

**И. Г. Иванов, Мутвундынам пойдарена. Шуен вашлиялтше мут-влак, Йошкар-Ола, Марий книга савыктыш, 2015. 404 pp.**

Ivan Ivanov's dictionary titled "Мутвундынам пойдарена. Шуен вашлиялтше мут-влак" (Developing our vocabulary. Rare Mari words) is the result of forty years of conscious and devoted scientific research and the major achievement of the author's career as a lexicographer and language planning specialist. The dictionary's publication — which sadly turned out to be posthumous — was preceded by several studies in the fields of lexicology and Mari lexicography, some published individually, others as chapters in other Ivanov's monographs (e.g. Ivanov, Moisiej 1998; Иванов 2003 : 164–191; 2005; 2009 : 90–158).

The material for dictionaries of rare Mari words mainly comes from the Mari neologisms of the 1920s and 1930s, from cultural conferences, writers and poets of the time as well as from writers later on, and from the new neology of the 1990s. However, a neologism is not necessarily a rare word. The dictionary aims to present only those which are correct and necessary Mari words, but for some reason are not commonly used. Therefore, it is important to emphasise that Ivanov's dictionary of 2015 is neither a scientific dictionary of Mari neology, nor a complete inventory of Mari neologisms, but a language developing handbook written for a broad audience. A short example to illustrate the relation between a rare Mari word and a neologism: Based on the vernacular words *куэ* 'birch' > *куэр* 'birch forest', *пйичö* 'fir' > *пйичер* 'fir forest', a derivational suffix *-er* was abstracted in the 1920s, and an army of words were created with this new suffix, e.g. *тоштер* 'museum', *кончер* 'theatre stage', *мутер* 'dictionary', *ушер* 'academy', *илер* 'bacterium', *ожсер* 'archive'. Out of these, *мутер* and *илер* were widely known and used until 1937. The word *илер* 'bacterium', for example, was used in Falkner's textbook on healthcare for schoolchildren (the textbook was translated into Mari from Russian). Nowa-

days the word *мутер* 'dictionary' is widespread again, replacing the Russian loanword *словарь*, which is why *мутер* is not included in the dictionary of rare words. The words *тоштер* 'museum' and *кончер* 'theatre stage' are included, since these are not widespread, despite being important terms. However, although neither *ушер* 'academy' nor *ожсер* 'archive' are widespread, Ivanov still excluded them from his work. This speaks of his taking his massive amount of research material, in which he attempted to discover basically each and every neologism that ever existed in literary Mari, and with a sound mind, carefully narrowing it down. Those concepts for which well-established intellectual words — often of Latin and/or Greek origin — were in use already, were left out of the dictionary. It is probably unnecessary to refer to concepts such as 'academy' and 'archive' by Mari neologisms, as it is questionable whether the majority of language users would find it necessary and whether they would start using these purist synonyms.

Throughout his life Ivanov was striving for a unified Mari literary standard, for a competitive Mari language that is lexically rich and avails of modern scientific terminology, at least in the fields of social sciences and humanities (see Иванов 2005). In many of his studies he proved that besides the Meadow, Hill, North-Western and Bashkirian Mari dialects it is possible and reasonable, both from the linguistic and language political viewpoints, to create a single Mari standard that would be easily spoken and understood by everyone (Иванов 2008; 2009 : 179–189). With the dictionary of rarely used Mari words, he made his attempt to accomplish the same Mari dream that Üpömarij had phrased in the first issue of "Марла Календарь" in 1906: "to create a common literary language".

The introduction (pp. 3–8) tells about the circumstances of creating the

dictionary, along with its goals. This is followed by a list of abbreviations (pp. 9–12), which contains the sources as well as editorial abbreviations and special stylistic labels.

The dictionary's body (pp. 13–283) contains nearly 6000 headwords in alphabetical order. The Mari-Russian part gives the Russian equivalents of the words, but the words are presented in context only in Mari. Such an entry structure is completely sufficient from the user's point of view, as Ivanov created the dictionary for the Mari speakers, that is, for all those who would, with their own use of the language, contribute to a terminologically developed, beautiful Mari language, not for foreigners learning Mari at the beginner level. At the end of the entries, if possible, he points out the first record of the term, mentioning either the journal or the name of the writer or folklore collector. In addition, he assigns style labels to certain articles: from the fields of anatomy to those of jurisprudence; 31 labels are included in the dictionary's list of abbreviations. A minor deficiency of the work is that such labels were seldom used.

Ivanov's dictionary takes into account each and every source of importance for vocabulary enrichment. Out of these, three groups should definitely be pointed out.

1. Among the sources of rare words, the most important ones, considering their abundance, are the neologisms of the 1920s and 1930s. Although many of them were used at that time, from 1937 onwards most of them simply had to be replaced with Russian loanwords. Some of them, e.g. *вашмут* 'answer', *вожсаска* 'tuber', *кечыдар* 'daily wage', *паша-дар* 'salary' stayed in use despite of the political pressure of Moscow, whilst others like *мутер* 'dictionary', *почеламут* 'poem' were rediscovered later, partly just in Gorbatschow's era. Most of them are tried to be revived in Ivan Ivanov's works, e.g. *кидвий* 'human force', *кидвий паша* 'physical work', *имньвий* 'horsepower', *илымвер* 'abode'. Finally, a small fraction of these words have already been replaced by widespread Mari terms

and therefore their revitalization would be pointless, e.g. *кочмывер* 'canteen'.

Some Mari words of the 1920s and 1930s, which were forgotten either for political or some other reasons, can often only be found in difficultly accessible newspapers or journals of the time, which Ivan Ivanov systematically and passionately investigated since the 1970s.

2. The second considerable part of neologisms, or at least of their well-known first records, come from the outstanding figures of Mari literature and journalism, e.g. *ававуй* 'founder' (Miklaj Kazakov), *авазл* 'homeland' (Vitalij Petuchov). These are also natural compounds, not artificial ones, as their authors revived some archaic and/or dialectal elements and added them to the literary language. The main literary source of the dictionary are V. Kolumb's works, which were called by I. Ivanov "the golden source of Mari vocabulary" (Иванов 2015 : 3–4). Hundreds of words come from Kolumb; here is a few examples: *вотлаш* 'to enmesh', *игыгудо* 'placenta', *иле* 'living, alive', *иланаш* 'to exist', *коремзе* 'bandit', *ойганаш* 'to become embittered, desperate' > *ойганле* 'embittered, desperate' > *оиганьмаш* 'despair, bitterness'. The verb *аныклаш* 'to save', connected with the word family of *аныкан* 'thrifty' originating in Valentin Kolumb's work, occurs in the vernacular language as well. However, in Ivanov's dictionary there are several important neologisms of everyday life using the revived root *анык* 'thrift' > 'economy' either in compounds such as *аныкбанк/аныккассе* 'savings bank', or in derivated adjectival forms such as *аныкле* 'economical, thrifty'.

3. The third considerable source of neologisms are Mari dialects, as oral traditions and folklore in general are an enormous treasure trove of vocabulary. Ivan Ivanov is well aware of that, too: In the introduction to his dictionary he is happy to mention how much Ödön Beke's nine-volume dictionary on Mari dialects (1997–2001) has helped him (Иванов 2015 : 4). From Beke's dialect materials come several words, e.g. the verb *вияш* 'to straighten out' from the homonymous adjective 'straight, direct' >

adjectival compound *вияшчонан* 'sincere, open'; noun *вожыл* 'shame' from the verbal stem *вожылаш* 'to be ashamed'; *эргече* 'East, eastern' < 'sunrise'; *вјдшар* 'nematode worm'; *икташ* 'to burn', especially of the sun; *йырынчык* 'dirty' > 'vile'; *кавыр* 'proud'; *картъен* 'help(er) of kart'; *пертне* 'linden flower'; *тјвылӧ*, which has also been put to use in the sense of 'economy and thrift' (the latter may be related to the vernacular word *тјвем* 'multitude' and *тјва* 'even number', which is another word from Beke's dictionary).

Finally, loan translations may occur (in smaller quantities), and these often belong to the everyday basic vocabulary, mostly designating essential objects or concepts, e.g. *кјртньгорно* 'railway' (< 'iron' + 'way') based on the Russian adjectival phrase *железная дорога*.

The articles of the dictionary do not explain how the headwords have been formed. But according to Ivan Ivanov's previous publications (Иванов 2003 : 164—190; 2009 : 90—158) most Mari neologisms from the 1920s have been created in three ways: (a) creating compounds, which generally consist of two words and can be divided into subordinate compounds, e.g. *ававуй* 'founder', (actually 'mother' + 'head'); attributive compounds, e.g. *кјртньгорно* 'railway' > *кјртньгорнызо* 'railway employee', > *кјртньгорнысо* 'railway-'; and coordinate compounds, e.g. *шӧр-торык* 'dairy products' (actually 'milk' + 'curd'), *тошио-кайше* 'passenger' (actually coming+going), *ужалмаш-налмаш* 'sale and purchase'; (b) using derivational suffixes, e.g. *тошто* 'old' + suffix *-er* > *тоштер* 'museum'; (c) expanding the meanings of the given words: *тјвыр* '(life-)work' > *тјвыра* 'culture', *тјвыран* 'cultured, educated', *тјвырлӧ* 'educated, cultured, intelligent', *тјвырангаш* 'to educate, *вож* 'root' > 'stem', *ой* 'word' > 'sentence', etc.

In addition, several artificial lexemes were created in the 1920s and 1930s, but not recommended either by Valerian Vasil'jev (Üpömarij) or by Ivanov. Thus Ivanov did not publish them in his dictionary. According to Ivanov, an idiomatic and rich way of Mari expression cannot be achieved without first understanding Mari mentality, the spirit of Mari language and the natural ways of word formation. Therefore it is indispensable to learn and use the Mari words that are as yet considered rare (see Иванов 2015 : 6—8).

All words suggested by Ivanov's dictionary are phonologically perfect, and most of them have antecedents either in the thousands years old socio-cultural context of the Mari language, or in the neology of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. So, the rare Mari words of Ivanov's dictionary are good Mari words from every viewpoint. Naturally, the Mari community will not start using them all just for that, since both the sociocultural situation and language policy conditions of the Mari language are quite problematic. For the new words' acceptance, a vital language and motivated speakers are required, and as we know, the road is long to a complete acceptance of neologisms by any community, even in optimal circumstances. Ivanov, however, with his dictionary — that crowns and sadly closes his life's work — has created a possibility for the Mari language to be lexically modern and to develop during the 21<sup>st</sup> century as well. The rest mainly depends on the Mari language users and the possibilities of Mari schooling.

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