des Namens fungierende opake Komponente auftritt. Eventuelle Morphemgrenzen der Substratsprache sind also in der Sprache, in der die Namen heute verwendet werden, nicht zu erkennen.
13. Über die Frage der Datierung des Ururalischen herrscht keine Übereinstimmung. Ich schließe mich den Wissenschaftlern an, die diejenige Datierung für am besten begründet halten, die aufgrund der in den finnisch-ugrischen Zweig der Sprachfamilie aufgenommenen Lehnwörter gewonnen wurde; demnach wären das Urindogermanische und die finnisch-ugrische Ursprache (der vom Ururalischen abgespaltene westliche Zweig) gleichzeitig gesprochen worden. Da die erstere Sprache heute allgemein auf die Zeitebene um 3500 v. Chr. datiert wird, könnte die uralische Sprachform rund 6000 Jahre alt sein.
14. Bekanntlich gab es in der finnisch-ugrischen Ursprache 3 Sibilanten: *s*, *ś* und *š*. Im Ursaamischen traten die Lautveränderungen *s* und *š* > *s*, *ś* > *ć* ein. In den Substratnamen Nordrußlands gibt es offenbar keine Spuren der alten *š*- und *ś*-Laute.
15. Bei der Entlehnung des Namens ist eine elliptische Verkürzung eingetreten: **Sotka-joki* > *Sotka*. Ellipsen dieser Art begegnen in den Flußnamen des Pinega-Beckens häufig, wenn das benannte Objekt verhältnismäßig weit bekannt ist. Auch im finnischen Namengut werden Hydronyme mit opakem Bestimmungsglied häufig elliptisch verkürzt.
16. Die angeführte Etymologie ist semantisch zu begründen. *Шуланемь* ist der Name einer an den Fluß Pinega grenzenden Wiese in der Nähe des Dorfes Kulogora. Die Wiese liegt in einer Flußkrümmung, die eine Landspitze bildet. Vor dieser Landspitze gefriert das Wasser später und das Eis schmilzt früher als an anderen Stellen

des Flusses, weil vom Felsen kleine, das Eis schmelzende Bäche in den Fluß rinnen.

17. Sowohl *Лóхта* als auch *Лáхта* begegnen häufig als Namen (oder Namenglieder) im Gebiet Archangelsk – die letztere Variante ist auch als Appellativ verbreitet (s. z. B. Komjagina 1994: 44).
18. Der Flußname steht aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit dem osfi. Appellativ 'Insel' in Verbindung – vor der Flußmündung liegen mehrere kleine Inseln.
19. Im Kreis Pinega gibt es mehrere kleine Bäche mit dem Namen *Хярга*. Im allgemeinen weisen sie alle im Frühjahr eine starke Strömung auf, trocknen jedoch im Sommer aus. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um einen ursprünglich auf Metapher beruhenden Namentyp.
20. Die in diesen Wörtern auftretende Substitution der Konsonantverbindung **-hk-* > **-ht-* ist altbekannt (s. z. B. Kalima 1919: 234–235: ru. dial. *ýхта* 'Schnee auf dem Eise, kleines zerbröckeltes Eis' < ka. *uhku* id.).
21. Auch ein Bach mit diesem Namen findet sich im Kreis Pinega. Nach Auskunft verschiedener Informanten ist das Wasser dieses Baches auch im Sommer besonders kalt.
22. Die Etymologie dieses karelischen Flußnamens hat bereits Sjögren (1832) vorgeschlagen.
23. Bei allen hier und im folgenden Abschnitt (5) angeführten Verbreitungskarten ist zu beachten, daß das in Finnland auftretende Namengut dank der vollständigeren Sammlungen besser repräsentiert ist als das in Rußland verbreitete. Insbesondere die Materialien aus Russisch-Karelien sind lückenhaft, da ein alphabetisches Namenregister für die gesamte Republik Karelien fehlt. Die Sammlung der Karelischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Petrozavodsk ist hauptsächlich dorfweise geordnet, was die Untersuchung der Verbreitung bestimmter Namentypen erschwert. Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, daß für die meisten hier behandelten Namentypen im Gebiet Kareliens mehr Beispiele zu finden wären.

    Die Sammlungen aus den Gebieten Archangelsk und Vologda wiederum sind, was das Namenmaterial betrifft, verhältnismäßig umfangreich. In diesen Gebieten ist es jedoch häufig unmöglich, die Motivation der Namen zu überprüfen, da insbesondere für den südlichen Teil des Untersuchungsgebiets, stellenweise auch in anderen Teilen, keine ausreichend genauen Karten zur Verfügung stehen. Aufgrund fehlender Karten ist auch die Lokalisierung der Namen in vielen Fällen ungenau. In unklaren Fällen wurde der Name innerhalb des Bezirks lokalisiert, aus dem die Angabe stammt, ohne den Versuch, die geographische Lage des Ortes genauer zu markieren. In Finnland wurde in den meisten Fällen das nördlich der Linie des Flusses Oulujoki begegnende Namengut ausgeklammert, wo auf jeden Fall alle Ortsnamentypen saamischer Herkunft zahlreich vertreten sind.

    Hinsichtlich der Verbreitungsangaben verweise ich neben den Archivquellen für die in Finnland anzutreffenden Namen auf die Sammlung von Ante Aikio (Aikio: Manuskript), für die Gebiete Archangelsk und Vologda auf das Material der Dissertation von A. K. Matveev (Matveev 1970, 1980).
24. Bei der Niederschrift des obigen Absatzes war mir noch nicht bekannt, daß auch in Südestland das dialektale Geländeappellativ *lump* 'Teich' begegnet (Faster & Saar 2002: 72–73). Die Herkunft dieses Dialektwortes ist unklar, obwohl es formal als saamische Entlehnung angesehen werden könnte. Angesichts der Verbreitung ist

diese Annahme jedoch zumindest beim heutigen Stand der Forschung spekulativ.

25. Eine ähnliche, aber noch problematischere Namenfamilie sind die Namen mit dem Stamm *воч-*, hinter denen zumindest in einem Teil der Fälle das saamische Wort PS **vuǯććō* (> saN *vuohčču*) 'schmales, wässriges Moor' (< FS **vaććo* < nordgerm. **wātjō*; Koivulehto 1999c: 14) stehen dürfte. Der Namentyp ist vermutlich in einem weiten Gebiet Nordrußlands verbreitet, doch die dazu gehörenden Namen sind semantisch schwer abzugrenzen. Deshalb wurde seine Verbreitung hier nicht kartiert.
26. SSA weist darauf nicht hin, sondern hält saN *suhpi* für die reguläre Entsprechung des finnischen Wortes *haapa*.
27. Ein zweites wahrscheinlich in Nordrußland begegnendes, für das Saamische lexikalisch distinktives, in der Toponymie auftretendes Wort ist PS **sǯńō* (> saN *suotnju*) 'großes Moor'. Dieses Wort begegnet offensichtlich im Bezirk Pinega, wo zwei aus großen Mooren entspringende Bäche den Namen *Šunoj* tragen.
28. Die semantische Korrelation zwischen den Begriffen 'Hügel' und 'Ufer' ist in der etymologischen Forschung seit langem bekannt, vgl. z. B. schwed. *berg* 'Berg' ~ ru. *bereg* 'Ufer'. Lautlich ist die Etymologie *mäki* > *мег* regelmäßig. Die in KESKJa vorgebrachte Auffassung, das im Komi dialektal auftretende *meg* sei dem finnischen Wort *mutka* zuzuordnen, ist aus lautlichen Gründen abzulehnen (Vokalismus!). Vielmehr handelt es sich um eine Entlehnung aus dem Russischen oder – wahrscheinlicher – aus den Substratsprachen im Einzugsgebiet der Dwina.
29. *шелья* begegnet im Gebiet Archangelsk in den Bezirken Pinega und Mezen' als Appellativ mit der Bedeutung 'steiles Ufer, landrückenartiger Fels'. In denselben Gebieten begegnen auch Substratnamen mit dem Stamm *шелья-*. Da so benannte Orte im allgemeinen an Flüssen und sehr häufig zu beiden Seiten des Flusses liegen, kann man die Auffassung vertreten, daß sie eine Art 'Spalte' bilden, durch die der Fluß fließt. Die Substratherkunft des Wortes ist jedoch keineswegs gesichert.
30. Osfi. *selkä* wurde mehrfach in die nordrussischen Dialekte entlehnt, sowohl als Appellativ wie in Ortsnamen. Andere unterschiedlich alte und in verschiedenen Gebieten bekannte Appellativentlehnungen sind u. a. *шалга* 'Berg, Einöde', *сельга* 'Hügel, Landrücken' und *сельга* 'Rückenbaum eines Lachsdamms'.

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# Commentaries concerning article 4

The view that there are Sámi toponyms in northern Russia was first presented by Castrén (1844) who based his view on some isolated examples of place names that resemble lexemes of Sámi languages. After him, this view has never been seriously challenged. The subsequent studies have revealed many more types of toponyms which have been considered Sámi by Russian scholars. However, the etymologisation of Sámi toponyms has occurred only at the lexical level, i.e. it has been considered a sufficient method of investigation into Sámi toponyms simply to present parallels of northern Russian toponyms in the vocabulary of Sámi languages. This is clearly not enough, and a more accurate treatise on this layer of toponymy is needed.

The study republished here scrutinises the characteristics of the northern Russian toponymy layer labelled as Sámi from various points of view. Some of its main arguments were published even earlier in congress proceedings (Saarikivi 2002). The article republished here presents a more versatile treatise on problematics of this kind.

As the toponymic materials referred to in the article were not published in the article itself, I include some previously unpublished materials here. They derive from the STE archive, Yekaterinburg, onomastic archive of the Karelian Science center, Petrozavodsk (KarSc) and the onomastic archive of the Research center of the domestic languages (NA). Most of the Finnish materials used in the study have been received from Ante Aikio who will publish them in a forthcoming monograph for which reason they are not listed here.

Unfortunately, I did not have most of the primary materials at hand any more when I produced the list below. Therefore I was forced to use my notes and there are some contradictions between the materials published here and in the maps of the original article. Some dots in the maps now occur in locations which are not understandable to me any more. Especially is this true of maps 5, 7 and 15.

However, the main arguments of the article are not dependent on the particular names but the distribution of the name types. Therefore, I make an effort to publish at least those materials at hand at present. Moreover, majority of the toponyms referred to in the article were identifiable on the basis of my notes and the few contradictions between my notes and the published maps are inconsequential to the central results of the article.

### Map 3: **lappi* 'Sámi'

The Finnish and Karelian materials concerning *lappi*-toponyms and the map of Russian ethnotoponyms have been published elsewhere (see p. 180 of the article

under commentary for references). The materials concerning *lap*-toponyms in Russian-speaking areas are the following:

*Лапа* river (flows into river > *Верхняя Айга*) Arkhangel'sk region, Mezenski district
*Лапа* river, *Лапица* brook (> *Ёжуга*), Arkhangel'sk region, Pinega district
*Лапомень* meadow and bend in river Sjamžen'ga, Arkhangel'sk region, Pinega district
*Лапозеро* lake in Arkhangel'sk region, Pinega district, area around Trufanogory
*Лапово* meadow, Arkhangel'sk region, Holmogorski district, village Jurola
*Лаповка* river, *Большое* and *Малое Лаповское* 2 lakes, Arkhangel'sk region, Vinogradovski district
*Лапомина* village *Лапский остров* island by the village, *Лапа* river Arkhangel'sk region, Primorski district
*Лаповское озеро* lake by the river *Пукшеньга* (> Dvina), Arkhangel'sk region, Plesecki district, drainage area of river Jemca
*Лапица* brook Arkhangelsk region, Plesecki district, area around Šenkursk
*Лапа* river (> *Ковжа*) Arkhangelsk region, Konoša district
*Лапа* river (> *Пустая*), *Лаповские озёра* group of lakes, Vologda region, district around the lake *Воже*
*Лапий наволок* = *Лапилахта* Karelia, Pudožski district, village Kuganavolok,
*Лапозеро* Karelia, Pudožski district, Kolodozero

Note that the names *Лапинский* river (> *Ёнтала*) Arkhangelsk region, Krasnoborski district and *Лапинский* brook (> lake *Воже*) which are indicated in the map, quite probably, derive from surname *Лапин.*

In addition, even the following toponym (first attested during a field expedition in 2004) likely belongs to the same connection as the names referred to in map 3:

*Лапомень* river bend by the mouth of the river Pokšen'ga, Arkhangel'sk region, Pinega district, region around the village Pokšen'ga

The following name was omitted from the material because it is a primary settlement name (< ??personal name **lappi*):

*Лаповская* village Arkhangel'sk region, Verkhne-Toemski district

**Map 4: Proto-Sámi **luompȩ* 'small lake'**

*Лумбушка* lake, Arkhangel'sk region, Onežski district

*Лумбаж* (*Лумбаш*) lake, Vologda region, Babaevo district
*Лумбозеро* lake, Arkhangel'sk region, Verkhne-Toemski / Vinogradovski district – NB! The dot in the map pointing to this lake is somewhat too far south.
*Большая* and *Малая Лумбушка* brooks (> *Тихманьга*), Arkhangel'sk region, Kargopolski district, Lake Lača area
*Lumbušinjärvi* village, Republic of Karelia, Karhumäki (Medvež'egorski) district
*Lumbikand'ärvi* lake, Karelia, Suojärvi district
*Lumpahanjoki* river, *Lummasjärvi* lake, Karelia, Vieljärvi (Vedlozero) district
*Lummatjärvi* (Ru. *Лумбозеро*) Karelia, Aunus (Olonec) district, area around village Kotkozero

The following names which may belong to this connection were omitted from the material for various reasons:

*Lonbozero* lake Arkhangel'sk region, Beloozero district (could also derive from Finnic **lampi* 'small lake')
*Лумбарь* river (> *Ярбозеро*) Vologoda region, Vaškinski district (the name does not denote to lake)[10]

**Map 5 *ǥle-* 'up'**

*Елесора* (*Елесёра, Елеесора*) brook, Arkhangel'sk region, Verkhe-Toemski district (NB! This toponym may also derive from Komi *jel'* 'forest brook')
*Елин* brook, Arkhangel'sk region, Verkhne-Toemski district, Zabor'e
*Елокур* island *Елокурка, Елокурья* bay in the river brach at the mouth of Dvina, Arkhangel'sk region, Primorski district
*Еленьга* river (> *Конса*), Arkhangel'sk region, Onežski district
*Елезеро* lake, Arkhangel'sk region, Plesecki district Tarasovski village
*Елаская гора* name in a historical document (16th century), *Елаш* river (> *Паденьга* > Vaga), Arkhangel'sk region, Plesecki district
*Елесмина (Елемина, Елечмина)* bend in the river *Киндеровский* (> *Мошинское озеро*), Arkhangel'sk region, Njandoma District
*Елозёмка* river (> *Матьзеро*), Arkhangel'sk region, Njandoma District
*Верхняя* and *Нижняя Елема* river (> *Ухта*), Arkhangelsk region, Kargopolski district
*Елемское* lake, *Елема* river, Vologda region, Vytegra district
*Элинручей* brook (> *Ошта*) Vologda region, Vytegra district
*Еленьга* river and village, Vologda region,Vytegra district

[10] *Note, however, that the name of the lake this brook flows into, Ярбозеро,* is derived from Finnic **järvi* 'lake'.

*Елеш* river (> *Унжа*) Vologda region, ??Babaevo district, village Babuškino
*Елома* brook, *Еломское (Ёломское)* lake Vologda region, area around lake Vože
*Еленьга* river, (> *Кубена*) Vologda region, Sjamženski district
*Еленская горка* elevation, Vologda region, Beloozero district – A historical document mentions toponym *Еле-озеро* in the same area in 1676.
*Элимозеро* lake, Karelia, Pudožski district,
*Элетох* marsh, Karelia, Pudožski district
*Elimid'd'ärvi* lake, Karelia, Prääsä (Prjažinski) district
*Elinlaksi* bay, Karelia Rebola district
*Ellinjärvi* lake, Karelia, Rebola district, Lendery
*Elmisjärvi* lake, Karelia, Belomorsk district, Kiimasjärvi
*Eligilampi* (*Elingalampi*) small lake, Karelia, Paatene (Padany) district, Šalgovaara
*Elilampi* (*Elitlampi*) small lake, Karelia, Belomorsk district, Paanajärvi (Panozero)
*Elinoja* brook (> *Kesäjoki*), Karelia, Kemi (Kem') district

Some dots on this map occur in positions which do not correspond to those materials available to me at present. Unfortunately, reasons for this are not quite understandable. Note that, for example, in my notes there are three objects in Vytegra district and only one in Onega district while in the published map there are two objects in both districts.

I admit that it would probably be desirable to produce an entirely new map. Nevertheless, the area of distribution of the names deriving from **ęle* is the same in the materials published here and on the map of the original publication. Moreover, most of the objects denoted are identifiable in both of them.

In addition to the materials available on the map, the following Karelian names, most likely, belong to this connection.

*Elijoki* Belomorski district, Röhö (Regozero)
*Ellinlampi* Louhi district, Kälgärvi

**Map 6: *ćɔ̄lmē 'strait'**

Map showing distribution of the names deriving from **ćɔ̄lmē* in Arkhangelsk and Vologodsk regions and in the Russian-speaking Karelia is published by Matveev (2004: 327). The Veps names derive from publications by Mullonen (1988; 1994).

Karelian names denoted to in the article are the following:

*Tšolma* village, Kiestinki (Kesten'ga) district
*Tšolmankijärvi* lake, Kostamus (Kostamukša) district, Haikola
*Tšolmajärvi* lake, Muujärvi (Munozero) district, Rukajärvi (Rugozero)
*Tšolmankoski* rapids, Prääsä (Prjažinski) district, Vaaženi,

*Jolmarvi* lake and *Jolmožend'ogi* river Paatene (Padany) district
*Jolmoni* an island by Jyvälakši, Kalevala district

Unfortunately, I cannot understand any more what the two dots east of the lage Onega stand for. In addition, the following Karelian names, most probably, belong to the same connection:

*Tšolmaniemi* in lake Tuoppajärvi, Kiestinki (Kesten'ga) district
Village *Jolmońi* (*Елманьга*) Enkijärvi, Kieretti (Keret') district
*Jolmosenvirta* brook Kostamus district

**Map 7 **woja* 'brook'**

Map showing distribution of substrate names deriving from **woja* in Arkhangel'sk and Vologoda regions is published by Matveev (2001: 341). An even more accurate map is included in an unpublished manuscript by Matveev (1970).

The Karelian and Finnish names referred to in this connection are the following:

*Vojatšu* settlement (Ru. *Надвоицы*) by the lake Uikujärvi (Vygozero) and the lake *Войцкое*. River Vyg flows through the settlement to the lake *Войцкое*.
*Voingi* river and lake, Belomorsk district (NB! The dot indicating this name is too far east, moreover, the same name is probably indicated also in the map 14)

*Voikoski* rapids Valkeala
*Voinsalmi* strait Leppävirta / Heinävesi
*Voikoski* rapids Mäntyharju

Also here, one dot in western Finland (in Ostrobothnia region) occurs in a location which is not understandable to me any more. The same is true of the dot in the southern Karelia.

**Map 8 **kukkę***

*Кукозеро* lake, Arkhangelsk region, Holmogory district, Rakula

*Куколохта* lengthy bay, Vologda region, Beloozero district
*Куккомосозеро* lake, Karelia, Pudožski district
*Kukkozerko* lake, Karelia Pudožski district
*Kukkahansuo* lengthy marsh, Karelia, Olonecki district
*Kuukazjogi* river, Karelia, Aunus (Olonec) district
*Kukkarvi* lake, Karelia, Prääsä (Prjažinski) district
*Kukkarvenjärvi,* lake, Karelia Vedlozero
*Kukkarbi* lake, Karelia, Padany, Šalgovaara

**Map 9 **ńukćę* 'swan'**

Materials from Arkhangelsk and Vologda regions and the Russian-speaking Karelia are published by Matveev (2004: 312). In addition, the following name almost certainly belongs to this connection:

*Нюхчагуба* bay in the River Uikujoki (Vyg), between Sorokka (Belomorsk) and *Vojatšu* (Nadvoicy)

**Map 10 **ćukćę* 'capercaillie'**

Materials from Arkhangelsk and Vologda regions are published by Matveev (2004: 312). The Karelian name that may belong to this connection is the following:

*Tšuksoilampi* lake Kontupohja (Kondopoga) district, Sunu

**Map 11 **supē* 'aspen'**

Materials from Arkhangelsk and Vologda regions are published by Matveev (2004: 318). The Karelian names referred to in the article are the following:

*Suopasjoki* river and *Suopassalmi* village, Kalevala district
*Suopajoki* river and *Suopajärvet* lakes, Sorokka (Belomorsk) district, Tunkua (Tunguda) region

It is well possible that the Karelian toponyms are, in fact, connected with another Sámi word (saN *suohpa* 'ford').

**Map 12 **ńarkę***

*Нергозеро* and *Нерюга* Arkhangelsk region, Onežski district
*Нергалахта* bay, Karelia, Pudožski district, Vodlozero
*Nerolaksi* Vuokkiniemi Kostamus district – NB! The dot indicating this name is too far in the east. Moreover, it is not quite clear whether this name belongs into this connection.

**Map 13 **kɛ̄δkē* 'stone'**

*Кеткоручей,* brook, *Кеткозеро,* lake, Pudožski district, Kolodozero
*Kätkäjärvi* lake, Prääsä (Prjažinski) district
*Kätkieńe, Kätkiäislammit* Repola (Reboly) district, Lužma
*Kätkäjoki, Kätkäjärvi, Kätkälakši* Kiestinki (Kesten'ga) district
*Kätkäyslammit* group of small lakes, Paatene (Padany) district
*Kätkäjärvi* lake, Kalevala district, Jyskyjärvi (Juškozero),
*Kätkiene* lake, Muujärvi (Muezerski) district Rukajärvi (Rugozero),
*Kätkärvi, Kätkäjärvi* lake, Karhumäki (Medvež'egorski) district, Prokkola (Jukkaguba)
*Kätkäjoki* river *Kätkälakši* bay, *Kätkävuara* hill Kiestinki (Kesten'ga district), Sofporog

It is not clear for me anymore, what does the dot north of lake Ladoga refer to.

In addition, the following name belongs to this connection:

*Kätkilampi* Kemi (Kem') district, village Kagara

**Map 14 **pāktē***

All the names referred to are in Finland. In Karelia, there are a few names which could belong to this connection, however. They were omitted from the material because there was no information available whether they are connected with stony places. Nevertheless, I publish the material here for the possible future research:

*Paahtoniemi* cape in Pääjärvi, Kiestinki (Kesten'ga) district
*Paahtaniemi* cape in Koutajärvi, Kiestinki (Kesten'ga) district
*Paahtolakši* Kiestinki (Kesten'ga) district (Oulanka)

**Map 15 **vuonę* 'fjord'**

One dot in the North Karelia points to village *Vuonninen* and *Vuonnisjoki,* river, Kostamus district. I cannot any more understand what the two other dots indicate. Quite probably, the more southern one is connected with the lenghty lake *Voingi,* Belomorsk district, Kevättämäjärvi (Kevjatozero).

Despite the contradictions between the map and the materials at hand to me at present, the approximate distribution of the lexeme **vuonę* 'fjord' in toponyms is, quite likely, correctly indicated on the map. This is demonstrated in that there is also the village *Vuonislahti* at the end of a lenghty bay in lake Pielinen Northern Karelia.

There is also a village *Вонгуба* in the northwestern corner of Arkhangelsk region, Onežski district. This village is situated at the end of a lenghty bay. If this toponym belongs to this connection it would mean that the distribution of **vuonę* 'fjord' in toponyms is somewhat wider than indicated on the map.

**Map 17 **sijtę* 'winter village'**

There is a probable mistake on this map. In fact, in southern Karelia there is only one *Siid*-name, namely the following:

*Siidniemi* village, Prjažinski district, Pyhäjärvi (Svjatozero),

This mistake was caused by the fact that the abovementioned toponym figures in the materials from different villages in NA and KarSc. The dot in the speaking area of Veps derives from the materials published by Mullonen (1994: 120).

**Map 18 **kuotkoj* 'isthmus'**

*Котканы* island Njuhča district, in the White Sea
*Kotkatkangas,* woods and isthmus, Pyhäjärvi (Svjatozero), Prjažinski district
*Kotkatjärvi* village, Aunus (Olonec)
*Kuutkupohjanlakši* Suojärvi, Porajärvi (Porosozero), Lubasalmi
*Kotkadguba* bay *Kotkadniemi* cape Kontupohja, Munjärvi
*Kuotku* ?a settlement (the type of the object not indicated clearly) Muujärvi (Munozero) district, Rukajärvi (Rugozero)
*Kuotkuonlakši,* bay, Kostamus district, Pižmalakši
*Kuotkut* lenghty cape, Kostamus district, Voknavolok

In addition, the following name, quite certainly, belongs here:

*Kotkatlahti* in lake Prääsänjärvi, Prääsä (Prjažinski) district

**additional remark to details:**
p. 170–171 At present, I consider the hypothesis of a strong lexical Palaeo-European substrate interference in the Sámi languages as proven by A. Aikio (2004).

p. 186 At present I am inclined to think that the Finnish *luoto* is not a substrate word but a Germanic borrowing (cf. Hofstra 1995– Note that the loan explanation has some problems, commented in LÄGLOS II: 230).

# ARTICLE 5:

# Is there Palaeo-European substratum interference in western branches of Uralic?

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# Is there Palaeo-European substratum interference in western branches of Uralic?

*A revised and expanded version of a lecture delivered to the Finno-Ugrian Society on the 16th of October, 2001*

## 1. Introduction

The contacts between the western branches of Uralic, i.e. Finnic and Saami, and various branches of the Indo-European language family is one of the most thoroughly examined fields in Uralistics. At the same time, we knew until recently practically nothing about the contacts between Finnic and Saami and extinct languages which, with all probability, were spoken in northern Europe prior to Uralic.

In this essay, I discuss the possibilities of proving and studying such contacts from a place name studies' viewpoint. The article outlines an argument based on material from well-documented substratum cases and typological toponymic studies which, in my opinion, make the idea of Palaeo-European substratum interference in Finnic and Saami more plausible than hitherto considered.

After my lecture, significant progress has taken place in the study of the substratum lexicon in Saami. Ante Aikio (2004), in particular, has shown convincingly that there is substratum interference from Palaeo-European languages in the Saami languages. His arguments go, however, far beyond the scope of this presentation. The possibilities of tracing back the contact areas between Saami and Palaeo-European are dealt with in another recent article of mine (Saarikivi 2004). While some of the ideas discussed here may have lost their momentum, I make an effort to focus both on methodological issues and especially on the question of a Palaeo-European substratum not only in Saami but also in Finnic, where such interference is apparently less obvious. Nevertheless, the assumption of Palaeo-European substratum in both branches derives from very basic facts of geographical distribution and history of the Uralic languages.

## 2. A short review of the research history

The idea that Palaeo-European substratum languages of unknown genetic character have influenced Finnic and Saami is not a new one. For Finnic, the best known attempt to prove such interference was made by Paul Ariste (1971; 1981), who in turn based his reasoning on a theory presented by Pēteris Šmits in the 1930s.

Ariste paid attention to a large amount of etymogically obscure vocabulary that is common to all of the Finnic languages and especially to some semantically defined word groups, such as words denoting geographical objects (*saari* 'island', *mäki* 'hill', *niemi* 'cape', *oja* 'brook; ditch', *nummi* 'moor', *suo* 'marsh' etc.), fish names and other names of animals and plants (*taimen* 'trout', *lahna* 'bream', *salakka* 'bleak', *ilves* 'lynx', *jänis* 'hare', *konna* 'toad', etc.), as well as some names of bodyparts (*liha* 'flesh', *kylki* 'rib', *koipi* 'leg', *nenä* (~ Proto-Saami [PS] **ńōnē* > North Saami [NS] *njunni* 'nose'), etc. Such words could, according to Ariste, be loanwords from substratum languages which were spoken in the Baltic Sea and East Balticum areas prior to the Uralic languages. In his opinion there were two kinds of substratum language: Indo-European, more precisely Iranian and Baltic languages, and completely extinct Palaeo-European languages.

It is noteworthy that while the study of the contacts of the western branches of Uralic with (Indo-)Iranian and Baltic has made rapid progress since Ariste's days, mainly thanks to loanword studies by Jorma Koivulehto (see e.g. Koivulehto 1999b), Ariste's idea of a Palaeo-European substratum vocabulary in these same languages has passed largely unmentioned. There have been some, but not many, positive comments on it, such as Korhonen (1984: 69–70) and Häkkinen (1997: 221–222); see also Helimski (2001), who argues in favour of various substrata in different branches of Uralic languages.

Since Ariste's days the study of Palaeo-European substratum interference has developed rapidly in Indo-European studies (cf. Polomé 1986, Salmons 1992, Kallio 2003). In the Uralic field, however, scepticism has remained the prevailing position among scholars. It seems that in general the issue has been considered impossible to study. There is an inherent controversy embedded, of course: words that are of unknown origin will be described as loans from an unidentifiable language. There are at least two ways, however, in which the Ariste's idea could be demonstrated to be more plausible than hitherto considered. The first is, by demonstrating that there are phonotactic or semantic properties which are characteristic of certain etymologically obscure word groups. The second is, by demonstrating that a similar process of borrowing

from substratum languages has also occurred in other cases, and that it has influenced the same groups of vocabulary which Ariste thought were the spheres of substratum interference in Finnic.

For Saami languages some kind of substratum interference has often been assumed even in mainstream Uralistics. A brief history of substratum hypotheses concerning Saami is to be found in Korhonen (1981: 23–28) and Aikio (2004: 6–7). According to them, K. B. Wiklund was the first scholar who, roughly hundrer years ago, assumed that Saami people were descendants of aboriginal Arctic peoples who had changed their language to Uralic. Another eminent lappologist Konrad Nielsen (1913) proposed that the Saamis were originally Samoyeds. The idea that Saami has a Samoyedic substratum was subsequently supported by Y. H. Toivonen (1950) and some other scholars, but lost ground when the sound correspondences between the Finnic and Samoyed languages were clarified, the main work in this field being that of Janhunen (1981). The distinguished Finnish lappologists Erkki Itkonen (1966: 99–100) and Mikko Korhonen (1981: 25–26) acknowledged that there is a Pre-Uralic component in the genotype of the Saami people, but were sceptical about the possibilities of finding traces of a Palaeo-European substratum in the Saami languages. Most recently, the idea that Saami has a Basque (or Vasconian) substratum has been propounded by Ago Künnap and Kalevi Wiik (2002: 390–391). This hypothesis is based on (relatively few) genetic similarities between the Saami and Basque people, but no rational linguistic evidence for it has ever been put forward.

Nevertheless, the idea that the Saami languages have a layer of vocabulary borrowed from one or more unidentifiable languages seems to be well established. The etymologically obscure vocabulary of the present-day Saami languages may include up to one quarter or even more of the common Saami vocabulary presented by Lehtiranta (1989). Though it is clear that in the etymologically fuzzy vocabulary of Saami (as in that of Finnic) there must be unrevealed Indo-European loanwords and words with hitherto unrecognised Uralic parallels, the fact that Saami has lost words which certainly have been present in Proto-Uralic (for example **kiwi* 'stone', **tuɣli* 'wind', **puɣi* 'tree') and that these words have been replaced by new, etymologically opaque words (PS **kēδkē* 'stone' > NS *geađgi*, PS **pēŋkę* 'wind' > NS *biegga*, PS **mōrę* 'tree' > NS *muorra*) which cannot by any means be described as sound-symbolic, strongly suggests that the process of borrowing from extinct languages has occurred. The absence of etymological parallels for this layer in Saami vocabulary stands as a counter-argument against Basque, Samoyed, or any other suggested substratum interference that is to be related to living

language families. The substratum lexicon of Saami, as well as that of Finnic, if such layers of vocabulary are to be assumed, can be characterised only as Palaeo-European, i.e. as an offspring of the extinct language families of Europe. It seems relatively clear that these language families have no genetic connections with the languages known to present linguistic science.

## 3. The notion of linguistic substrata and the outcomes of a language shift

At present, the concept of substratum interference is not used uniformly in contact linguistics. In the classical meaning (cf. Veenker 1967: 4–6) a linguistic substratum refers to a residue of an extinct or locally receded language that is to be perceived in a specific variant of a present-day language spoken in the same area as the extinct one. Substratum interference is considered to be the result of a shift of an aboriginal people's language to a culturally superior newcomers' language, whereas if language shift happens the other way round superstratum interference occurs.

More recently, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have referred to substratum interference as a special type of cross-language interference which takes place in a rapid language shift situation through incomplete learning. In their view the substratum interference is the result of "learner's errors", i.e. either the direct transmission of source language features into the new language, or a rise of new characteristics under the influence of the shifters' old language. Substratum interference is opposed to borrowing interference which occurs when no language shift takes place. These interference types are considered to affect different subsystems of a language. Borrowing interference is principally thought to affect the lexicon, whereas the substratum interference is mainly thought to affect the phonology and morphosyntax. This is because the lexicon is the most indispensable component of a language and is needed for a communication over the language barrier. Language shifters strive to learn the vocabulary correctly, whereas exact pronunciation or complicated morpho-syntactic structures will not be of major concern to them.

However, there are apparent problems regarding the opposition proposed by Thomason and Kaufman. First of all, verifying the substratum interference in connection with concrete morphosyntactic and phonological changes is seldom unambigous; see discussion in Saarikivi (2000); cf. also Kallio (2001), who rejects the proposed Uralic substratum features in the Germanic languages. Moreover, there seem to be cases in which a considerable number of words have been transmitted from the shifters' language to the newcomers' language.

As even Thomason and Kaufman admit, in an expanding linguistic community there is a tendency to borrow words for concepts which have previously been unknown in the community. Also, language shifters are forced to maintain the lexicon of their old language for concepts which have no parallel words in the newly acquired language. Most likely, the place names are borrowed or maintained because the core semantic content of a name is its denotation which, by definition, is bound to a concrete object. Usually, in an area where language shift has taken place a considerable amount of substratum toponymy can be found. Numerous examples of this are well-documented in the linguistic literature, for example Celtic place names in the British Isles, Ainu place names in Japan, Finnic place names in Latvia, Slavonic place names in eastern Germany, Basque (or Aquitanian) place names in southern France, etc.

Hypotheses concerning various layers of substratum vocabulary in the branches of the Indo-European family have been the subject of numerous studies in recent decades. Deriving from them, Joe Salmons (1992) has developed criteria for determining whether a word may be considered a substratum loan: it should lack an Indo-European or a loan etymology; it should reflect likely substratum semantic domains; and it should show discrepant phonological or morphological features vis-à-vis Indo-European. I would like to add a further criterion: in the area where substratum interference has presumably occurred, there should also be substratum toponyms from the same source as the apparent appellative substratum loans.

Thus, there is lexical borrowing that takes place in the language shift situation, but the borrowed words are not likely to be similar to the loanwords that are transmitted in the prototypical borrowing situation. They should include the toponymy and along with it some words denoting geographical features characteristic of a certain area. Usually these words also occur as elements in concrete substratum toponyms. Also, other lexicon that is related to a specific area, such as names of plants, animals, etc. seems to be inclined to borrowing even in the shift situation.

This kind of borrowing of vocabulary in the case of language shift represents the intermingling of the two interference types proposed by Thomason and Kaufman. It points to the fact that the linguistic residue of an extinct language is not a mechanical result of shifters' slips of the tongue, but a combination of the two interference types, borrowing and "learner's errors". This in turn makes questionable, how useful the Thomason and Kaufman distinction between substratum and borrowing interference is for historical linguistics; it may, nevertheless, be very useful for contact linguistics in general terms.

In the following, the notion of a linguistic substratum will be used in referring to a residue of an extinct language, whether phonological, morphosyntactic or lexical, irrespective of the possible contact interference types which have probably played a role in its evolution. One further note is needed, though. Although linguistic substratum may be phonological, morphosyntactic or lexical, it is expressly the lexical substratum that should be of interest to those studying the ethnic and historical past of a linguistic area (Saarikivi 2000); see also a similar theoretical standpoint by Esa Itkonen (1998, republished in Itkonen 1999: 143). This is because phonological and morphosyntactic substratum interference is often relatively hard to prove, whereas examining the origin of words usually yields results by the normal methods of etymological research. If these in turn fail, it can be proposed *argumentum ex silentio* that lexical borrowing has occurred, but from extinct sources.

## 4. Two cases of verified substratum interference

The observation that the borrowing of toponymy and geographical concepts is typical of a linguistic substratum and that the study of a lexical substratum can be central to our understanding of the linguistic and ethnic past of a certain area, can be substantiated by numerous cases. In the following two, the Finnic substratum in northern Russian dialects and the Saami substratum in Northern Finnish are considered in some detail.

It is well-known that prior to the arrival of the Slavonic tribes, northern Russia, most notably the basin of the river Dvina, was inhabited by Uralic speaking peoples. There are written sources, in particular Slavonic chronicles and Scandinavian sagas, which refer to the Finno-Ugrian tribes that lived in this territory in the Middle Ages. Their memory has also been preserved in Russian folklore (cf. Bulatov 1993; Makarov 1993). Even now there are people living in the Dvina basin who, although entirely Russian with regard to their mother tongue and culture, consider themselves descendants of the *čud'*, a tribe mentioned several times in the historical record. Also archaelogical findings in the Dvina basin can be related to Uralic speaking peoples (cf. Rjabinin 1997: 113–148). Thus the necessary prerequisites for assuming a linguistic substratum interference by Uralic in northern Russian dialects exist.

Today there are tens of thousands of items of substratum toponymy of Uralic origin in this area (see for some statistics Matveev 2001: 51). These include virtually all kinds of place names, from the great water features to microtoponymy. In many areas most hydronyms are of Uralic origin. There are also hundreds of appellative loanwords of Finnic origin in northern Russian

dialects. These have been dealt with in detail by Jalo Kalima (1919), J. J. Mikkola (1938) and numerous Russian scholars, among others A. K. Matveev, O. A. Teuš, L. A. Subbotina, S. Myznikov.

While most of these loanwords can be considered borrowings from living Finnic languages, there are cases for which such an explanation is not likely. Thus the Russian dialectal *káska* 'young woods; woods that is used as a pasture' (< Finnic *kaski* 'burnt-over clearing; vegetation on burnt-over areas') is known in the vicinity of the Karelian Republic, where it can be considered a borrowing from the Karelian varieties of Finnic (SSA I: 322), and even in the Pinega district of the Archangel region, four hundred kilometres eastwards, where it is found in a punctual micro-area of distribution.

There is an apparent reason for this remote enclave in the distribution of this word. In this area, the word occurs not only as an appellative, but also as a component in a variety of substratum toponyms, cf. *Káskonem* (< **Kaski-/niemi* 'kaski-cape'), *Káskoja* (< **Kaski/oja* 'kaski-brook'), *Káska* a lake, *Káska* a pasture (in several places), etc. It is quite obvious that these names illuminate the circumstances in which borrowing took place. Most likely, the word **kaski* was a geographical or agricultural concept in the substratum language. It was used in the place names the Slavonic newcomers adopted. These place names probably began to be used as a model for creating place names in Russian. Thus, numerous Russian place names such as *Popóvaja Káska* ('the priest's *kaska*') and *Kévrol'skaja Káska* ('*kaska* of Kevrola [a name of a village]') came into being. Also, the borrowing of the appellative took place. This seems to have happened in connection with the borrowing of place names. As the various denotations of the geographical concept became familiar to the newcomers via the adoption of the place names, the borrowing of the appellative also became a reality. Probably the appellative even came into being through a process of reappellativisation from the toponyms. In this case the Russians would first have adopted the model for toponym formation and only subsequently abstracted the geographical term from the names. It should be noted that borrowing of geographical terms which are active solely in toponym formation as a sort of suffix is a widely attested phenomenon. In the Swedish-Finnish contact zone this kind of process has been described by Pitkänen (1985: 88–90): the Swedish names of small islands *Grytlot*, *Borgarlot*, *Skorvlot*, etc. include the toponymic suffix *-lot* which is clearly a borrowing from Finnish (< *luoto* 'rocky islet') though it does not appear as an appellative. In Mordovia there are Russian names, in which the Mordvin *lej* 'river' functions as a toponymic suffix (Maticsák 1995: 46). Similar examples are to be found in Komi, northern Russia and other language contact areas.

There are some North Russian dialect words for which it seems imperative to assume borrowing through toponymy. Thus the semantic gap between the Russian dialectal (Pinega district of Archangel region) *páhta* 'swamp; bog; low wet place that has turned into a marshland' and its loan original, Finnic *pehka, pehku* 'bedding straw; rotten tree; litter', can be explained by assuming that the Russian semantics of the word have been acquired through the place names (for etymology of this word, see Mullonen 2002: 64–65). There are many swamps called either *Pahta* or *Pahtaboloto* (< Russian *bolóto* 'moor; marsh') in the Pinega region, one of the few districts where the appellative is known. On the other hand, in the living Finnic languages the toponymic model *Pehkusuo* (< *suo* < Proto-Finnic **soo* 'swamp') is common. The semantic motivation behind this toponymic model seems to be connected with the abundance of rotten wood in moors. The phonological substitution Finnic *e* > Russian *a* is to be found in some some loanwords, cf. *váhta* 'bog arum (*Calla palustris*)' < Finnic *vehka* id. (Mullonen ibid.), *vágmas* 'woods that have turned into a swamp and grow brushwood' < Finnic *vehmas(to)* etc. id. (Matveev 1995: 32–33). Usually the words which follow this substitution pattern have a back vowel in the second syllable of the Finnic word, but the matter has not been examined in detail. Besides, the substitution Finnic *e* > Russian *e* is commonplace. The substitution Finnic *-hk-* > Russian *-ht-* is regular and has several parallels; cf. *váhta* above, *úhta* 'snow on ice' < Finnic *uhku* 'slush on ice' (Kalima 1919: 234–235), *tóhta* 'rotten tree' < Finnic *tohko* id. (Mullonen ibid.), etc. It only needs to be added that most of the swamp names has been borrowed in Russian as hybrid compounds, i.e. the substratum language topographic term meaning 'swamp' has been translated into Russian (cf. *Síńboloto, Túrboloto*, etc). Thus it seems quite possible that the Russian dialectal *pahta* has been reappellativised from toponyms built on the pattern *Pehkusuo.*

There are many other words in northern Russian dialects which seem to have been adopted in a somewhat similar fashion. They all denote features of geography, they have been used in place names in the substratum language and they often have a narrow distribution in the Russian dialects. All of them have not necessarily been borrowed via toponymy but along with it, as people learned to recognize the concrete geographical denotations to which they refer. Some examples are well-known in the etymological literature, cf. *pávna* 'damp low-lying land' < Finnic *pauna, pauni, paunu* id. (Kalima 1919: 177; the word *pauna* itself, quite likely, is a Russian borrowing in Finnish, from Russian *bagnó* 'low swampy place'; SSA II: 327), *újta* 'dry area in which hay grows' < Karelian *uittu, uitto* 'damp low-lying place' (Kalima 1919: 231), *lájda* 'low place that floods; flood meadow' < Finnic *laito* 'grassy shore' (ibid. p.

148–149), *órga* 'low woody place' < Finnic *orko* id. (ibid. p. 176), *ól'ga* 'low place, marshland' < Finnic *alho* (ibid. p. 175), *lýva* 'muddy or sandy shore' < Finnic *liiva* id. (this in turn a Baltic loanword; SSA II: 75), *kórba* 'dense wet woods < Finnic *korpi* id., *áraj* 'low, sometimes flooded place' < Karelian *aro* 'low grassy place, wet place in an otherwise dry area' < **aroj* (Kalima 1919: 78–79), *lúda* 'rocky islet' < Finnic *luoto* id., *láhta* 'bay' < Finnic *lahti* id. (ibid. p. 151), and several others.

Even some new similar etymologies can be presented; all of them, except number 3, are more thoroughly discussed in my unpublished licenciate thesis (Saarikivi 2003). In many cases the words show minor phonological and semantical differencies in comparison with their Finnic loan originals. This, together with their unexpected distribution 400 to 500 km east of the present Finnic language area, suggests that we are dealing with borrowings from extinct Finnic substratum languages:

1. *vólgas* (Archangel dialect group, Pinega and Upper Tojma districts) 'low and narrow meadow by a river; bend or island of a river on which hay grows' (SRNG 5: 37) < Finnic **alho(-s)* 'dale'. Substitution Finnic **a* > Russian *o* is commonplace in old borowings (cf. Kalima 1919: 46–47). The initial *v-* is a prothetic glide characteristic of certain northern Russian dialects (for example *vól'ha* < *ól'ha* 'willow', cf. Požarickaja 1997: 142–143). Final *-s*, with all probability, originated in the substratum language and can be explained as a secondary formation. These kinds of variants of nouns exist in all of the Finnic languages and are especially commonplace in toponyms (cf. *hanka ~ hangas*, *rampa ~ rammas*, *Eräjärvi ~ Eräsjärvi*, *Hirvajärvi ~ Hirvasjärvi*, etc.; see Tunkelo 1953: 98–99). The *-s* may also be explained by assuming a borrowing from an oblique case (cf. Finnish *alhossa* 'in the dale').

2. *kójdoma* (Archangel dialect group, Pinega and Upper Tojma districts) 'meadow that has turned into a marshland; damp place' (SRNG 14: 84). In addition: 'high place on a marshland; passable marshland; hummock in a bog' (these meanings were fixed during field expeditions in the Pinega district) < Finnic **kaita-mV*. The word originates in the same word-stem that is represented in the Finnish dialectal *kaita* 'space between two rivers' < Saami, cf. NS *skáiđi* id. < Germanic **skaiđa* 'passage; journey; distance, interval'. Another Finnic loan from the same Germanic root *keidas* 'open swamp, hummock, high place in a swamp' has similar meanings to the Russian word; the diphthong *ei* in the Finnish word is probably a secondary northern Finnic development (< **ai*) and does not reflect the original vowel in Germanic (cf. SSA I: 337). In Finnish toponymy the word often denotes marshlands which have been used as a pathway in the winter time (see in detail T. Itkonen 1962).

*-mV-* is a Finnic suffix often attached to toponymic words, cf. Finnish *lahti* 'bay' > *lahtema*, *reuna* 'rim' > *reunama*, *ranta* 'shore' > *rantama*, *oja* 'brook' > *ojamo* 'place by the brook', etc. (Hakulinen 1979: 130–131; 169).

3. *víska* (widely attested in Archangel dialects) 'outlet of a lake; small river that connects two lakes'. REW, KESK, and Anikin (2003) regard the Russian word as a borrowing from the Komi *vis* (: *viskiś*) having the same meaning as the Russian word. However, the distribution of the word in the Russian dialects is not typical of Komi borrowings (this has been pointed out by Koževatova 1997): it is widely known in the Dvina basin, whereas Komi borrowings usually occur only in the vicinity of the Komi speaking territory and the area east of it. Therefore, a connection with the Finnish dialectal *vieska* 'current in rapids; stream of blood, etc.' (archaic; cf. Ganander 1997: 1115); 'still water next to a current' (SMSA [Tavastia]; Ganander ibid.) seems at least as likely. In modern Finnish, *vieska* occurs in the toponyms denoting places by rivers and streams (cf. parishes of *Yli-* and *Alavieska* in Ostrobothnia). The Komi word could also be explained as a borrowing from the Finnic substratum language or from Russian dialects. The Finnic word in turn is, because of the vowel combination **ee – a*, evidently a borrowing.

4. *kúŕja* (widely attested in Archangel dialects) 'narrow strait or bay of a river' (SRNG 16: 151–152). This word is probably connected with several Finnic words having the stem **kurV-*, all meaning 'narrow place, gorge' (> Finnish *kuri* 'cleft', *kuru* 'gorge', *kurimus* 'whirlpool', Estonian *kuristik* 'gorge', etc.). These words, in turn, can be connected with parallels in the Ugric languages (Hungarian *horhó*, *horog* 'gorge', Eastern Khanty *kor* 'furrow', etc. < PU **kuri*; cf. Sammallahti 1988: 544; Saami *gurra* 'gorge' is a borrowing from Finnic). The Russian borrowing has no exact parallel in the present-day Uralic languages, but on the basis of its distribution as well as several Finnic words with a similar meaning and phonetic shape it may be considered a Uralic substratum word (? **kur-jV*) which was originally a derivative from the same *kuri*-stem. Komi *kuŕja* 'bay of a river' could be a borrowing from the same substratum word or from the Russian dialects. *Kuŕja* has previously been compared with the Finnish *kuru* by Matveev (2001: 196–197).

5. *múrga* (Pinega district) 'funnel-like pit caused by erosion' (SRNG 18: 353) < substratum language **mur-kV* < Uralic **murV* 'crisp; break up' (nomen-verbum, UEW 288). This Uralic word may be represented in Finnish *muramaa* 'gravel, soil and gravel', *murakko* 'soft swampy land' (if these are not connected with Old Norse *mór* 'sandy place, open woods' or its reflexes; de Vries 1961: 392), *mur-taa* 'break', *mur-entua* 'crumble', etc. (parallels in

other Finnic and Uralic languages). Although there is no derivative in the present Finnic languages which would directly correspond to the Russian word, a connection between the Russian *múrga* and the aforementioned Finnic words seems possible. Final *-ga* can be explained as a rudiment of a Finnic suffix or a Russian "pseudoderivative" typical of borrowings from Finnic; cf. *gállaga* 'fog' < Finnic *halla* 'frost, rime' (Kalima 1919: 89–90). This borrowing is not strictly Finnic. The Komi dialectal (Udora) *murga* 'burrow (of a fox etc.); cavity; cleft' is a borrowing from the same substratum word or from the Russian dialects. It can be added that the meaning of the Russian dialectal word is such that an exact cognate word cannot possibly be found in present-day Finnic: modern Finnic languages are spoken in areas without the geographical realities the word denotes.

6. *ščélja* (also *šélja,* quite widespread in Archangel dialects in the eastern parts of the region, mainly Pinega, Mezen, Primor'e districts) 'hill by a river, steep bank of a river'. The form of the substratum language can not easily be reconstructed (< ?**šelgä* : *šelgän*). The Russian word is probably a contamination of Proto-Finnic **selkä* (> Finnish *selkä*, in Karelian also *šelkä*, etc.) 'back; ridge, hill' and Russian *ščel'* 'gap, hole, cleft'. The REW considers this word to be a variant of the latter word, but not only the meaning, but also the dialectal dstribution and phonological shape (final component *-ja*) of the word speak against this suggestion. The Finnic word has been borrowed by Russian dialects several times, cf. *šálga* 'big forest, ridge, hill' *sél'ga* 'wooded hill' (Kalima 1919: 215, 244–245). M. L. Gusel'nikova (1994: 112) has observed that the words *šálga*, *sél'ga* and *ščélja* occur in complementary distribution in substratum place names. Thus, there is reason to believe that *ščélja* also has some connection with the Finnic word behind the other two Russian dialectal words. The contamination with the word *ščel'* is explicable in that the places which the *ščélja*-names denote are often the steep banks of a river bed situated in a gorge. The Komi *šelja* with a similar meaning is also explainable as a loan from the same substratum language or from the Russian dialects.

The rich substratum toponymy and multiple appellative loans offer relatively good possibilities for drawing conclusions about the character of the substratum language(s) of the Dvina basin. Needless to say, this is not true of many possible phonological and morphosyntactic substratum features (proposed by Veenker 1967), most of which must be considered uncertain (see Veenker, criticised by Vostrikov 1979).

The Saami substratum in Lapland Finnish resembles the Finnic substratum in northern Russian dialects in many respects. As in northern Russia, also here relatively many sources on the Saami past of the region are available. These

include historical records, folklore, etc. However, in the Finnish dialects of the region there are surprisingly few cases of relatively certain phonological or morphosyntactic innovations resulting from Saami influence (Mantila 2001). The toponymic system, though, has changed remarkably under the influence of Saami and stands clearly apart from the rest of the Finnish language area. This is true of both the place names as well as those appellatives denoting objects of geography. Many of the dialect words productive in the toponym formation are loanwords from Saami, cf. *aapa* 'big marsh' (< PS **āpē* > NS *áhpi* id.), *jolma* 'strait' (< PS **ćōlmē* > NS *čoalbmi* id.), *jän(k)kä* 'bog' (< PS **jēŋkē* > NS *jeaggi* id.), *outa* 'woods' (< PS **vōvtē* > NS *vuovdi* id.), *pahta* 'rock' (< PS **pāktē* > NS *bákti* id.), *kero* 'top of a hill' (< PS **ćērō* > *čearru* id.), *vaara* (< PS **vārē* > NS *várri* id.), *vuono* 'fjord' (< PS **vōnę* > NS *vuotna* id.), *lompalo*, *lompolo* 'lake by a river' (< PS **lōmpęl* > NS *luoppal* id.), *mella* 'sand bank' (< PS **mēllē* > NS *mielli* id.), *nuora* 'long and narrow strait' (< PS **nōrē* > NS *nuorri* id.), *vuopio*, *vuopaja* 'fjord' (< PS **vōpējē* > NS *vuohppi* id.), *lantto* 'small lake' (< PS **lāntō* > NS *láttu*, etc.). All of the etymologies, with the exception of the last one, can be found in SSA. Also the last one is an obvious Saami loanword in the Lapland Finnish, although somewhat similar derivated words (such as *lanto* etc. < *lansi* 'low and damp place') have been independently formed even in other dialects.

## 5. Etymological background of the most frequent toponymic terms in Finnic

The examples referred to above demonstrate once more that toponymic borrowing, and along with it terms frequent in the toponymy, is typical of linguistic substrata. This suggests that studying the elements common in the toponymy of a certain language, or group of languages, can be a useful method for seeking traces of substratum languages even in cases in which substratum interference is considered uncertain. In the following the most common elements in the toponymy of the Finnic and Saami languages are scrutinized from this point of view.

The most frequently occurring elements in Finnish toponymy are well known thanks to the thorough typological studies conducted on Finnish toponymy by Eero Kiviniemi. Studies of other Finnic languages, notably Mullonen (1994: 26–28) on Veps and Kallasmaa (2000: 117) on Estonian, confirm that the lexical typology of Finnic toponyms is relatively uniform throughout the whole of the Finnic language area.

According to Kiviniemi (1975; 1990), a typical Finnish place name is a compound consisting of two elements, a generic part (Fi. *perusosa*) and a specific part (Fi. *määriteosa*). The former is usually a geographical term which

the latter specifies by describing the quality, location, owner or other attributes of the object. The generic term always forms the second part of a geographical compound, the specific the first, cf. *Valkealjärvi* 'white (SPEC) lake (GEN)'.

Kiviniemi (1990) has counted the most usual elements which occur in Finnish toponymy both as generic (such as *järvi* in *Valkeajärvi*) and specific (such as *Valkea* in *Valkeajärvi*). The following list includes the twenty most common generic terms along with their etymologies. The etymological entries do not cite any source directly, but were compiled by me on the basis of etymological literature. The standard etymological dictionaries (SSA, SKES, UEW, LÄGLOS) are always referred to, if they mention the word in question.

1. *-lA* suffix attached to names of dwellings < PU **-lA* (derivative suffix)

2. *pelto* 'field' < Proto-Germanic **felþō* 'field' (SSA, SKES)

3. *mäki* 'hill' (< Proto-Finnic [PF] **mäki*) | Origin unclear. SSA and UEW (p. 266) compare *mäki* with Eastern Khanty *müg, mig, miw* 'hump, hummock' (< ? PU **mäki*) with reference to Rédei. The comparison is, however, phonologically irregular (Ante Aikio): the PU first syllable **ä* corresponds to *e* and *ö* in Eastern Khanty, *ö* being the correspondence before a velar, cf. Finnish *väki* 'people; power' ~ Eastern Khanty *wög* 'power' (< PU **wäki*; see Sammallahti 1988: 507 for vowel correspondences between Finnic and Ugric). LÄGLOS refers to Koivulehto (1976) who has compared the word with Proto-German **mēkijā-z* 'sword'. In a cited article, Koivulehto refers to a semantic parallel with the English *edge*, which means both 'blade of a sword' and 'rim of hill'. Koivulehto has later distanced himself from this etymology in another connection (1981, republished in 1999a: 223). Even comparisons with Komi *meg* 'river bend' and Selkup *maka* 'grassy hummock' by Setälä (see UEW for references) are rejectable on phonological grounds.

4. *niemi* 'cape, peninsula' (< PF **neemi*) | Origin unclear (SSA, SKES).

5. *suo* 'swamp' (< PF **soo*) | Origin unclear. A *Gleichsetzung* with Komi and Udmurt *ty* 'lake' ~ Southern Mansi *too* id. ~ Eastern Khanty *tŏg* ~ Southern Khanty *tĕw* ~ Northern Khanty *tuw* 'small lake' ~ Hungarian *tó* ~ Tundra Nenets *to* (< PU **toɣi* 'lake') is suggested in SSA with a question-mark and a reference to Janhunen (1981). It is irregular because of the initial *s* instead of **t*. However, avoidance of the homonymy with the demonstrative **too* (> Finnish *tuo*) could, in principle, explain this irregularity. In addition, there is a semantic difference between the Finnic and eastern Uralic words; this, however, could be explained by assuming that in the western branches of Uralic a new loanword *järvi* (< **jävrä*) replaced this Uralic word. The Baltic etymology proposed by Kari Liukkonen from a participle form < Baltic **stōje* 'standing' (Liukkonen 1999: 131–133) is probably rejectable because borrow-

ing of nouns from participle forms has not occurred in Finnic; see Koivulehto's criticism of Liukkonen in Koivulehto (2000: 57–58). Also, comparisons in the older etymological literature with the Saami **sōńɔ̄* (> NS *suodnu*) 'flat wet bog with sedge growing in it' is rejectable (**ń* in the middle of the word does not disappear in Finnic).

6. *saari* 'island' (< PF **saari*) | Origin unclear (SSA, SKES).

7. *lampi* 'pond' (< PF **lampi*) | ~ PS **lōmpę-l* (> NS *luoppal*) < Pre-Finnic **lampi*. Further origin unclear. In SKES the word is compared with a questionmark with the Mari *lap*, *lop* 'woody valley' and Hungarian *láp* 'bog', but these comparisons are phonologically irregular; both lack the regular correspondence of the Finnic *-mp-* (in Hungarian *-b*, in Mari *-mb-*). Even semantically the comparisons are not straightforward. Thus they are rightly rejected by SSA. Comparisons with a questionmark in SSA and UEW with Nenets *limpød°* and Selkup *lympä* 'bog' are also phonetically irregular (Proto-Samoyed **l* instead of the regular **j*; even the meanings are different). A Baltic etymology proposed by Kari Liukkonen 1999 (< Baltic **klampē* 'swampy') is also rejectable because of the lack of a solid lexical parallel with the meaning 'pond' in the Baltic (the form *klampē* is a derivative attested only in few place names).

8. *lahti* (< PF **laksi*) 'bay' | ~ PS **lōktę* (> NS *luokti*) < Pre-Finnic **lakti* < ? Baltic, cf. Lithunian *lañktis*, Latvian *lanktis* 'curve, bend, handle, bail, yarn spinner' (< *leñkti* 'to bend', SSA). This etymology (proposed by Posti 1977) which is cited without a questionmark in SSA is phonologically acceptable, and there are many parallels for the development 'curve, bend' > 'bay', but there are no traces of either the meaning 'curve' for Finnic *lahti*, nor of the meaning 'bay' for Lithuanian *lañktis* or Latvian *lanktis*. Moreover, Latvian *līcis* 'bay' has developed from the same Baltic verbal stem.Thus, we should assume that there were two Baltic words from the same verbal root with the same meaning and that the other one has disappeared without any traces in Baltic, while having survived in Finnic. Thus, in my opinion, Posti's etymology is, while certainly possible, somewhat uncertain. Uralic comparisons (SKES and UEW) with Khanty *lŏk* (Vas'yugan) 'bay', etc., Mansi *look* (Middle Konda) 'long and narrow bay', etc., are phonologically rejectable (both because of the vowel and consonants, see Sammallahti 1988 for correct correspondences).

9. *niitty* 'meadow' < derivative of *niittää* 'cut the hay' < Proto-Germanic **snīþa-* 'to cut' (SSA, LÄGLOS referring to Koivulehto).

10. *vainio* 'field' < Proto-Scandinavian **xwainiō* 'place in which long hay grows' (SSA, SKES).

11. *talo* 'house' < derivative of *talas* 'raised hide, stand, boathouse' < Proto-Indo-Iranian **tala-s* 'base; foundation' (SSA, SKES). SSA also proposes a borrowing from Proto-Germanic **stalla-z* 'stand, etc.' with a questionmark. This, however, is less likely because of the *-ll-* in the middle of the word. Comparisons with Permian words meaning 'stand' (in SKES with a questionmark), etc., are phonologically irregular.

12. *kangas* (*kankare*) 'heath' (< PF **kangas*, **kangar*) probably < Proto-Germ. **ganga-z*, Proto-Scandinavian **gangaR* 'plank, pathway, passage' (LÄGLOS with reference to Koivulehto). An etymology by Koivulehto (first proposed in 1984) is based on the observation that *kangas* is dry woods that can be used as a pathway through otherwise impassable territory. In this case the Finnic variant *kankare*, etc. would be a parallel borrowing. This etymology is phonologically well-founded and explains the variation in the Finnish word. Semantically it is not unproblematic, but quite possible. The comparison with a questionmark in SSA and UEW with the Mari *kanga* 'lean; dry' is phonologically irregular (Finnic and Mari typically have a first syllable vowel correspondence *a* ~ *o*) and even semantically problematic, so it should be rejected. SKES and UEW (p. 126) also compare the word with Pelymka Mansi *koŋkə* 'woody land between two rivers'. This comparison is also irregular.

13. *haka* 'pasture' < Swedish *hage* id. (SSA, SKES). LÄGLOS also refers to Hofstra, who has proposed that the word could be an older Germanic loan.

14. *aho* 'clearing, meadow' (< PF **aho* < ? Pre-Finnic **ašo*) | Origin unclear. In LÄGLOS the word is compared with the Germanic stem **as-* 'burn, glow' (> English *ash*, etc.). This etymology was first put forward by Nikkilä (1988) but he himself admitted that no appropriate loan original could be found. Therefore, this comparison is unsufficiently founded for the time being, but may well be correct in principle. SKES compares the word with the Komi *ež*, *eža*, *iža* and Udmurt *ožo*, *odžo* 'grass; meadow' (< Proto-Permian **ẹza*, KESK 331). As SSA rightly puts it, this comparison is rejectable because of the first syllable front vowel in the Proto-Permian word-stem. On the other hand, Komi *adž* 'flood meadow', which has been connected with Udmurt *aź* 'open place' (< Proto-Permian **ačo* 'meadow'; KESK 30), could be a Finnic or other Western Uralic borrowing from this word stem (a new etymological suggestion).

15. *ranta* 'shore' (< PF **ranta*) < Proto-German or Proto-Scandinavian **strandа* 'shore' (SSA, SKES).

16. *oja* 'ditch' (< PF **oja*) | ~ Skolt Saami *vuå´jj* Kld T (SSA) or ~ North Saami dialectal *oadji* (< Pre-Finnic **oja* or **woja*). Further origin unclear.

Both the eastern and the North Saami word can phonologically be either inherited or borrowings from Finnic. The elements **oja* and **woja* can be found in toponymy in a territory covering most of the Dvina basin and parts of the Komi and Udmurt Republics (Matveev 2001; Turkin 1989; Atamanov 1988). Knut Bergsland (1967) has proposed that *oja* could be a borrowing from Germanic **aujō* 'something by the water' (< Pre-Germanic **agwijō* < IE **akwa* 'water'). However, the Germanic sequence *auj* has been substitud as *-aiv-* in Finnic (cf. **flauja* > *laiva*, **straujan* > *raivata*; Koivulehto 1973, republished in 1999a: 100–113). Therefore, Bergsland's etymology cannot be correct.

17. *järvi* 'lake' (< PF **järvi*) ~ PS **jāvrē* (> NS *jávri* 'lake') ~ Erzya *eŕke* ~ Moksha *jäŕkä* 'lake' ~ Meadow Mari *jär* ~ Hill Mari *jer* (SSA, SKES, UEW 633). According to SSA and SKES its further origin is unclear. A Baltic origin for the word is suggested by Nuutinen (1989) who compares it with the Latvian *jūra* 'sea' and the Lithuanian *jáura* 'swampy' etc. < PIE **au̯er.* This etymology, however, appears problematic because in the Finno-Ugrian substratum toponymy of northern and central Russia the word-stem has been fixed as *jagr-* and *jahr-* (Matveev 2002). Also the Russian dialectal (Belozero and neighbouring territories) *jágrovica* 'pond in a swamp' (Subbotina 1988: 22), a likely substratum borrowing, seems to derive from substratum language **jäkrä* 'lake'. If these words are connected with the Finnic *järvi* and its cognates the Baltic loan etymology should probably be reappraised. It may well be, however, that the Russian toponyms and the dialectal word derive from another source.

18. *kallio* 'rock' (< PF *kall(i)jo*) < Proto-Germ. **xallʲjōn-* 'flat stone or rock' (SSA, SKES, LÄGLOS).

19. *korpi* 'dense forest, wilderness' (< PF **korpi*) | Origin unclear. Comparisons in SKES with Mansi and Samoyed words are to be rejected because of their irregular sound correspondences. A connection with Lule Saami *kuor'pa* 'burnt land' (the word also occurs in Skolt Saami, cf. SSA I: 408) might be suggested (< PU **korpi-* 'to blaze, to scorch'; cf. Aikio 2002: 15–16; also the comparison with the Saami word was first proposed by Ante Aikio). A semantic development 'burnt-over clearing' > 'woods' would be natural (see chapter 3 above). However, the Finnish *korpi* is not young woods grown on newly burnt land, but means expressly dense old forest. The comparison is therefore highly uncertain.

20. *maa* land (< PF **maa*) | ~ Mari *mü-* (in *müj-ˌ*: *münö* 'on the ground') ~ Komi and Udmurt *mu* id. ~ Southern, Eastern and Western Mansi *mëë* ~ Northern Mansi *maa* ~ Eastern Khanty *mĕg*, etc. id. < PU **mïγi* 'land'. SSA and UEW (263–264) also erroneously compare this word with Nganasan *mëu* < Proto-Samoyed **mə̑jå* (SW 85) < **muδ'a* (Ante Aikio).

Although the words mentioned above denote basic objects of nature, there is little Uralic vocabulary in the list. Only *järvi* and *maa* have straightforward parallels in Uralic languages other than Saami, though probably also *korpi* and *suo* can be related to Uralic cognates. Also, good etymologies from Indo-European sources are not too common in the list. It is only natural that words denoting objects related to agriculture (*pelto*, *niitty*, *vainio*) as well as dwellings (*talo*) are of Indo-European origin, mostly Germanic, but among those words denoting objects of nature there are only a few loanwords (*ranta*, *kallio*, *kangas*, *järvi*, *?aho*).

Thus, in the top 20 Finnish toponymic terms there are remarkably many words of unclear origin, or with unsufficiently established etymologies. The origin of basic Finnic toponymic terms such as *mäki*, *saari*, *niemi*, *lampi* and *oja* can be characterized as unclear. Also the etymological background of *suo*, *aho* and *korpi* is not clear although conceivable etymological explanations have been suggested. *Lampi* has a regular counterpart in Saami, but otherwise its origin is unclear. *Lahti* also has a counterpart in Saami and for it a feasible, though not unproblematic, loan etymology has been suggested. Thus, approximately half of the top 20 generic terms of Finnish toponymy can be considered more or less fuzzy from the etymological point of view. If one omits words related to agriculture, the proportion of etymologically fuzzy vocabulary is even more remarkable, roughly two thirds of the vocabulary dealt with above.

Even outside the top 20 list of Finnic generic terms, one can easily find Finnic toponymic terms for which no trustworthy etymologies have so far been proposed, for example, Finnish *allikko* 'puddle, pool' (~ Estonian *allikas* 'spring'), *hete* 'spring; well', *huippu* 'top', *kemi* 'grassy shore', *kunnas* 'hill', *laakso* 'valley', *lemi* 'wet moor', *lieto* ~ *liete* ~ *lieju* 'mud, sludge', *loppi* 'end' (in Estonian also: 'gulf; bay'), *lotma* 'dip; dell', *puro* 'brook', *rimpi* 'a sort of swamp', *räme* 'morass', *seutu* 'area', *vana* 'narrow waterway', etc. Allthough some of these words (*huippu*, *puro*, *räme*) are described as 'onomatopoietic' or 'descriptive' in SSA, this is hardly reliable. Some other words have been dealt with in the etymological literature, but the explanations provided should, in my opinion, be considered rejectable or exceedingly uncertain at their best.

## 6. The etymological background of the most common toponymic terms in Inari Saami

The toponymy of the Saami languages differs structurally from that of Finnic in several ways. Nevertheless, the main syntactic structural type of a Saami topo-

nym is similar to Finnic in that it consists of a generic part and a specific part though the latter often consists of more than one word (cf. Saarikivi 2004: 182–184).

The following list shows the most frequent Inari Saami generic terms in a similar fashion to the list above. It is based on data collected by Ilmari Mattus and published by Samuli Aikio (2003). Allthough Inari Saami is nowadays a peripheral Saami language, there is a reason to believe that the toponymy of Inari Saami well represents the old Saami toponymic system due to the conservative way of the life of these Saami people, who have never adopted nomadic reindeer herding. For natural reasons, though, the Inari Saami toponymy reflects the geographical characteristics of the Inari region. Therefore, the hydronyms, especially the topographic words connected with lakes, are much more common than in the Finnish data and, presumably, would be in Saami data from another region.

At present there is no Saami etymological dictionary which could be used as a basic source on Saami etymology. In addition to the aforementioned dictionaries, the short etymological word list by Sammallahti (1998) has been referred to as basic material:

1. *jävri* 'lake' (< PS **jāvrē* > NS *jávri*) | ~ Finnish → *järvi* (in the Finnish list) with other Uralic parallels.

2. *suálui* 'island' (< PS **sōlōj* > NS *suolu*) | ~ PF **salo* (> Finnish *salo*) < Finno-Saami **saloj* (< ***salaw*) < Baltic, cf. Latvian *sala* 'hump on a marsh', Lithunian *salà* 'island' (SSA, SKES). This Baltic word has no unambiguos Indo-European parallels (Fraenkel 1962: 758) and it has been suggested that the borrowing could have taken place other way round (both SKES and SSA consider this a less likely alternative).

3. *njargâ* 'cape' (< PS **ńārkę* > NS *njárga*) | Origin unclear.

4. *jáávráš* 'small lake' | Derivative of → 1. *jävri.*

5. *vääri* 'hill' (< PS **vārē* > NS *várri*) | Origin unclear. A *Gleichsetzung* with Southern Mansi *or* ~ Eastern Mansi *wor* ~ Western Mansi *wur* ~ Northern Mansi *ur* 'ridge' ~ Eastern Khanty *wor* ~ Southern Khanty *ür* ~ Northern Khanty *wur* ~ *wŭr* id.(SSA III: 386) < PU **wa̮ra* (Sammallahti 1988: 551, 1998: 265–266) is irregular and based on the assumption that first syllable **a* did not undergo the vowel change **a* > *uo* in this Saami word, and it should therefore be regarded as highly uncertain. Finnish *vaara* 'hill' is a loan from Saami on the basis of both phonology and dialect distribution (so also SSA).

6. *luohtâ* 'bay' (< PS **lōktę* > NS *luohti*) | ~ Finnish → *lahti* (in the Finnish list).

7. *vuonaš* 'small and narrow bay' | derivative of the PS **vōnę* 'fjord, narrow bay' (> NS *vuotna*). Origin of this word is unclear.

8. *juuhâ* 'river' (< PS **jokę* > NS *johka*) | ~ PF **joki* (> Finnish *joki*) ~ Moksha *Jov* river name ~ Mari *jogə̑-* (in compound *jogə̑n-wüt* 'current of water', etc.) ~ Udmurt *ju-šur* 'river' ~ Komi *ju* id. ~ Southern and Western Mansi *jee* ~ Eastern Mansi *jëë* ~ Northern Mansi *jaa* id. ~ Eastern Khanty *jɨgɨ* ~ Southern Khanty *jexə* ~ Northern Khanty *jĭxĭ* 'small river' ~ Hungarian *-jó* 'river' (in place names and old language) ~ Tundra Nenets *yøxa* id. ~ Enets *joxa* id. ~ Selkup *čaqy* id. ~ Kamas *ťaga* id. ~ Mator *čaga* id. (SSA, SKES; UEW 99–100) < PU **juka* 'river' (Sammallahti 1988: 537; 1998: 250). There are some minor irregularities in the *Gleichsetzungen*, but all in all the affinity of the Uralic words meaning 'river' is clear.

9. *luobâl* 'small lake by a riverrun' (< PS **lōmpɐ̨l* > NS *luoppal*) | derivative of the Pre-Finnic **lampi* 'pond' see → *lampi* (in the Finnish list).

10. *uáivi* 'hill' (< **ɔ̄jvē* 'head' > NS *oaivi*) | ~ PF **oiva* (> Finnish *oiva*) 'decent, splendid' (> Finnish *oiva*) ~ Mari *wuj* 'head' ~ Tundra Nenets *ngæwa* 'head' etc. (SSA; UEW 336; Sammallahti 1998: 258) < PU **ojwa* 'head'.

11. *juuvaš* 'brook' derivative of → 8. *juuha.*

12. *jeggi* 'marsh' (< PS **jēŋkē* > NS *jeaggi*) < PU **jäŋkä* (> Komi *jeg-ir* 'marsh' | ~ Southern Mansi *jooŋk* 'treeless bog' ~ Western Mansi *jaŋkəlmə* 'bog' ~ Northern Mansi *jaaŋk* id. ~ Eastern Khanty *jäŋk* ~ Southern and Northern Khanty *jeŋk* 'treeless or waterless place in a bog'. The Finnish and Karelian dialectal *jänkä* and Russian dialectal *jánga* (Kargopol and neighbouring Archangel dialect districts) are borrowings from Saami (SSA I: 257; UEW 93).

13. *váárááš* 'hill' | derivative of → 5. *vääri.*

14. *vyeppee* 'fjord' (< PS **vōpējē* > NS *vuohppi* | ~ PF **apaja* 'catch; bay of a river' (> Finnish *apaja*) < Proto-Germanic **aƀjōn* 'bay of a river' (SSA with a questionmark, LÄGLOS). A Finnish dialectal *vuopaja* 'fjord' is a borrowing from Saami (SSA).

15. *keđgi* 'rock, stone' (< PS **kēdkē* > NS *geađgi*) | Origin unclear (Sammallahti 1998: 243).

16. *čielgi* 'ridge' (< PS **ćēlkē* > NS *čielgi*) | ~ PF (*selkä*) > Finnish *selkä* 'back' ~ Meadow Mari *šiľe* ~ Hill Mari *šə̑lə̑ž* 'sacrum' (SSA) < Proto-Finno-Permian **śelkä* 'back' (UEW 772).

17. *ruávi* 'burnt-over clearing' (< PS **rōvē* > NS *roavvi* | Origin unclear. The Finnish dialectal *rova* 'old burnt clearing, forested ridge' is a borrowing from Saami.

18. *cuálmi* 'strait' (< PS **ćālmē* > NS *čoalbmi*) | ~ PF **salmi* : *salme-* 'strait' (> Finnish *salmi*) < *FS *śolma* (or **ćolma*) 'strait'. This may well be a derivative of PU **śola* 'gut' (Nikkilä 1998: 92; Koivulehto 2000: 69).

19. *uáivuš* 'head of the rapids' | derivative of → 10. *uáivi*.

20. *kuoškâ* 'rapids' (< PS **kōškę* > NS *guoihka*) | ~ PF **koski* 'rapids' (> Finnish *koski*) ~ Mordvin *kośke* 'dry' ~ Mari *kaškə̑* 'rapids' ~ Komi *koś* 'rapids; dry' ~ Udmurt *kwaś* 'dry' ~ Tundra Nenets *xas*° 'ebb' : *xasø-* 'dry' etc. (Sammallahti 1988: 544) < PU **kośki-* 'dry' (cf. SSA I: 409, UEW 674).

Compared with the Finnic data, the Saami material contains more words which can be related to Uralic parallels. This, however, is partly due to derivatives (*jáávráš, váárááš, uáivuš*) which are commonplace in Saami toponymy. Thus, the same Uralic word-stems occur more than once in the list. Otherwise six words (*jävri* 'lake', *juuhâ* 'river', *kuoškâ* 'rapids', *čielgi* 'hill', *jeggi* 'bog', and *uáivi* 'hill') have straightforward Uralic cognates in languages other than Finnic. In addition, four words (*suálui* 'island', *luohtâ* 'bay', *luobâl* 'river lake', and *vyeppee* 'fjord') have parallels in Finnic. Of these two (*suálui, vyeppee*) are well-known borrowings. In addition, *luohtâ* may be a Baltic borrowing (see section 4 above). The Inari Saami words *njargâ* 'cape', *vääri* 'hill', *vuonaš* 'small and narrow bay' (< **vōnę*), and *keđgi* 'stone' can be traced back to Proto-Saami, but beyond that their origin is unclear (though *vääri* probably has cognates in Ob-Ugrian).

In addition to these, one can easily find more etymologically opaque toponymic vocabulary from Saami outside the top 20 list, cf. Common Saami **jerne* 'open water' (> NS *jargna*), **jōvę* 'rockbound' (> NS *juovva*), **kārē* 'woods in a swamp' (not in NS), **lusmē* 'top of a rapid' (> NS *lusmi*), **pāktē* 'rock' (> NS *bákti*), **pokē* 'narrow place in a river' (> NS *bokki*), **porē* 'highlands' (> NS *borri*), **ńōrę* 'reef' (> NS *njuorra*), **sōńō* 'moor' (> NS *suotnju*), **vēlmē* 'waterway, channel' (> NS *fielbmá*), **vēntęr* 'hill; slope' (not in NS), **vōvtē* 'woods' (> NS *vuovdi*).

There are also words denoting geographical features which are common to both Finnic and Saami, but otherwise without plausible etymology. These include, in addition to the already mentioned Finnish *lampi* ~ **lōmpęl* > NS *luoppal* 'pond' (and *lahti* ~ **lōktę* > NS *luokta* 'bay' which probably is a Baltic borrowing), at least *jyrä(mä)* 'ravine' ~ NS *jarin, orko* ~ South Saami *oårgaa* (PU) 'low-lying land', *mutka* ~ ? PS **mokkē* (> NS *mohkki*; note that the Finnic word with *-tk-*, Saami with *-kk-*) 'bend', and *neva* 'open bog; spring; rapids etc.' ~ **ńęvē* (> NS *njavvi*).

## 7. Discussion

The large amount of etymologically obscure vocabulary used in Finnic and Saami toponyms, together with the demonstrated fact of easy borrowing of geographical terms in the substratum interference situation, makes the idea of the existence of a Palaeo-European substratum vocabulary in Finnic and Saami more plausible than hitherto considered.

Geographical terms seem to be conservative regarding regions. They are often used in a specific area, and contain information about the environment. Even in a language shift situation they often are borrowed or maintained. Therefore, geographical terms may represent the residue of a substratum language in a concrete linguistic area and are prone to change in the dialects arising in an expanding linguistic community.

The geographical characteristics of the areas in which the Finnic and Saami languages are spoken differ considerably from central Russia, the presumed original home of the Uralic languages. For example, the concepts of 'island', 'cape', 'lake' and 'rock' should have been much more peripheral for the aboriginal peoples of this area than for those of Fennoscandia. Even today some of these concepts are expressed by new Russian loanwords in the Uralic languages spoken in central Russia (cf. Mari *otro*, *ostrov* 'island', *pelotro*, *poluostrov* 'cape'). Thus there are grounds for suggesting that vocabulary related to these kinds of objects was borrowed from the aboriginal inhabitants of Fennoscandia as the Uralic language area expanded.

If one assumes that borrowing from extinct languages has taken place, it is quite unlikely to have been restricted solely to geographical terms. One may notice that the bulk of the vocabulary that Ariste wanted to interpret as loans from extinct languages has remained a riddle for etymological studies up to this day. The amount of etymologically opaque words common to both Finnic and Saami is approximately 200; Sammallahti (1999: 74) gives a figure of 220. The number of the common Finnic word-stems without a plausible etymology is probably around 150 (Häkkinen 1997: 216–222). The fact that there are at least 300 common Saami word-stems without a plausible etymology has been commented on in even earlier studies. In addition, etymologically obscure words are to be found in individual Finnic and Saami languages.

Quite naturally, these figures are not absolute. It is clear that there are Uralic *Gleichsetzungen* and Indo-European loanwords to be found in the etymologically obscure vocabulary of Finnic and Saami. It is also clear that suggesting that any word is a borrowing from an extinct language is a much weaker explanation than providing evidence for a good etymology. This is

especially so when there are no phonotactic properties that could be assigned to substratum words only, as it seems to be case in Finnic (see below). Nevertheless, it seems implausible that all of the etymologically obscure words in the western branches of Uralic could be interpreted solely on the basis of present-day language families. It is also clear that only a small group of these words could be onomatopoietic. Such words can hardly have come into existence by *Urschöpfung*, and the frequently used explanations (for example in SSA) that several words are of a "descriptive" origin also miss the point. Descriptiviness is rather a characterization of the semantic properties of a word, not an explanation for its origin or of its etymology (cf. Mikone 2002).

If Palaeo-European substratum languages were spoken in the Baltic Sea area, it is quite possible that not only Uralic but also neighbouring Indo-European languages have borrowed words from these. For example, the Finno-Saami **saloj* 'island' together with its Baltic loan original could be a word borrowed into both Finno-Ugrian and Baltic from a third, extinct source. Parallel borrowing from extinct sources could also explain irregular relations of such close word pairs such as *mutka* ~ PS **mokkē* 'bend' (> NS *mohki*), *neva* 'open bog' ~ PS **ńęvē* (> NS *njávvi* 'spring, rapids, etc.'), *taimen* ~ NS *dápmot* 'trout', and probably even *vana* 'narrow waterway' ~ PS **vōnę* 'fjord' (> NS *vuotna*, see above the Inari Saami list).

Much of the vocabulary reviewed above belongs to old *e*- and *a*-stem types and does not include phoneme combinations which should be characterized as secondary in the Uralic languages (cf. Finnic *saari* 'island', *niemi* 'cape', *oja* 'brook', *mäki* 'hill', Saami **kēdkē* 'stone', **rōvē* 'burnt-over clearing', **vōvtē* 'forest', etc.). Thus, from the phonotactic point of view it could be reconstructed in Proto-Uralic. If the words in question are loans, they could be (but are not necessarily) very old. They could have been (but not necessarily were) adopted into Finnic and Saami prior to the Indo-Iranian and Baltic borrowings, something which seems to have brought about the acquisition of new phonotactic structure types in western Uralic. Some suggested substratum words are younger, though. For example, such etymologically obscure words as the Finnic *ilves* 'lynx', *jänis* 'hare', Saami **ńārkę* 'cape', **ńāllę* 'Arctic fox', etc. show phonotactic structures that cannot derive from Proto-Uralic.. They represent features such as word final *-s* and lack of vowel harmony, which were nonexistent in Proto-Uralic. Therefore, these words are probably not older than the Baltic and some old Germanic loanwords in Finnic and they could be even younger.

On the basis of their distribution in Finnic and Saami it is possible to suggest the existence of several layers of borrowings from Palaeo-European

sources. There are, in the first place, etymologically obscure word-stems common to both Finnic and Saami. In addition, there are etymologically obscure words which are only found either in the Finnic or Saami languages. Thus, one can propose the existence of at least three different sources of lexical innovations, influencing either both Finnic and Saami (or the Finno-Saami protolanguage) or only Proto-Finnic or Proto-Saami. It is also possible to assume only two sources of borrowing, if one proposes parallel borrowing or suggests that there are different chronological layers of borrowings in either the Saami or Finnic languages. In this case the borrowings from a later layer would have partly replaced borrowings from an older one. According to Aikio (2004), there are also post-Proto-Saami substratum loans in the Saami languages. Palaeo-European interferences in the western branches of Uralic are thus likely to represent several different layers, but their exact stratification is hardly possible.

The hypothesis that there is an appellative substratum vocabulary borrowed from the extinct languages into Finnic and Saami strongly implies that there are also place names borrowed from such languages. Without going into detail it seems to me that this is indeed the case. Although the hydronyms in Finland and its neighbouring areas have been little studied from the etymological point of view, any cursory glance at the map of Finland reveals that there are hundreds of fuzzy names which cannot be easily explained on the basis of either Finnic, Saami, or Swedish, or of Uralic or Indo-European reconstructions. Though some of these most certainly are Finnic, Saami or borrowed from some Indo-European source, it is not reasonable to suggest that all of them would be explicable solely on the basis of these language groups. It seems symptomatic that certain types of hydronyms, such as those with *-nkV* and *-nTe* endings include many names of disputed origin; also Kiviniemi (1984: 343) has pointed out this fact with regard to *nkV*-names. A recent study on the Finnish toponyms ending in *-nkV* by Räisänen (2003) demonstrates that, though of various origins, not all of these toponyms can be easily explained on the basis of attested languages and their predecessors. This is also the case in northern Russia, where similar hydronymic types (with endings *-nga*, *-nda*) can be found.

Also in the area in which the Saami languages are spoken there are many toponyms which are etymologically absolutely unintelligible and even phonotactically peculiar. Aikio (2004) has presented abundant data on both toponyms and geographical terms of likely substratum origin. Saami toponymic borrowings seem to be surprisingly recent on phonotactic grounds, and are most likely adopted only after the break-up of Proto-Saami.

There are probably some traces of relatively recent substratum interferences from unidentifiable sources in inner Finland as well. It is interesting to notice

that there are very few examples of place names with *e*-stems in Finland (Sammallahti 1984: 143–144). If Finnic settlement in Finland is as old as, for example, the Indo-Iranian loanwords, one would expect to find etymologically obscure toponyms borrowed as *e*-stems, as there are many Indo-Iranian loanwords with an *e*-stem (Koivulehto 1999b: 214–218). Thus there seems to be grounds for suggesting that in the area in which they are at present spoken Finnic and Saami are not as old as has been usually been assumed in recent decades. The distribution of most of the Finnic toponymic terms in the Russian substratum place names of the Archangel and Vologda regions also points to the possibility that not all of these words have necessarily been borrowed into the Finnic languages in present-day Finland and the neighbouring areas. Thus, on the basis of the study of toponymic vocabulary, I sympathize the views presented by Ante and Aslak Aikio (2001) that the theory of a Uralic settlement continuity in the area of present Finland from the Neolithic era to the Modern Ages may require re-evaluation.

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# Commentaries concerning article 5

In this article an effort has been made to implement methods developed for the study of Finno-Ugrian substrate in northern Russian dialects in another context, namely, the study of Finnic and Sámi languages. The central ideas of the article were first presented in a lecture delivered to the Finno-Ugrian Society on 16.10. 2001. These ideas were first published in another form (Saarikivi 2001), but nowadays I consider this publication wholly outdated because of the naive etymological analysis it contains. I also have some doubts about the arguments presented in this article because of the scarce lexical material it contains, but as I believe that the methodology outlined in the article may be useful, I have decided to republish it here.

The attempt to prove that there is Palaeo-European substrate interference in Finnic is only preliminary and more research in this field will be needed. In the case of Sámi, I consider the Palaeo-European substrate interference to have been proven by Aikio (2004).

On pages 193–194 a question of theoretical importance is treated, viz. the idea that some loanwords which occur in an area with a linguistic substrate could have been adopted first as toponyms and only later appellativised to become nouns. This kind of process does really seem to occur as there are some appellatives in most languages which originate from proper nouns (cf. English *champagne, academy, casanova, cognac*, etc.). It is also a widely known phenomenon that especially lexically transparent toponyms tend to turn into appellatives in certain contexts (cf. Kiviniemi 1990, who refers to this phenomenon as *kotipelto-ongelma,* "*own field*-problem", as *Kotipelto* 'own field', lit. 'home/field' is a common Finnish toponym which tends to turn into an appellative). The scope and range of this phenomenon have probably never been studied in detail. It is even less clear how typical the borrowing of toponymic word elements as suffixes is. For example, the Turku archipelago place names *Borgarlot, Skorvlot, Grytlot* referred to on page 193 with the second component *–lot* 'rocky islet' which are interpreted as place names formed according to a borrowed Finnish model in Swedish could equally well include a Finnish loanword that would have disappeared in the dialects.

It is not possible in detail to solve the question concerning the role of toponymy in the emergence of dialectal geographical appellatives in this connection. The fact that both are usually preserved through language shift holds, however.

On pages 195–197 some etymologies for Russian dialectal vocabulary are presented. It is found that the words in question originate from substrate languages which have been close to the present Finnic languages, although not identical to them. Since those criteria which suggest that a borrowing has occurred from an extinct substrate language have not been presented elsewhere in the articles in this volume in a unified way, I present them here:

1) Borrowings from extinct language forms may point to a slightly different phonological shape in the source language word than is present in the modern languages. These words may have retentions which can resemble linguistic reconstructions, or they may include derivational suffixes which can be recognised on the basis of living languages or linguistic reconstructions, but which do not combine with a similar stem in the present-day languages.
2) Borrowings from extinct languages often have a punctual area of distribution in the dialects or a distributional area that consists of several areas which are not geographically related. In some cases, the same word may be proven to have been borrowed twice, once from the living language and in another context from a substrate language.
3) Borrowings from extinct languages often refer to local concepts which are actual only in a specific geographical area.
4) In an area where the presumed borrowing from an extinct language form has taken place, there should also be substrate toponyms from the same type of substrate language because toponyms are the lexemes most salient for borrowing in a substrate situation.
5) Lexemes which are fixed in a substrate toponymy are especially likely candidates for borrowings from extinct languages.

In connection with the individual etymologies, the following remarks can be made.

In addition to the Finnic **alho,* the word *волгас* could also be compared to the Finnic *olhava,* a toponymic element used of low-lying land. In MSFZRS (92–93), *волгас* has been explained as a Sámi borrowing (cf. SaN *vuolli* 'place under or below' [spatial noun], *vuollegaš* 'low'). In my opinion, the geographical distribution of this word is an argument against this suggestion. The word occurs only to the east of the Arkhangelsk Region and, as noted in article 4, there are no clear cases of toponyms with the Sámi sound shift *a* > *uo* in this area.

In MSFZRS (87) *виска* has yet again been explained as a Komi borrowing. This does not seem probable in the light of criterium 4 above, i.e. the word *виска* occurs in toponyms in an area in which the prevailing substrate type is not Permian, but Finnic. Moreover, the Permian etymology of the word (a comparison with the Udmurt *vis* 'distance, interval', KESKJ 58) is somewhat dubious. The Finnic word I have proposed as a loan original is also not common in the modern language, but it is semantically close to the meanings of the northern Russian *виска.* Moreover, a borrowing from Finnic would better fit the linguistic context of the word.

One should also note the very similar semantics of the toponymic stem **viks-* that is attested in the area historically settled by the Veps (Mullonen

2002: 290–292). If these toponyms originated in a word that had been present also in the Finnic idioms of Dvina basin, the Permian word could be considered a borrowing (*-ks-* > *-sk-* is a regular change in Permian). These words could even be cognates if they originated in **viiksi* (with long vowel in the first syllable [cf. Finnish *niini* ~ Komi *ńin* 'bast']).

I no longer believe that the word *мурга* would have some connection with the verb *murtaa* 'break'. The Finnish dialectal *muramaa* and *murakko* which have been mentioned in this connection have also likely nothing to do with the verb *murtaa* 'break'. If *мурга* is a Finnic borrowing, it may be connectable with these words.

The most evident deficiency of the article is that it treats only the geographical vocabulary. To make the argument for Paleo-European substrate interference in Finnic and Sámi more plausible, evidence from other fields of vocabulary and place names should be presented. In addition to geographical concepts, possible substrate words may be found in flora and fauna related vocabulary and probably to some extent even in vocabulary related to other domains.

As for the Sámi languages, I believe that after the publication of Aikio (2004) there should be no doubt that there are considerable lexical substrate interferences from extinct languages in Sámi. As for Finnic, I still find it probable that there are borrowings from extinct languages also in Finnic, although I do admit that the amount of such vocabulary is probably not very numerous. Moreover, the layer of Palaeo-European borrowings in Finnic was certainly borrowed earlier than the Palaeo-European substrate vocabulary of Sámi languages, on the basis of phonotactic criteria (cf. Kallio forthcoming). The most probable candidates for substrate words are lexemes such as *mäki* and *niemi* with a stable meaning and phonological shape, but without any etymology whatsoever.

There are clearly borrowings from extinct languages even in other branches of Uralic. In addition to Sámi, the most obvious case are the Samoyedic languages which seem to have at least two layers of substrate vocabulary, in a similar manner to the Sámi languages. One of these has been adopted into Proto-Samoyedic and is recognisable on the basis of a lack of Uralic cognates and loan etymology as well as the obscure sound structure and meanings related to the assumed speaking area of Proto-Samoyedic. In addition, there are layers of borrowings from unidentifiable sources in individual Samoyedic languages. There is also a possible layer of substrate vocabulary in the Ob-Ugrian languages.

In comparison with the Samoyedic, Sámi and Ob-Ugrian languages, the Finnic languages have substantially less possible substrate borrowings. This may be partly due to the fact that these languages have been studied more from the etymological point of view and, therefore, there are more well founded

etymologies from Indo-European languages for Finnic words than for Ob-Ugrian or Samoyedic words. This is probably not the whole explanation, however, because it is unlikely that central vocabulary layers would have been left unnoticed, even in the etymologically less studied Uralic languages. It is much more likely that the difference lies in the geographical areas in which these languages are spoken. While Ob-Ugrian, Samoyedic and the Sámi languages have spread to the northern peripheries, the Finnic languages have remained in the taiga zone and have, quite probably, spread to territories already occupied by Indo-European and Sámi languages.

Additional remarks to details.

p. 194 At present, I believe that the sound substitution **e* > *a* has been explained sufficiently well. It always occurs in stems in which *e* in the first syllable occurs before a second syllable back vowel (cf. 4.1 of article 2).

p. 195 Russian *орга* 'low woody place' and *ольга* id. are cited here as examples of Finnic borrowings related to geographical concepts. At the time I wrote this treatise I was guided by Kalima (1919) who considered the former word a borrowing from Finnic *orko* and the latter word a borrowing from Finnic *alho.* A recent consideration by Myznikov (2004: 70–71) has shown that, in fact, both words may be variants of the same lexeme which originates in Finnic *orko.* If this should prove to be correct, it would probably somewhat enhance the credibility of the Finnic etymology for *волгас* which, in the opinion of the author, may derive from a word related to Finnic *alho.*

p. 200 When I wrote the article I was not aware of the fact that Katz (1990: 28) had proposed a Germanic loan etymology for the Finnic *saari* (from **skarja* > Swedish *skär* 'island'). This suggestion is, however, quite probably incorrect because it presupposes the substitution *sk* > *s,* which is improbable in the absence of parallels (see criticism by Hofstra 1995: 71).

p. 200 I am now inclined to believe that the etymology proposed by Posti (1977) for the word *lahti* is correct.

# CONCLUDING REMARKS

The principal results of the articles of this study can be presented on two levels: results which are of importance to general linguistics and onomastics and results which are of importance to comparative Uralistics and the study of the history and prehistory of Russia.

## 1. Theoretical and methodological conclusions

### 1.1. Transfer of lexicon in language shift

It is stated in article 1 that the assumption of a special linguistic contact interference type, substrate interference, does not facilitate the analysis of Finno-Ugrian influence in northern Russian dialects. The effects of the assumed interference types (borrowing vs. substrate, such as these terms are defined by Thomason & Kaufman 1988) cannot be distinguished in historical time-depth, at least not in the area under study. It is likely that such a situation prevails also in many other language contact areas. Similar criticism may also be aimed at other assumed mechanisms of contact-induced change (cf. section 1.7 of the introduction). While these mechanisms may in some cases be distinguishable in the case of an ongoing language shift, their results in the historical time-depth are often so similar that such distinctions seem futile from the point of view of historical linguistics.

Neither does the assumption that language shift influences first and foremost the phonology and morphosyntax and to a lesser extent the lexicon hold in northern Russia. The origin of many phonological and morphosyntactic features in northern Russian dialects is disputed and their possible substrate origin hard to prove. This is due to the fact that linguistic pattern change, especially within morphosyntax, can rarely be described as a direct transfer of a source language feature onto the target language. Also, the effects of imperfect learning are typically hard to discern in the case of a particular feature and in historical time-depth. It seems that there is little room for generalisations in this field and more research will be needed to develop methods for identifying the substrate interferences within phonetics/phonology and morphosyntax. More case studies on contact-induced language change within these subsystems of language, with relevant background information on the social circumstances in which the change took place, are urgently needed.

In northern Russia the extent of lexical borrowing from Finnic has been significant, notwithstanding the fact that language shift has taken place. Especially is this true if substrate toponymy is taken into account – and it should be taken into account if a detailed picture of the substrate interferences is to be obtained.

The transfer of toponymy in a language shift situation is connected with the capacity of toponyms to refer to places without describing them. The transfer of toponymy probably always takes place in the case of language shift when the shifting language collective is of a substantial size. The fact that in northern Russia significant lexical borrowing of appellatives has also taken place is connected to several preconditions. Firstly, the language shift has not been rapid, but spread from one region to another over the centuries. Secondly, some appellative borrowings are like toponyms in that they are learned in connection with the concrete objects they denote. This is the case with the geographical vocabulary considered in articles 1, 2 and 5.

Northern Russia is both geographically and ecologically different from the areas in which East Slavic originated and from where it spread into this territory. As Slavic speakers came to this area they did not possess an adequate terminology to describe its characteristics. This seems to have been one of the factors that made substantial lexical borrowing of appellatives from substrate languages necessary. The fact that the substrate borrowings are often related to local concepts (cf. even materials on substrate vocabulary in Sámi by Aikio 2004) suggests that the ecological and geographical difference between the linguistic homeland and the expansion zone of a language seem to be among those factors which determine whether lexical borrowing from substrate languages takes place or not.

Although distinguishing between substrate and borrowing interference as linguistic processes is not possible in the northern Russian dialects, in some cases it may be possible to distinguish between those areas where the present-day Slavic-speaking population has settled after migrating and those areas where language shift from Finnic to Slavic has occurred. This can be done on the basis of the characteristics of the toponymic systems and the appellative borrowings used in the area. An example of the toponymic systems of two villages (one an old Finno-Ugrian settlement, the other Russian) is presented in section 2.3 of article 2 and the Finnic appellative borrowings with a distribution not connected to any living Finnic languages are considered in articles 1 and 5.

What is important here is that it is the lexical criteria and historical-comparative standard method which can be used for identification of the areas of language shift and migration. The phonological and morphosyntactic features of northern Russian dialects are, in the most cases, unsuitable for drawing such ethnohistorical conclusions. This suggests that from the point of view of the study of ethnic history of a particular region, the assumed linguistic processes that presumably take place in language contact are not of great importance.

## 1.2. Limits of toponymic etymology

In the history of etymological studies, the etymologisation of place names has long been one of the least developed fields. The application of standard etymological methods to the toponymy does not yield reliable results because toponyms do not possess semantics which could be investigated in a similar manner to the rest of the vocabulary. As toponyms tend to lose their connection with the lexemes they are derived from, it is typical for toponyms not to follow exactly the same phonological developments as the rest of the vocabulary. These problems are discussed in section 3 of article 2.

Well-founded toponymic etymologies are typically based on the comparison of substrate toponyms with the attested name types of present-day languages. As some naming models are more common than the others and as some naming models refer to characteristics of the object which are verifiable on the basis of language-external facts while some do not, it is evident that some toponymic etymologies must be more reliable than others. From the point of view of their semantic probability, toponymic etymologies form a continuum. This is illustrated in section 3.2 of article 2. Some etymologies will be as certain as any normal well-founded etymologies, while some will remain speculative even after the strongest possible case is made out for them. This is not due to inadequacies in the implementation of the etymological method but to the nature of a toponym, which is primarily a linguistic sign that refers to a particular object and only secondarily carries a lexical content that could be etymologically identified. If a toponym does not refer to any language-external discernable characteristics of the object, or if it is based on an exceptional motivation, the possibilities of etymologising it succesfully will remain limited.

Although some toponymic etymologies will remain speculative, it is likely that in every language contact area there are toponymic types which can be reliably etymologised. Therefore, from the point of view of etymology, toponyms should always be analysed in masses. The background to all of the toponyms in a specific area can never be explained trustworthy, but the attesting of all the relevant toponymic layers should usually be possible.

## 1.3. Analogy in the development of substrate toponyms

It is a tradition in Russian toponymistics to analyse the Finno-Ugrian substrate toponyms in two parts, i.e. to divide the toponyms to formants and bases. The formant is a word final element that recurs in several toponyms. It usually originates from a geographical appellative or suffix of the substrate language. The base, in turn, is the rest of the toponym, i.e. the word beginning. Both the base and the formant can be defined as phonotactic types of substrate toponyms.

The definition of these notions and the reasons why the formant and base are not morphemes are further discussed in section 3.1 of article 2.

Unlike the bases, the formants typically spread by analogy. In northern Russian toponymy some common formants (*-н(ь)га, -немь, -ма* etc.) have turned into adaptation models of substrate toponymy. As a result, those formants often occur in positions which do not directly correspond to the structure of the toponyms in the substrate language. The reason for this is that from the point of view of the language community the formants include information that the word belongs to the category of toponyms, and, in some cases, to a special class of named objects (rivers, brooks, capes, etc.). This is also the factor behind the multiple origin of some formants (such as *-н(ь)га* and *-ма*). As soon as a certain phoneme chain is associated with a certain kind of object by the language community it will be substituted for several phoneme chains of the substrate language if they occur in connection with the same kind of topographic object. This makes it possible for some of the formants to spread even to those toponyms in which they are etymologically secondary.

The scope and amount of analogical diffusion of formants in North Russian nomenclature is not clarified yet and more research in this field will be needed. It is also an open question to what extent the idea of specific adaptation models of substrate toponyms can be generalised to other contexts.

## 1.4. Identification of substrate language

The identification of a substrate language is probably the most important contribution of toponymic studies to the study of prehistory. Unfortunately, however, many toponymic studies make ethnohistorical conclusions on the basis of scarce and unreliable material. This is also the reason why sceptisism has often prevailed among critical scholars concerning the possibilities of toponymic etymology.

For trustworthy identification of the substrate language in a particular region a substantial number of reliable toponymic etymologies from a single source language is needed. The reliability scale presented in article 2 may be a useful tool for identifying the best toponymic etymologies. Of course, no figure may be given as to how many good etymologies are needed for identification of the substrate language. As in the case of the reliability of a single toponymic etymology, here also the borders are flexible. Moreover, in many cases the substrate languages have certainly been different from the present-day languages and, therefore, their identification is a matter of degree.

In northern Russia one should be able to distinguish between many closely related substrate languages. For this purpose separate lexical, phonological and typological criteria can be used. Lexically differentiating toponymy contains words which exist only in a specific language or a group of languages, whereas phonologically differentiating vocabulary represents traces of sound shifts

which have occurred only in a specific language or group of languages. In the case of typological criteria, the areal distribution of semantic and structural toponymic types in particular languages is used to define the substrate language.

In article 4 of this study, the idea that there is a Sámi layer of toponyms in northern Russia is criticised by arguing that the assumed layer does not include a differentiating Sámi vocabulary layer of probable Palaeo-European origin and that the clear cases of Sámi phonological developments in northern Russian toponymy are restricted to the western parts of the Arkhangelsk Region. It is thus demonstrated that the idea of Sámi toponyms in the Dvina basin has been based on isolated etymologies. The overall characteristics of the toponymy in this area point to languages which are close to Sámi in some respects, but which should probably be characterised as intermediate between Finnic and Sámi.

The idea that the history of the Finno-Ugrian languages could be investigated by examining the distribution of sound shifts and the vocabulary characteristics of individual groups of Finno-Ugrian languages in substrate toponyms seems fruitful. It is quite likely that it could be implemented even in other areas where the Finno-Ugrian languages have become extinct. It may also help to characterise substrate languages which were dissimilar to the present-day languages, in a more systematic manner than hitherto done.

## 1.5. Identifying borrowings from extinct languages

The material considered in this study points to the conclusion that, in addition to toponyms, there are appellative borrowings from extinct Uralic languages in northern Russian dialects. These can be identified on the basis of phonological and distributional criteria some of which are listed in commentaries concerning article 5. Finnic borrowings in northern Russian dialects probably originated from extinct Finnic language forms, if they occur in dialects spoken far away from the present Finnic languages and if they are not attested in those dialects situated between the Finnic-Russian language border and their area of distribution. Some borrowings may also have a distribution that consists of several dotted areas unconnected to each other. This suggests that the word was borrowed independently in several regions.

There are also borrowings in northern Russian dialects which point to phonologically and morphologically slightly different loan originals than those present in living languages. Some cases are handled in section 4 of article 5. Typically, words of this kind include derivational suffixes which although identifiable as Uralic do not combine with the stems in question in living languages. In some cases, historical-comparative reconstructions provide a basis for identifying borrowings from extinct languages. In these cases the borrowed vocabulary points to a source language which was phonologically archaic. Some words of this kind are dealt with in section 4.3 of article 4 and 6.4 of article 2.

# 2. Ethnohistorical conclusions

## 2.1. Uralic languages of pre-Slavic northern Russia

The studies in this volume once more confirm the view that the central pre-Slavic toponymy layer of northern Russia is a Finnic one. They also support the view frequently expressed by Russian scholars that Permian traces in the toponymy of the Dvina basin are quite minor. An exception would seem to be the Vyčegda basin and its surroundings where there is a substantial Permian toponymy layer (Turkin 1971).

A closer identification of the Finnic substrate languages of the Dvina basin is a hard task. In the southwest there are clealy areas in which the prevailing substrate type is Veps, and in the north of the Dvina basin there seems to be a Karelian toponymy layer. However, in many areas the choice of Finnic vocabulary and naming models used in toponym formation does not allude to any particular present-day Finnic language, rather it represents a mixture of naming models from different languages. Some naming models present in northern Russia do not have any parallels in living Finnic. Moreover, there are traces of a substrate language that probably shared some conservative features with southern Finnic (see section 6.3 of article 2 for details).

Most scholars have assumed that besides Finnic toponyms, there is also a Sámi layer of toponyms in the Dvina basin. In article 4 it is argued that the assumed Sámi toponyms of this area do not show traces of a central Sámi vocabulary layer, the Palaeo-European substrate vocabulary. Also, traces of regular Sámi sound shifts are restricted to the western parts of the Arkhangelsk Region. Thus, the question whether there is a Sámi layer of toponyms in the Arkhangelsk Region is connected with the characteristics of toponyms which can be described as neither Finnic nor Sámi. At present, the author of this study is inclined to think that most of the northern Russian toponyms considered as Sámi by scholars such as Castrén, Wiklund, Matveev, etc. represent, in fact, a language form that was neither Finnic, nor Sámi, but shared the lexical and phonological features of both of these groups.

Some facts suggest that archaic Uralic substrate languages survived in the Dvina basin for a relatively long time (articles 2 and 4 discuss this problem). Some "Sámi" toponymic types may have originated in such languages. It is also possible that some Sámi vocabulary may have spread to eastern substrate languages as borrowings, or that there were indeed languages which should be characterised as Sámi, in so far as some central Sámi sound shifts did take place in these languages, even though they do not share the same layers of borrowings from Palaeo-European sources with the present Sámi.

Russian scholars have suggested the existence of even other toponymic layers in northern Russia (Meryan, "North Finnic", cf. Matveev 2004). It will be the task of future research to determine whether such an assumption is justified.

## 2.2. Substrate toponymy of northern Russia and the history of the Finno-Ugrian languages

The toponyms of the Dvina basin testify that in the Middle Ages the Finnic language area was much larger in the east than it is at present. Finnic must have been spoken in the Dvina basin even in the 12th century, at the time of the appearance of the first documentary sources. It is interesting to note that at this period most of present-day Finland was still linguistically Sámi. Thus, the Finnic language area was geographically substantially different in the medieval times than at present. It is interesting to note that in the light of the northern Russian toponymy, the oldest Finnic language form in this area was probably the closest to the southern group of Finnic languages, most notably, South Estonian. The present area of southern Finnic would thus be only the residue of a vast linguistic area that has become Russified.

Finnic toponyms in the Arkhangelsk Region and Finnic borrowings in Komi include many old Germanic loanwords. According to the traditional view, this vocabulary layer of Finnic was adopted on the shores of the Baltic Sea. If this is correct, one has to assume that the Finnic languages have spread to the Dvina basin from the west. The Finnic languages seem to have formed a dialect continuum from the Baltic Sea area to the Dvina basin. In this continuum, Germanic borrowings have spread to the eastern periphery of the Finnic language area and the Permian languages.

Most likely, even languages which did not undergo the central Finnic sound shifts were spoken in northern Russia prior to or even simultaneously with Finnic, as there are some borrowings in Permian in which these sound shifts did not occur (section 2.5 of the introduction). Also, some North Russian dialect words indicate substrate languages of this kind (see section 6.4. of article 2). At this point of the research, further conclusions concerning these phonologically archaic Uralic substrate languages seem premature.

The fact that sound shifts characterised as Sámi occurred in the substrate languages in the western parts of the Dvina basin suggests that this region has played an important role in the genesis of the Sámi languages. In the west of the Dvina basin, the Sámi languages seem to have originated on the basis of the archaic language forms referred to above. A crucial role in the emergence of the Sámi languages was played by those Palaeo-European substrate languages which were spoken in Karelia and inner Finland. These are the areas in which a Proto-Sámi vocabulary layer from extinct languages were borrowed.

## 2.3. The dating and mechanisms of the Slavicisation of northern Russia

In the toponymy of the Arkhangelsk Region, both in the Slavic as in the substrate layers, there are no signs of Slavic phonological archaisms such as nasal vowels, yers, etc. This leads to the conclusion that East Slavic spread to this area later than to the Novgorod and Pskov Regions, and the Svir' basin, where archaic phonological phenomena of this kind are attested (section 6 of the article 2).

The absolute chronology of Slavicisation is reflected in historical documents and archaeological findings. In 13th and 14th century documents, most of the toponymy and personal names connected with the Dvina basin are Finno-Ugrian. The pagan tribes of the Dvina basin are mentioned in literary documents up to the 16th century. Thus, there are grounds for believing that the first permanent Slavic-speaking population arrived in the Dvina basin in the 13th century. It is probable that some groups of Finnic speaking people moved to the Dvina basin from the west and were included in the same population streams which brought the Slavic-speaking population into the Dvina basin. Even these groups of Finnic-speaking peoples ultimately assimilated into the Russian population.

On the basis of toponymic and historical materials, it is hard to conclude when the final linguistic assimilation of the Finno-Ugrians to the Slavs took place in the Dvina basin. One is inclined to think that the 16th and 17th centuries must have been crucial in this respect. However, the fact that Russian population statistics continued to use separate entries for the *чудь* population up to the 19th century testifies that in many areas the local population continued to have a separate identity even after linguistic assimilation. This seems to suggest that in its last phase, the merging of Finno-Ugrian and Slavic populations in the Dvina basin was a peaceful process. Probably it resembled the ongoing language shift to Russian among the Karelians and the Veps.

In section 2.3 of the article 2 it was argued that toponymic studies may help to distinguish the old Finno-Ugrian settlements from the Russian ones. In the former, the main bulk of settlement names is Finnic and large systems of living substrate toponymy are constantly in use. Old Russian villages, in turn, typically have only Slavic settlement names. Here substrate toponymy is used somewhat less than in the settlements of the language shifters and substantial oral traditions of the conflicts between Novgorodians and the *чудь* may be found. It is not clear, however, how generalisable this kind of observation is.

## 2.4. Northern Russian substrate toponymy and Finnic personal names

One of the articles of this volume, article 3, is dedicated to the problematics of Finnic personal names in northern Russian toponymy. In this connection, criteria for identifying extinct personal names in toponyms have been developed. These criteria are further enlarged on in section 5.3 of article 2 and the commentaries concerning article 3. These passages are a step forward in identifying the extinct personal names in toponyms as well as in the investigation of the old Finnic personal name systems. If developed further and applied to other contexts, the criteria developed for the study of northern Russian substrate toponyms may prove fruitful for studying also the living Finnic toponymy from the point of view of personal names.

## 2.5. Possible traces of Palaeo-European substrate languages in northern Europe

Article 5 of this volume is dedicated to the problematics of possible Palaeo-European substrate interference in Finnic and Sámi. It is argued that this old hypothesis can be proven to be more credible in the light of substrate studies conducted in other areas.

It is certain that prior to Uralic, languages of unknown genetic character were spoken in northern Europe. This must be the case because of the probable localisation of the Proto-Uralic in Central Russia, the dating of the Proto-Uralic at approx. 5000–3000 BC and the fact that there are archaelogically discernable traces of humans in most of northern Europe from considerably older periods. It is not yet clear, however, how substantial an interference these languages had on the expanding Uralic language community.

The theoretical considerations presented in article 5 may prove fruitful in looking for traces of extinct languages in the Uralic language area. As noted above, the Palaeo-European substrate features of Sámi have been treated in a very convincing way by Aikio (2004) and the existence of a Palaeo-European substrate in Sámi cannot, in all probability, be doubted any longer. A Palaeo-European substrate interference in Finnic also seems likely, although this substrate is older and not so obvious as in Sámi (cf. Kallio forthcoming). This is probably due to the fact that the Finnic languages spread mainly to those areas already occupied by Indo-European and Sámi people.

Palaeo-European substrate interference in Finnic should be studied in the future, taking into account especially the etymologically unintelligible toponyms of the Finnic language area. It should be investigated whether is it possible to find groups of toponyms which, although etymologically opaque, represent recurring phonotactic types in a similar manner to those in the Sámi area. If such an approach were to succeed, it would be regarded as a substantial argument in favour of Palaeo-European substrate interference in Finnic.