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PRONOMINAL SYSTEM OF SOIKKOLA INGRIAN: INTERROGATIVE/RELATIVE, INDEFINITE, AND NEGATIVE PRONOUNS AND THEIR VARIATION

Abstract. The paper analyses several classes of pronouns in the Soikkola dialect of the Ingrian language, namely interrogative/relative, indefinite, and negative pronouns. These classes of pronouns belong to one of the most underdescribed parts of Ingrian morphology, so the main goal of the paper is descriptive. Special focus is placed on the analysis of variation within pronoun classes. While variation in interrogative/relative pronouns mostly concerns minor aspects of their formation, indefinite and negative pronouns show many competing variants. In the case of indefinite pronouns, this variation arises from indefinite suffixes with different origins and functions. Negative pronouns have another source of variation: the morphophonological processes that can occur when a pronominal stem is concatenated with the negative particle *kaa/kää*. In all these classes of pronouns, we usually observe idiolectal and free variation, while contextual and register variation occurs less frequently.

Keywords: Ingrian, pronouns, interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, negative pronouns, variation, description.

1. Background

This article continues research on Ingrian pronouns that was started in Schwarz & Rozhanskiy (2022), which presented an analysis of personal, demonstrative, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, and Markus & Rozhanskiy (2023), which analysed the functions of demonstratives. Although in Finnic languages pronouns can be found to drift between these classes (cf. Estonian *tema* and Votic *tämä* 'he/she/it' with Ingrian and Finnish *tämä* 'this'), pronouns belonging to the different classes are usually not cognate. By contrast, in the current article, we analyse three further classes of pronouns — interrogative/relative, indefinite, and negative — which are tightly connected: the two latter classes are derived from the first. These classes of pronouns are even more understudied than personal and demonstrative pronouns. In the best case, grammars give paradigms of *ken* 'who' and *migä* 'what' (Porkka 1885 : 85—86; Junus 1936 : 100), sometimes only partially (Лаанест 1978 : 253; Saar 2017), while other inter-

rogatives as well as indefinite and negative pronouns are mentioned only briefly or even ignored altogether.

The goal of this article is the same as that of Schwarz & Rozhansky (2022), namely, to give a description of an underdescribed part of Ingrian grammar,[1] and to analyse the variation which is attested in the pronominal forms under discussion.

Indefinite and negative pronouns are known for their functional diversity and have become the object of typological studies (Haspelmath 1997; 2013; Третьякова 2009; Van Alsenoy 2014). In the current paper we focus primarily on the forms of Ingrian pronouns rather than their meanings. We do not discuss their functions and nuances of meaning in detail but give only a rough sketch with basic information, leaving a thorough analysis of the functional side for future research.

It is well known that pronouns constitute a very heterogeneous class of words, which raises a number of conceptual and terminological problems (Bhat 2004 : 1—4). In particular, some scholars distinguish pronouns from *proadjectives* (pronominal forms that demonstrate adjectival features, e.g. Ingrian *millain* 'which'), see, for example, Tomingas (2018). All such issues are beyond the scope of this article, and we use the umbrella term *pronouns* for items that stand in for both adjectives and nouns.

The classification of variation types which we use in this article is the same as in Schwarz & Rozhanskiy (2022). We distinguish the following types:
(a) Dialectal variation, where variants are distributed between groups of native speakers belonging to different (sub-)dialectal zones.
(b) Idiolectal variation, where variants are distributed between native speakers without obvious correlation with (sub-)dialectal zones, social characteristics or other features.
(c) Contextual variation, where the choice of a variant depends on phonetic, grammatical or pragmatic context.
(d) Register variation, where variants are distributed between speech of different registers (primarily between fluent and distinct speech).
(e) Free variation, where the factors that influence the choice of variants are not revealed.

As was mentioned in Schwarz & Rozhanskiy (2022 : 154), we do not consider sociolinguistic variation (as well as several other types of variation) because it is impossible to form relevant representative groups from the speakers of contemporary Ingrian.[2]

This article has the following structure: section 2 describes the data and methods used in the analysis; sections 3, 4, and 5 are dedicated to the three types of pronouns under consideration — interrogative/relative, indefinite, and negative respectively; and section 6 contains the conclusions. The Appendix lists the original Russian stimuli from the Basic Grammar Questionnaire used in the research.

2. Data and methods

The current research is based on the same set of data as Schwarz & Rozhanskiy (2022). We primarily use our own data, which were collected

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[1] Note that in Van Alsenoy & van der Auwera (2015) — a paper focused on the typology of Uralic indefinite pronouns — no Ingrian data are analysed at all.
[2] By "contemporary Ingrian" we mean the Ingrian language of the 21st century.

in the course of fieldwork with native speakers of Soikkola Ingrian in 2006—2023[3] and consist of a Spontaneous Speech Corpus (mostly narratives but also several dialogues; recorded in 2006—2013)[4] and a Corpus of Elicitations (Ingrian sentences translated from Russian). The latter includes a Basic Grammar Questionnaire and several questionnaires on pronouns (see Figure 1; a detailed description can be found in Schwarz & Rozhanskiy 2022 : 156—157).
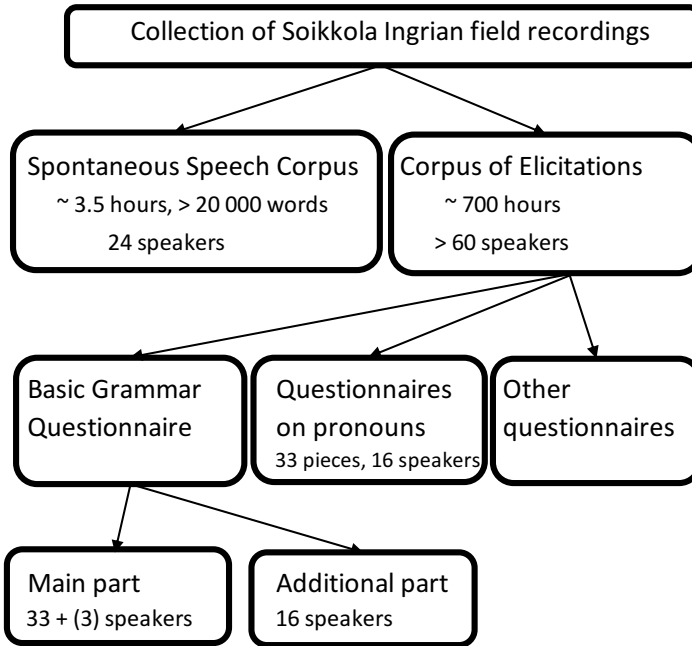

Figure 1. **Structure of the data used in research on Ingrian pronouns (Schwarz & Rozhanskiy 2022 : 157)**.

The source of every example is indicated in parentheses after its translation. The label consists of the title of the text and index of the native speaker if the example comes from the Spontaneous Speech Corpus, the index of a file and index of the native speaker if the example comes from the Corpus of Elicitations, or a reference to a publication if the example is drawn from a published source. In the latter case, we preserve the original transcription used in the source.

For the analysis of duration and quality of sounds we use the phonetic software PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink 2024).

3. Interrogative/relative pronouns

In Ingrian, there is no morphological difference between interrogative and relative pronouns: the same forms can be used in both syntactic functions, cf. *ken* 'who' in interrogative (1) and in relative (2) function.

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[3] Fedor Rozhanskiy and Elena Markus organized annual linguistic expeditions to the Soikkola peninsula from 2006 to 2014, and individual fieldwork was performed in subsequent years.
[4] In the current stage, the Spontaneous Speech Corpus is organized as a set of ELAN 6.2 (2021) files.

(1) *no   k e n   že   enžimäižee-kš mäňnöö*
PTCL w h o PTCL first-TRSL   go.PRS.3SG
'Well, who will go first?' (Varastamaaz_marjad_OM)

(2) *täž   nüd   on   uuž … uuž no   mẹẹž k e n   tökköö*
here now   be.PRS.3SG new   new PTCL man w h o do.PRS.3SG
tọ̈ọ̈-dä
work-PART
'Here now there is a new … new man who works' (Kala_ja_metsä_EN)

Besides these two functions, bare interrogative/relative forms can function as indefinites (see section 4.2.6) in several types of constructions, including bi-pronominal distributive constructions (3). Such constructions feature two different pronouns (or a pronoun and pronominal adverb).[5]

(3) *k e n   m i š t   tul-i   še   šẹẹld*
who   from_where(= what.ELA) come-PST.3SG that from_there
i   ott-i
PTCL take-PST.3SG
'Whoever came from wherever, took it from there' (Pedro_OM)

This class of pronouns consists of *ken* 'who', *migä* 'what', *kumba* 'which', and *millain ~ milläin ~ milťtain ~ milťtäin ~ milliin* 'which, what kind of'. As was mentioned in section 1, Porkka (1885 : 85—86) and Junus (1936 : 100) give the full paradigms of *ken* 'who' and *migä* 'what', and Лаанест (1978 : 253), Laanest (1986 : 120—121) and Saar (2017 : 127) list some forms of these pronouns. The paradigms of *kumba* 'which' and *millain* 'which' are not provided in any of these publications. Table 1 contains the paradigms of *ken* 'who', *migä* 'what' and *kumba* 'which' based on our own materials.

Table 1

Paradigms of interrogative/relative pronouns
ken **'who',** *migä* **'what' and** *kumba* **'which'**

	who	what	which (one)	who	what	which (one)
	Singular			Plural		
NOM	*ken*	*migä*	*kumba*	*ked*	*mid*	*kummad*
GEN	*kenen*	*minen*	*kumman*			*kummiin*
PART	*kedä*	*midä*	*kump̆paa*			*kump̆pia*
ILL	*kehe*	*mihe*	*kump̆paa*			*kump̆pii*
INE	*kež*	*miž*	*kummaaž*			*kummiiž*
ELA	*kešt*	*mišt*	*kummaašt*			*kummiišt*
ALL	*kelle*	*mille*	*kummalle*			*kummille*
ADE	*kel*	*mil*	*kummaal*			*kummiil*
ABL	*keld*	*mild*	*kummaald*			*kummiild*
TRSL	*kekš* (~ ???*kenekš*)	*mikš* (~ ???*mihekš* ~ ???*minekš*)	*kummaakš*			*kummiikš*

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[5] See Alvre (1982 : 46—48) for an overview of this construction in Finnic languages.

Table 2 contains the paradigms of five variants of the pronoun 'which': *millain ~ milläin ~ milĭtain ~ milĭtäin ~ milliin*. In our data, not all forms of each variant were attested. This pronoun is not frequent in spontaneous speech. The Spontaneous Speech Corpus contains the following forms: the nominative singular *millain*, *milläin* and *milliin* and the partitive singular *milliišt*. In the Corpus of Elicitations many more forms occur but some elements of the paradigms are still missing. We provide the full paradigms of all five variants in Table 2, but forms marked with ? were constructed by analogy with other words of the same paradigmatic type, and forms marked with + were attested only as part of indefinite pronouns (indefinite pronouns are derived from the inter-rogative/relative pronouns by adding a special suffix, see section 4).

Table 2

Paradigms of interrogative/relative pronouns
millain ~ milläin ~ milttain ~ milttäin ~ milliin **'which, what kind of'**

	Singular				
NOM	*millain*	*milläin*	*milĭtain*	*?milĭtäin*	*milliin*
GEN	*millaižen*	*milläižen*	*milĭtaižen*	*milĭtäižen*	*milližen*
PART	*millaišt*	*milläišt*	*millaišt*	*milläišt*	*milliišt*
ILL	*millaižee*	*milläižee*	*mildaižee*	*mildäižee*	*?milližee*
INE	*millaižeež*	*milläižeež*	*mildaižeež*	*mildäižeež*	*milližeež*
ELA	*+millaižeešt*	*milläižeešt*	*mildaižeešt*	*mildäižeešt*	*?milližeešt*
ALL	*+millaiželle*	*milläiželle*	*?mildaiželle*	*mildäiželle*	*?milliželle*
ADE	*millaižeel*	*milläižeel*	*mildaižeel*	*mildäižeel*	*milližeel*
ABL	*millaižeeld*	*+milläižeeld*	*mildaižeeld*	*+mildäižeeld*	*milližeeld*
TRSL	*millaižeekš*	*?milläižeekš*	*?mildaižeekš*	*?mildäižeekš*	*milližeekš*
	Plural				
NOM	*millaišt*	*milläišt*	*milĭtaišt*	*?milĭtäišt*	*milliišt*
GEN	*+millaižiin*	*?milläižiin*	*?mildaižiin*	*+mildäižiin*	*?milližiin*
PART	*millaižia*	*milläižiä*	*mildaižia*	*mildäižiä*	*milližiä*
ILL	*+millaižii*	*?milläižii*	*?mildaižii*	*+mildäižii*	*?milližii*
INE	*millaižiiž*	*?milläižiiž*	*?mildaižiiž*	*mildäižiiž*	*?milližiiž*
ELA	*millaižiišt*	*?milläižiišt*	*mildaižiišt*	*mildäižiišt*	*?milližiišt*
ALL	*+millaižille*	*?milläižille*	*?mildaižille*	*mildäižille*	*?milližille*
ADE	*+millaižiil*	*+milläižiil*	*mildaižiil*	*?mildäižiil*	*?milližiil*
ABL	*millaižiild*	*?milläižiild*	*?mildaižiild*	*?mildäižiild*	*?milližiild*
TRSL	*millaižiikš*	*?milläižiikš*	*?mildaižiikš*	*?mildäižiikš*	*?milližiikš*

3.1. General description

The pronouns *ken* 'who' and *migä* 'what' do not have a full set of plural forms. In the plural, only their nominative forms are attested in our data, and also in Porkka (1885 : 85—86), Лаанест (1978 : 253), and Laanest (1986 : 120). Saar (2017 : 127) also provides plural genitive, partitive, illative, and inessive forms, but they coincide with the respective singular forms, so they are strictly speaking not plural.

Although Junus (1936 : 100) gives the accusative forms *kenen* (from *ken* 'who') and *minen* (from *migä* 'what'), this seems merely to reflect the influence of the Finnish linguistic tradition (in Finnish, there is a dedicated accusative form *kene-t* 'who-ACC'), because the accusative forms indicated coincide with the genitive forms. The essive forms of these pronouns (*kenennä* and *minennä* respectively, see Junus 1936 : 100) are not attested in our data or in examples from Nirvi (1971).

Porkka (1885 : 85) gives two Soikkola genitive singular forms of *migä* 'what' — *minen* and *min*. The latter occurs in one of the Soikkola tales published in Porkka (1885 : 143) but is not attested in our data. Nirvi (1971 : 310) gives some examples with this form, e.g. *min enemв palkkaa, sem paremв* (what.GEN larger salary this.GEN better) 'The larger the salary, the better'.

In the paradigms of *ken* 'who' and *migä* 'what', all case forms except the genitive are built from the short stem (*ke-* and *mi-* respectively). The genitive forms are built from the long stems *kene-* and *mine-* (Лаанест 1978 : 253; Laanest 1986 : 120).[6]

A general feature concerning most Ingrian nominals is the presence of variation between long and short vowels on the boundary between the stem and the case suffix. In some idiolects these vowels are long while in others they are short. In the latter case, *a* and *ä* may undergo qualitative reduction, e.g. *kummaal* [kummāl] ~ [kummăl] ~ [kumməl]. As this feature is not specific to pronouns (see Кузнецова 2009 : 122 and Markus & Rozhanskiy 2022 : 314), we do not discuss it here. In this paper, a group of dialects with long vowels is taken as a standard, so the variants with a short vowel are absent from Tables 1 and 2.

Nirvi (1971 : 217) translates *kumba* into Finnish as 'kumpi' (in inter-rogative function) or 'joka, mikä' (in relative function). Although Finnish *kumpi* means 'which of two', in our Ingrian data we have examples where this pronoun is used in a multiple choice situation, such as (4).

(4) *täž on   kold koťti-a   kumba on   šiu-n   oma*
    here be.PRS.3SG three house-PART which be.PRS.3SG 2SG-GEN own
    'Here are three houses. Which one is yours?' (A12EI)

3.2. Variation

In the paradigms of the interrogative/relative pronouns, variation is hetero-geneous and relatively rare. Variation between case forms built in different ways is attested for the translative singular of *ken* 'who' and *migä* 'what' (section 3.2.1). Another type of variation concerns the adverbialized case forms of *ken* 'who' and *migä* 'what', which compete because of the similarity between their meanings and those of pronominal adverbs (section 3.2.2). The third type of variation concerns different phonetic variants of the pronoun 'which' (section 3.2.3).

3.2.1 The translative singular forms of *ken* 'who' and *migä* 'what'

The translative form of *ken* 'who' is not attested in the Spontaneous Speech Corpus, but it occurs several times in elicited sentences. Two native speakers

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[6] See, however, 3.2.1 about variation in the translative.

use the form *kekš* 'who.TRSL', and this corresponds to the form indicated in Junus (1936: 100). Other sources (Porkka 1885; Лаанест 1978; Laanest 1986; Saar 2017) do not give the translative form of this pronoun.

One native speaker hesitated between *kekš* and *kenekš* and finally evaluated the latter as correct. This variant was supported by one more speaker, but we cannot exclude the possibility that it was chosen just because it has a more transparent morphological composition (the genitive stem plus translative ending), which corresponds to that seen in the translative of nouns (cf. *tüdöi-n* 'girl-GEN' vs *tüdöi-kš* 'girl-TRSL'). This variant was also used as a base for the negative translative form *kenekš-kää* (see section 5.1) by the same two speakers.

Although the regular translative from of *migä* 'what' is *mikš*, two native speakers also mentioned the forms *mihekš* and *minekš*, but they were not able to evaluate which variant they found better (in the Spontaneous Speech Corpus, neither of these variants is attested). We doubt that such forms are really used in speech because two other speakers did not consider these forms correct. It is more likely that these forms were constructed just in order to be distinct from *mikš*, which is frequently used as an adverbial-like lexicalized form with the meaning 'why' (see section 3.2.2).

Here we cannot define the type of variation because of the very small number of occurrences of alternative forms.

3.2.2. Adverbialized forms and their variation with pronominal adverbs

Lexicalized pronominal forms can be used in adverbial function. Some of these forms have synonymous counterparts among the pronominal adverbs,[7] so the same meaning can be expressed in two ways. Although this type of variation lies partially outside the scope of interrogative/relative pronoun paradigms, it is worth mentioning it here. The pairs of forms involved are: *mihe* 'what.ILL' ~ *kuhu* 'where to', *miž* 'what.INE' ~ *kuž* 'where', and *mišt* 'what.ELA' ~ *kušt* 'where from'. In the Spontaneous Speech Corpus, the variants with the root *ku-* are slightly more numerous than the variants with the root *mi-*, see Table 3.

Table 3

Number of *mi-* vs *ku-* variants in the Spontaneous Speech Corpus

	mi-		*ku-*	
where to	*mihe*	7	*kuhu*	12
where	*miž*	17	*kuž*	23
where from	*mišt*	8	*kušt*	13

Some speakers use both variants, while others use only one. It is very likely that free variation dominates here. We also hypothesize that idiolectal distribution plays a role, but we do not have enough data to draw any definite conclusions.

Variation also occurs between the adverbialized forms *mihe* 'what.ILL' and *mikš* 'what.TRSL', which are rather close in meaning. Besides its locative meaning 'where to', *mihe* denotes purpose ('what for'), while *mikš* denotes

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[7] By pronominal adverbs we mean adverbs which have a historical pronominal root.

primarily cause ('why') and to a lesser extent purpose ('what for'). There are many contexts in which both words can occur (5) but in contexts of cause *mikš* is preferable. For example, the translation of the sentence 'Why hasn't the bread been sliced yet?' from the Basic Grammar Questionnaire was recorded by 34 Soikkola Ingrian speakers and all of them use the word *mikš*.

(5) *mihe ~ mikš šiu-le   piťťää   raȟha-a*
    what_for   2SG-ALL have_to.PRS.3SG money-PART
    'What do you need money for?' (942AG)

In general, *mikš* is much more frequent than *mihe*. Examples of *mihe* with the meaning of purpose were not attested in the Spontaneous Speech Corpus, but in the Corpus of Elicitations they occur in the speech of several native speakers. We view this variation as a combination of contextual and free variation.

3.2.3. Variants of the pronoun *millain ~ milläin ~ milťtain ~ milťtäin ~ milliin* 'which, what kind of'

The pronoun 'which, what kind of' demonstrates a great deal of variation in form (see Table 2). The difference between variants is observed in (a) the consonant cluster *ll* vs *lťt/ld*, (b) the harmony type: front- or back-vocalic, (c) the second vowel: *ai/äi* vs *i*.

In the Basic Grammar Questionnaire, there is a sentence 'What kind of neighbours do you have?' which requires the nominative plural form of the pronoun 'which'. This sentence was recorded by 34 native speakers, and the distribution of the variants is as follows: *milläišt* (from *milläin*) — 19 speakers, *millaišt* (from *millain*) — 9 speakers, *milťtaišt* (from *milťtain*) — 4 speakers, *milliišt* (from *milliin*) — 1 speaker. The remaining speaker uses a form *ming(a)laišt*, which looks strange and possibly reflects contamination from an Ingrian Finnish form. The form *milťtäišt* is not attested in the translations of this sentence. The two most frequent forms (*milläišt* and *millaišt*) do not show a dialectal distribution between the northern and southern dialectal zones of the Soikkola peninsula. In this data sample the form *milťtaišt* is only used by speakers from the southern zone, but we consider this to be a coincidence, because in the Corpus of Elicitations representatives of the northern dialectal zone also use this form.

In general, the distribution of these variants should be considered idiolectal with elements of free variation. Soikkola native speakers usually use one particular variant but switching between variants is also possible. Variants that differ only in terms of the choice between corresponding front and back vowels (i.e. *millain* vs *milläin* and *milťtain* vs *milťtäin*) do not occur in the speech of the same speakers, but variation between forms with different consonant clusters does occur. The variant *milliin* can alternate with both back- and front-vocalic variants.

Some more issues concerning the variation in the forms of 'which, what kind of' should be mentioned here. First, four out of five variants of this pronoun contain diphthongs *äi* or *ai* whose length varies. In the disyllabic nominative and partitive singular and nominative plural forms these diphthongs are long, but in other (trisyllabic) forms they are short and their

second component (i.e. *i*) is usually dropped in fast speech (though it is clearly heard in distinct pronunciation), e.g. *milläižen* can be pronounced as [milläižen], [millǎžen] or even [milležen] (in the latter form, [e] results from the qualitative reduction of [ä]). As the described process is purely phonetic, we do not indicate the different pronunciation variants in the paradigms of these pronouns.[8]

Second, all five variants belong to the nominal paradigmatic type which includes words with final *-n* in the nominative and final *-žen* in the genitive, cf. *ihmiin* 'person', *ihmižen* 'person.GEN'). In the nominative plural forms of such words, variation is possible — there are less frequent "long" forms that differ from the genitive singular in the final consonant only (e.g. *ihmižed* 'person.PL.NOM'), and there are more frequent "short" forms that have lost the final vowel and lengthened the penultimate vowel, therefore coinciding with the partitive singular form (*ihmiišt* 'person.PART~PL.NOM').[9] In our data, the long nominative plural form of the pronoun 'which' ending in *-žed* occurs only once in the Corpus of Elicitations, and here it may have been constructed by analogy. Nirvi (1971) does not give any Soikkola examples with long forms of the pronoun 'which'. Thus, we do not indicate the long nominative plural forms in the paradigms in Table 2.

4. Indefinite pronouns

4.1. General description

The scope of the term "indefinite pronouns" varies widely across publications. As Haspelmath (1997 : 11) notes, "the category of indefinite pronouns seems to function as a sort of waste-basket category in many traditional descriptive grammars". Haspelmath (1997 : 11—13) lists four types of expressions that are commonly included in this category in addition to indefinite pronouns in the narrow sense. These types are mid-scalar quantifiers (*few*, *several*, *many*), generic pronouns (*one*), universal quantifiers (*all*, *every*), and identity pronouns/determiners (*other*, *same*). It is exactly this kind of traditional approach that is used, in particular, in the first Ingrian grammar by Porkka (1885 : 86) where the list of indefinite pronouns includes such words as *joga*, *jokka, igä* 'each, every', *monigaš, moni* 'some', *molen* 'both', *sama* 'same', and some others. In the current paper, we leave these four types of expressions aside and, along with Haspelmath (1997), analyse exclusively indefinite pronouns in the narrow sense. Purely for convenience of presentation, we discuss negative pronouns in a separate section and do not apply the term "indefinite pronouns" to them. This approach is justified for two reasons: first, the negative pronouns in Ingrian are built differently from other indefinite pronouns (their forms are derived with the help of a particle, see section 5), and second, the variation of the negative pronouns is morphophonological in nature while other indefinite

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[8] A comprehensive study on diphthong length in Soikkola Ingrian has not yet been conducted, but Nirvi (1971) distinguishes short and long diphthongs in his transcription. This contrast is discussed explicitly in Sovijärvi (1944 : 22). Preliminary research on this topic based on contemporary Soikkola data is presented in Rozhanskiy & Markus (2019).

[9] See Rozhanskiy & Markus (2024 : 588—589) on the syncretism in such forms. This process can also be compared with the loss of the vowel in the 2Sg forms of verbs in the past tense, e.g. *šuv̆va-iš-t* 'love-PST-2SG' but *šuv̆va-iži-n* 'love-PST-1SG'.

pronouns use suffixes of different origins and demonstrate functional competition of forms.

Thus, by indefinite pronouns we mean a group of pronouns which are derived from the relative/interrogative pronouns (*ken* 'who', *migä* 'what', *milläin* 'which', etc.; see section 3) with the help of special indefinite suffixes, and also bare relative/interrogative pronouns that function as indefinites (see section 4.2.6). In our data, five indefinite suffixes were attested: *-lee*, *-leǩkää*, *-leǩkenää*, *-iǩkee*, and *-iǩkenää*.[10] Porkka (1885 : 87) mentions only *lee* and *ikkää*.

The etymology of *lee* is transparent: it is a stem (and an imperative form) of the verb *lǫǫj*(*j*)*ä* 'to be (in the future)'.[11] It is likely that the variant *-leǩkää* is a concatenation of *-lee* with the negative particle *-ǩkää* (see section 5), and therefore it has the same structure as the Russian *-нибудь* (only the order of components is different).

According to Alvre (1982 : 51—52; 1985 : 163), *-iǩkee* originates from **ikä* 'age' (cf. Finnish adverbialized essive forms *ikänä ~ ikinä* from the same noun (Hakulinen & Vilkuna & Korhonen & Koivisto & Heinonen & Alho 2004 : §387)).

One can assume that the suffix *-iǩkenää*, which is marginal in Soikkola Ingrian, has been borrowed from some other Finnic variety. It is not likely that it is a borrowing from elsewhere within Ingrian, as forms with this suffix are not attested there: for the Hevaha dialect Laanest (1997 : 68, 116) gives the forms *kenikken* 'who.INDEF' and *miᴅäikken* 'what.PART.INDEF' without a final vowel, and in the Lower Luga dialect we observe forms with other suffixes (in our Basic Grammar Questionnaire these forms are *kennibut* and *kenni* 'who.INDEF', and the form *ken-ikkee* is attested only once from a speaker of the Pärspää variety from the northern part of the Lower Luga region). However, the suffix *-iǩken*(*n*)*ää* is attested in several questionnaires recorded by speakers of Ingrian Finnish, so we cannot exclude the possibility that *-iǩkenää* has a Finnish origin (cf. also the Votic suffix *-ittšenä*, which is used in Luuditsa Votic).[12]

The etymology of *-lekkenää* is the least transparent, because if the formative *ǩke* is related to the particle *-ǩkää* the final *-nää* does not have an obvious explanation. It cannot be ruled out that this form emerged by analogy with *-iǩkenää*.

Alvre (1985 : 162) also mentions an indefinite pronoun prefix *kojo-*, *koje-* of Russian origin, which is observed in Veps and Votic. In our Ingrian data, this prefix occurs only once: the pronominal adverb *koje-kuin* 'somehow' is attested in the Spontaneous Speech Corpus.

We do not give the full paradigms of indefinite pronouns for two reasons. First, all combinations of the relative/interrogative pronouns with the indefinite suffixes produce several dozen lexemes, so presenting their full paradigms is problematic. Second, the declension of these pronouns is usually transparent

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[10] Historically, these suffixes are independent words. For example, Nirvi (1971 : 88) indicates *iǩkē* as an adverb and spells it separately from the relative pronoun: *miᴅä iǩkē* 'something'. However, we suppose that from the synchronic point of view it is more convenient to consider them as suffixes.

[11] Cross-linguistically, a marker of indefinite pronouns originating from the verb 'to be' is a rather common development (Haspelmath 1997 : 135—140), cf. the Russian indefinite pronoun suffix *-нибудь* < *ни* '(when)ever' + *будь* 'be.IMP.2SG'.

[12] Note that the variant *-iǩkenää* is not indicated in the Atlas of Finnic Dialects (Atlas Linguarum Fennicarum 2004 : 433).

— the required indefinite suffix should be added to the respective form from the paradigm of a relative/interrogative pronoun (see Tables 1 and 2). Morphophonological processes on the boundary between the pronominal form and the indefinite suffix are limited in number (see sections 4.2.4 and 4.2.5).

In our data, there are examples where a pronominal form without an indefinite suffix is accompanied by the particle *gi* and serves as an indefinite pronoun (6).

(6) *ain   konž   m i g ä=g i   ol-i*
    always when what=PTCL   be-PST.3SG
    'Something was always cropping up' (Pahhain_elo_MM)

Although in most Finnic languages this particle has become a suffix which derives indefinite pronouns, we do not have evidence that in Ingrian it has grammaticalized to the extent that it can be considered a suffix.

4.2. Variation

4.2.1. Variation of indefinite suffixes

Our paper does not provide a detailed study of the semantic differences between indefinite suffixes, but it offers some preliminary observations on this topic. The suffixes *-ikkee* and *-ikkenää* seem to be full synonyms. We did not notice any semantic differences between them; however, *-ikkenää* is too rare in our data to allow any firm conclusions. The clearest opposition is observed between the specific pronouns marked with *-lee* and non-specific pronouns marked with *-ikkee* and *-ikkenää*.[13] Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of indefinite suffixes that the speakers use in translations of three sentences from the Basic Grammar Questionnaire (examples of Ingrian translations can be found in Appendix):
(a) 'I think that s o m e o n e is knocking at the door' (specific unknown; recorded by 32 native speakers);
(b) 'He always wants s o m e t h i n g' (ambiguous: the specific interpretation is likely, but the non-specific interpretation is also possible; recorded by 33 native speakers);
(c) 'Hide all the bottles behind the shelves, otherwise s o m e o n e will see' (non-specific, irrealis; recorded by 25 native speakers).

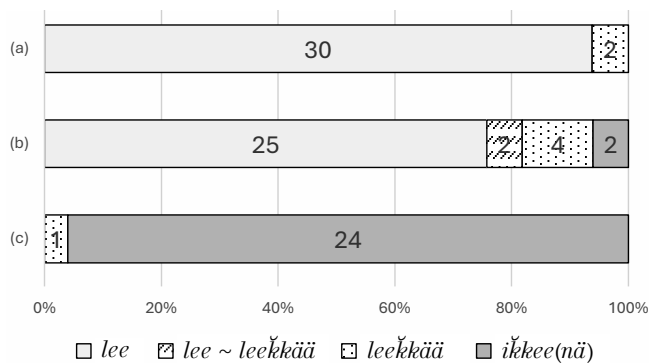Number of occurrences is indicated for each type of suffix.

Figure 2. **Distribution of indefinites in translations of three sentences.**

[13] See Haspelmath (1997 : 31—52) on the functional types of indefinite pronouns.

The distribution of pronouns in these sentences[14] confirms that the suffix *-lee* is typically used to encode specific pronouns, and the suffix *-ĭǩkee ~ -ĭǩkenää* marks non-specific pronouns.[15] In the ambiguous sentence (b), the specific suffix prevails but the non-specific suffix also occurs.

Defining the meaning of *leǩkää* is more problematic as we do not have a representative number of examples. However, we can hypothesize that this suffix derives specific unknown pronominal forms. In the the Basic Grammar Questionnaire, there are two sentences with pronominal adverbs: 'Some time ago they lived in Vistino, but then they moved to St. Petersburg' and 'His parents died in St. Petersburg, and he himself moved somewhere far away' (see Appendix). The latter is more likely to be understood as specific unknown, while in the former the specific known interpretation is preferable. In the translations of the first sentence the only attested suffix is *-lee*, but in the second *-leǩkää* occurs in 3 of 28 translations. However, occasional use of *-leǩkää* in non-specific contexts also seems possible, see, for example, sentence (c) in Figure 2.

We cannot draw any conclusions about the meaning of the variant *leǩkenää* as it occurs very rarely in our data (it never appears in the Basic Grammar Questionnaire and is attested only once in the Spontaneous Speech Corpus), but we can hypothesize that it is a synonym of *leǩkää*.

Indefinite pronouns and pronominal adverbs attested in the Spontaneous Speech Corpus are listed in Table 4. Every row of the table corresponds to a case form of a pronoun or to a pronominal adverb. Columns correspond to indefinite suffixes. If a cell is empty, it means that this combination of a pronominal form or pronominal adverb and a particular suffix is not attested in the corpus. For existing combinations two figures are given: the first is the number of occurrences, and the second (in parentheses) indicates the number of speakers who use this form. The last row gives the total number of speakers who use the respective indefinite suffix.

All native speakers who use the suffixes *leǩkää* and *leǩkenää* also use the suffix *ĭǩkee*, which suggests that we are dealing with a semantic opposition rather than with idiolectal distribution. The suffix *ĭǩkenää* was attested in the speech of only one native speaker.[16] The suffix *leǩkenää* is also attested in the speech of only one speaker but another speaker confirmed that she knew this variant.

We can conclude that the variation of pronominal forms with different indefinite suffixes covers several types: contextual (when specific and

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[14] As well as in many other sentences from our questionnaires, which we do not discuss in this article.

[15] One might suspect that the distribution of Ingrian indefinite pronouns comes from formal calquing of the Russian pronouns with suffixes *-то* and *-нибудь* in the stimuli sentences (see Appendix) rather than from the meaning of the sentences as such. However, although we do not rule out occasional calquing, this cannot be the main factor that affects the choice of an Ingrian pronoun. First, the Russian suffixes *-то* and *-нибудь* are not in complementary distribution based on their meaning (*-то* can have both specific and non-specific meaning, see Haspelmath 1997 : 65). Second, the Russian pronoun *о чем-то* with the suffix *-то* in a sentence with conditional meaning from the Basic Grammar Questionnaire ('If he asks you (about) s o m e t h i n g, don't say that you saw me today') was never translated into Ingrian using the pronoun with the suffix *-lee*.

[16] This language consultant — the youngest to feature in our spontaneous speech collection — was born in 1949 and lives in the village of Saarove (Jugantovo).

Table 4

**Pronouns and pronominal adverbs with the indefinite suffixes
in the Spontaneous Speech Corpus**

Form		*lee*	*leǩkää*	*leǩkenää*	*iǩkee*	*iǩkenää*
migä	NOM	2 (2)	3 (2)		2 (1)	
minen	GEN				1 (1)	
midä	PART	2 (2)	2 (1)		10 (5)	4 (1)
mihe	ILL					1 (1)
miž	INE	2 (1)			1 (1)	
mikš	TRSL	7 (4)				
ken	NOM	5 (5)			3 (3)	
kenen	GEN				1 (1)	
keld	ABL				1 (1)	
ked	PL.NOM			1 (1)		1 (1)
millain	NOM		1 (1)			
milläišt	PART				2 (1)	
milläižeel	ADE				1 (1)	
konž					3 (1)	
kuhu		1 (1)			1 (1)	
kuž					1 (1)	1 (1)
kui						1 (1)
kuin		1 (1)				1 (1)
näin					13 (5)	
Total number of speakers		8	3	1	9	1

non-specific pronouns are opposed) and a mixture of idiolectal and free variation (when the variation occurs within a subclass of indefinites).

4.2.2. Variation of the vowel length in suffix *-lee*

Although the verbal root *lęę-* contains a long vowel, the indefinite suffix demonstrates a variation *-lee ~ -le*. This is primarily idiolectal: some speakers have a strong tendency to pronounce a short final *e*, some speakers pronounce it as a long vowel, but in many cases the duration of the final vowel is borderline. However, even in the speech of the same speaker, the durational variation of the final *e* is usually very high. We have chosen the variant with a long final vowel as the main one and do not indicate the variants with the short vowel in the following text.

4.2.3. Variation of the consonant and final vowel in suffix *-iǩkee*

Three parameters vary significantly in the suffix *-iǩkee*: the length of the final vowel, the quality of the final vowel, and the length of the geminate. This variation is not a recent phenomenon. In Laanest's (1966) samples of Soikkola Ingrian speech recorded by one speaker, we find several different spellings of the pronouns with this suffix: as one word or as two words

(*miᴦäikke* vs *miᴦä ikke* (Laanest 1966 : 111, 128)), with a short geminate and long final vowel or with a full geminate and short final vowel (7).

(7) *sīz   levide-ttī   k u h u   i ǩ k ē   m i n e - n   i k k e hohla-m pӑlle*
    then spread-IPS.PST where   INDEF   what-GEN   INDEF   rag-GEN onto
    ja   kaᴅe-ttī
    and cover-IPS.PST
    'Then it was spread somewhere on some rag and covered' (Laanest 1966 : 149)

Table 5 contains our measurements of the average duration of segments and durational ratios in this suffix from the speech of 10 Soikkola Ingrian speakers. Between 6 and 13 tokens in phrase-medial position were recorded by every speaker.

Table 5

Average duration and the ratio of segments in the suffix *-iǩkee*

Speaker		*i*	*ǩk*	*e*	V2/V1	CC/V2	CC/V1
AL	Average	81	175	66	0.8	2.6	2.2
	StDev	27	17	21			
OM	Average	88	144	71	0.8	2.0	1.6
	StDev	24	31	12			
EN	Average	71	154	73	1.0	2.1	2.2
	StDev	19	32	17			
AG	Average	102	206	93	0.9	2.2	2.0
	StDev	23	31	24			
LM	Average	69	252	96	1.4	2.6	3.7
	StDev	25	69	40			
GI	Average	81	145	103	1.3	1.4	1.8
	StDev	26	31	52			
KV	Average	80	172	110	1.4	1.6	2.2
	StDev	25	22	38			
ST	Average	107	221	118	1.1	1.9	2.1
	StDev	27	61	48			
AI	Average	99	248	126	1.3	2.0	2.5
	StDev	36	84	52			
EI	Average	121	350	157	1.3	2.2	2.9
	StDev	32	59	55			

It is easily seen that there are speakers (AL, OM, EN, and AG) who pronounce the final vowel as short (as confirmed by both absolute durations and the V2/V1 ratio) and speakers (KV and AI) who pronounce the final vowel as long. Other speakers (LM, GI, ST, and EI) cannot be unambiguously classified into either of these two groups.

The duration of the final vowel can vary substantially within the speech of a given speaker. The high ratio (40% or more) of the standard deviation to the average duration of the final vowel (LM, GI, ST, and AI) testifies to this.

The length of the geminate also varies significantly (in this case between speakers rather than in the speech of one speaker), and we suppose that the original short geminate has often been reanalysed into a full geminate. Note that if the final vowel is pronounced as short, the presence of a short geminate in a disyllable does not appear to be justified. However, we refrain from making definite conclusions, as it is not clear whether the morphophonological structure of the suffix concerned should be considered as a part of the entire pronominal form or separately. This is because the suffix demonstrates certain features proper to a phonetically independent word. In particular, its initial vowel is usually stressed, and this cannot be explained in terms of secondary stress (which occurs on odd syllables), because the first vowel of the suffix is stressed even after pronominal stems consisting of one or three syllables (e.g. in *ken-iǩkee* or *milläižen-iǩkee*). The position of a derivational suffix (in our case, the indefinite suffix) after inflectional suffix(es) (i.e. case and number markers) also appears exceptional.

The quality of the final vowel varies between *e(e)*, *ä(ä)*, and *eä*. The variant with final *e(e)* definitely dominates, while *ä(ä)* and *eä*[17] occur rarely. The latter appear primarily in the speech of native speakers EI and AI, who have a tendency to pronounce the hypercorrected vowel *ä/a* instead of *e* in some morphological forms, e.g. *miulla* '1SG.ALL' instead of *miulle* (EI) and *annatti* 'give.IPS.PST' instead of *annetti* (AI). We hypothesize that although *ikkää* is mentioned in Porkka (1885 : 87), in contemporary Ingrian the forms *iǩkää* and *iǩkeä* are innovations rather than archaisms.

We conclude that the distribution of the variants of *-iǩkee* is idiolectal with elements of free variation.

4.2.4. Assimilation of the consonant preceding the suffix *-lee*

When an indefinite suffix is attached to an interrogative/relative pronominal form, sandhi changes are possible. This primarily concerns the suffix *-lee*. Most regularly, the change occurs when the final consonant of the interrogative/relative pronominal form is [n]. In this case, *n* changes into *l*: *ken-lee* [kellee][18] 'who-INDEF', *kenen-lee* [kenellee] 'who.GEN-INDEF', *minen-lee* [minellee] 'what.GEN-INDEF', *milläin-lee* [milläillee] 'which-INDEF', etc. However, in distinct speech the assimilated *n* is usually restored, e.g. [ken-lee]. That is to say, register variation is observed here.

4.2.5. Morpheme order in forms with the suffix *-lee*

The place of the indefinite suffix *-lee* in a wordform is not strictly fixed. Variation on this point is widespread in the neighbouring Votic language (see Маркус & Рожанский 2017 : 463), but in Soikkola Ingrian the indefinite suffix usually stands after the case marker and the inverse morpheme order occurs very rarely. Although some native speakers confirm forms with the inverse order, unambiguous cases are only attested in some elicited examples from one Soikkola speaker (8, 9).

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[17] In our measurements of diphthongs, the difference between F_1 at points 1/3 and 2/3 of the way through the vowel's duration constitutes 150—200 Hz.

[18] As the duration of the final vowel varies, this form can sound similar to the allative of the interrogative/relative pronoun *ken* 'who' — *ke-lle* 'who-ALL'.

(8) *hää läǩkä-iž   millaiže-lee-št poigaižee-št*
    3SG speak-PST.3SG what-INDEF-ELA boy-ELA
    'She spoke about some boy' (183EN)

(9) *hää ke-le-ld   otti raȟhaa*
    3SG who-INDEF-ABL take money.PART
    'He took money from somebody' (350EN)

We evaluate this variation as idiolectal with elements of free variation.

Alvre (1985 : 163) mentions that the repetition of a case suffix after the indefinite suffix is a specific Ingrian feature and gives the example *milikkel* 'auf (in) irgendeinem' (i.e. *mi-l-ikke-l* 'what-ADE-INDEF-ADE'). In our data, such examples are not attested with the indefinite suffix *-iǩkee*.

4.2.6. Variation of marked and unmarked indefinites

Unmarked indefinite pronouns are fairly typical for Ingrian. They do not have any markers of indefiniteness and are formally interrogative/relative pronouns functioning as indefinite pronouns (10, 11).[19] Haspelmath (1997 : 170—174) labels such pronouns "bare interrogatives as indefinites" and lists a number of syntactic features which can disambiguate between sentences with interrogatives and indefinites. In our paper, we prefer the term "unmarked indefinites".

(10) *i   kogo aiǩka-a ove-d   ol-ťtii   aug ei   hǫǫli*
     and all   time-PART door-PL.NOM be-IPS.PST open NEG.3SG need.CNG
     hervi-dä   što k e n varaštaa   midä-iǩkee   vai m i l l a i n
     be_afraid-INF that who   steal.PRS.3SG what.PART-INDEF or   which
     paȟhain ihmiin tuľloo
     bad   person come.PRS.3SG
     'And the doors were open all the time, one does not have to worry that someone will steal something, or some bad person will come' (Druž-noi_vägi_VV)

(11) *m i d ä   pid-i   teh-ä konž šiž šee emä šao-i*
     what.PART have_to-PST.3SG do-INF when then that mother say-PST.3SG
     ľiďa-lle ľiďa šiž šao-i   ižä-lle
     Lida-ALL Lida then say-PST.3SG father-ALL
     'When it was necessary to do something, then our mother would tell Lida, and Lida would tell our father' (Munad(B)_AI)

Unmarked indefinite pronominal adverbs also occur in our data (12).

(12) *miä k u š t   tüe-n   hǫǫ paňnoo-d ove-n   kiin*
     1SG from_where come.PRS-1SG 3PL put.PRS-3PL door-GEN close
     '(When) I come from somewhere, they lock the door' (Šoomeež_EV)

The Basic Grammar Questionnaire contains the sentence 'If he asks you (about) something, don't say that you saw me today', where an indefinite

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[19] Pronouns that combine the relative, interrogative and indefinite functions are not rare cross-linguistically (see, for example, Зализняк & Падучева 1975 : 97). While discussing the identity of indefinite and interrogative pronouns Haspelmath (2013) notes that "[t]his possibility exists in some Slavic and Germanic languages (e.g. colloquial German *Ist da wer?* [is there who] 'Is there somebody there?'), and it is particularly widespread in Australian languages."

pronoun in conditional function (Haspelmath 1997 : 2) is expected. In 7 of 20 translations of this sentence, the pronoun *midä* 'what' without any indefinite marker is used. In 12 of the remaining 13 translations the indefinite pronouns *midä-iǩkee* or *midä-iǩkenää* occur, the pronoun *midä-leǩkää* occurs once, and variation between *midä* and *midä-iǩkee* is also attested once. In translations of the sentences 'He always wants something' and 'I think that someone is knocking at the door' where the specific interpretation is likely (see section 4.2.1), none of the speakers uses an unmarked indefinite. By contrast, when translating the sentence 'Hide all the bottles behind the shelves, otherwise someone will see' with the non-specific context, 3 native speakers use an unmarked indefinite. Haspelmath (1997 : 173) concludes that such unmarked forms have non-specific rather than specific function and notes that "a restriction of bare interrogatives can also be found outside Indo-European". Our data confirm these observations.

The unmarked indefinites are also observed in bi-pronominal distributive constructions, cf. example (3) where both the first component *ken* 'who' and the second component *mišt* 'from where(ever)' are unmarked. In such constructions, forms with indefinite suffixes do not occur (though the second component can attach the particle -*gi*).

A thorough analysis of unmarked indefinites is not possible in the current paper, and requires separate research, because the distribution of marked and unmarked forms is intricate. Cf. the conclusions reached in the typological research of Третьякова (2009 : 170—171): "The results obtained indicate that in languages that use unmarked indefinite pronouns along with marked ones, the motivation for choosing one form or another is quite difficult to explain without referring to the pragmatics of the utterance. [–––] The answer to the question of what conditions determine the choice of unmarked indefinite pronouns in a statement must probably be sought at the level of discourse." However, our first impression from the data we have is that the distribution of the marked and unmarked types of indefinites involves a combination of three types of variation: contextual, idiolectal and free.

5. Negative pronouns

5.1. General description

Previous sources on Ingrian do not discuss negative pronouns in detail. The descriptions of Porkka (1885 : 87) and Лаанест (1978 : 253) give a couple of examples, and the article by Rozhanskiy & Markus (2017 : 207—209) provides only basic information on negative pronouns in Soikkola Ingrian.

The general principle of how Soikkola negative pronouns are built is very simple: a negative particle *kaa*/*kää* is attached to an interrogative pronoun, and the resulting composite is lexicalized. However, this concatenation can be accompanied by different morphophonological processes, resulting in a great diversity of negative pronominal forms. We distinguish five strategies for the concatenation of an interrogative pronoun with the particle *kaa*/*kää*.

1. The particle is attached to an interrogative/relative pronoun (or a pronominal adverb) without any changes, e.g. *mišt-kää* what.ELA-PTCL 'from nothing', *keš-kää* who.INE-PTCL 'in nobody', *konš-kaa* when-PTCL 'never'. If the final

segment of the pronominal stem is a vowel or a nasal consonant, the voiced allophone of the initial consonant of the particle is used, e.g. *minen-gää* what.GEN-PTCL 'of nothing', *kelle-gää* who.ALL-PTCL 'to nobody', *kuhu-gaa* where-PTCL 'to nowhere'.[20] This type is attested for most case forms of pronouns.

2. The initial consonant of the particle attached to an interrogative/relative pronoun (or a pronominal adverb) becomes geminated, e.g. *mil̆kkää* what.ADE+PTCL 'on nothing', *ken̆kkää* who.NOM+PTCL 'nobody', *kuhŭkkaa* where_to+PTCL 'to nowhere'.

3. The initial consonant of the particle attached to an interrogative/relative pronoun (or a pronominal adverb) assimilates to the final consonant of the pronoun. As a result, a full geminate appears at the boundary between the pronoun and indefinite suffix, e.g. *miššää* what.INE+PTCL 'in nothing' < *miž + kää*, *kellää* who.ADE+PTCL 'on nobody' < *kel + kää*, *kuššaa* where+PTCL 'nowhere' < *kuž + kää*.

4. The initial consonant of the particle attached to an interrogative/relative pronoun (or a pronominal adverb) is dropped. This can happen as the result of two different processes. The first is archaic and concerns weakening or dropping of the consonant after unstressed syllables, see Hakulinen (1961 : 153—154). This process resulted in the forms *mik̆kää* what.NOM+PTCL 'nothing', *mit̆tää* what.PART+PTCL 'of nothing', and *ket̆tää* who.PART+PTCL 'of nobody'. Hakulinen (1961 : 154) notes that "*k* after a vowel is strictly regular only when the syllable with the vowel has main or secondary stress, but it became general in other positions", and in Finnish, we can see alternating forms: *mitään ~ mitäkään, ketään ~ ketäkään, kussaan ~ kussakaan*, etc. (Setälä & Sadeniemi 1975 : 94). In our Ingrian data, such variation is not attested.

The second process concerns simplification of consonant clusters. If a pronoun ends in a cluster, the initial consonant of the particle is dropped in order to avoid a cluster of three consonants. This has resulted in the forms *mištää* what.ELA+PTCL 'from nothing' (< *mišt + kää*), *keštää* who.ELA+PTCL 'from nobody' (< *kešt + kää*), *keldää* who.ABL+PTCL 'from nobody' (< *keld + kää*), and *kuštaa* where_from+PTCL 'from nowhere' (< *kušt + kää*).

5. The initial consonant of the particle attached to an interrogative/relative pronoun (or a pronominal adverb) is dropped (as in the previous strategy), and additionally the final consonant of the pronoun becomes geminated before the long vowel. Only two such forms are attested in our data: *kel̆ttää* who.ABL+PTCL 'from nobody' < *keld + gää* and *konššaa* when+PTCL 'never' < *konž + gaa*.

In the forms where the initial consonant of the particle is dropped or assimilated, the presence of the attached particle is not obvious to native speakers. Such forms can acquire this particle again, resulting in forms with double marking such as *ket̆tää-gää* 'nobody', *mit̆tääk̆kää ~ mit̆tää-gää* 'nothing', and *konššaak̆kaa ~ konššaa-gaa* 'never'. These forms appear most systematically in the speech of younger speakers.

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[20] We use the following system in the spelling of negative pronouns: if the negative particle *kaa/kää* (*gaa/gää*) is attached without any morphophonological changes, we separate it off with a hyphen. If some such changes are involved, in either the stem or the particle, we write the negative pronoun as a single word.

When the particle *kaa/kää* (*gaa/gää*) is added to a pronominal form ending in *n*, this *n* can be dropped, e.g. *kene-gää ~ keneǩkää* nobody.GEN 'of nobody' instead of *kenen-gää ~ kenenǩkää*.

5.2. Variation of negative pronouns

Table 6 contains the negative pronominal forms of *kenǩkää* 'nobody' and *miǩkää* 'nothing' that were attested in our data. The forms which occur in the Spontaneous Speech Corpus are marked in bold and accompanied by two numbers. The first number indicates how many times a particular form is attested in the corpus, and the second number (in parentheses) shows how many speakers use this form. We did not manage to elicit reliable negative forms for essive and excessive cases of both pronouns, or for the ablative form of *miǩkää* 'nothing', so these forms are missing from the table. The lack of symmetry between forms of 'nobody' and 'nothing' can be explained by the limited amount of data.

Table 6

Forms of negative pronouns 'nobody' and 'nothing' attested in our data

	nobody	nothing
NOM	***kenǩkää*** 20 (10)	*miǩkää*
GEN	***kene(n)-gää*** 2 (1) ***kene(n)ǩkää*** 2 (2)	*minen-gää*
PART	***keťtää*** 5 (2) *keťtää-gää*	***miťtää*** 73 (16) *miťtää-gää* ***miťtääǩkää*** 1 (1)
ILL	*kehe-gää* *keȟhee* *keȟhee-gää*	*mihe-gää* *miȟhee*
INE	*keš-kää* *keššää*	*miš-kää* ***miššää*** 2 (2)
ELA	*kešt-kää* *keštää*	*mist-kää* *mištää*
ALL	***kelle-gää*** 6 (2)	*mille-gää*
ADE	*kel-gää* *kelǩkää* *kellää*	*mil-gää* *milǩkää* *millää*
ABL	*kelt-kää* *keldää* *kelťtää*	
TRSL	???*kenekš-kää*	???*minekš-kää*

The negative translative forms attested in our elicited data are *kenekš-kää* (from *ken* 'who'; recorded twice by different native speakers) and *minekš-kää* (from *migä* 'what'; recorded once). We cannot exclude the possibility that this forms are constructed by analogy with the genitive forms so we mark them with ??? (see section 3.2.1). Negative forms based on the variants *kekš* 'who.TRSL' and *mikš* 'what.TRSL' are not attested.

Unlike *ken* 'who' and *migä* 'what', whose negative forms demonstrate a large amount of variation, *millain ~ milläin ~ milťtain ~ milťtäin ~ milliin*

'which, what kind of' derives negative forms in a uniform way by adding
kaa/kää (*gaa/gää*) without or with minimal sandhi. The variation that was
observed in our material mostly concerns the stem (see section 3.2.3). The
following forms are attested in our data: Nom.Sg *milt̆tain-gaa*, Part.Sg *mil-
läišt-kää ~ milliišt-kää*, Ill.Sg *millaižeek̆kaa ~ milläižee-gää*, Ine.Sg *milläi-
žeeš-kää*, Ela.Sg *milläižeešt-kää*, Ade.Sg *milläžeelk̆kää*, Abl.Sg *milližeeltk̆kää*,
Nom.Pl *millaišt-kaa*, Part.Pl *mildäižiä-gää ~ milläižiä-gää*, Ade.Pl *millai-
žiilk̆kaa*. In the Spontaneous Speech Corpus, only two of these forms occur
(both in the same narrative): Part.Sg *milläišt-kää* (pronounced [milleštkää])
and Part.Pl *mildäižiä-gää* (pronounced [mildežegää]).

Negative forms from *kumba* 'which (one)' are not attested in our data
(though they exist in closely related Finnish, see Vilkuna 2015 : 469—470,
477).

Variation of forms is very typical for pronominal adverbs where both
morphophonological variants with sandhi and competition between different
roots (see section 3.2.2) are present: *kuš-kaa ~ kuššaa ~ miš-kää ~ miššaa*
'where', *kuhu-gaa ~ kuhuk̆kaa ~ kuh̆huu ~ kenne-gaa ~ mihe-gää ~ mihek̆kää*[21]
'where to', *kušt-kaa ~ kuštaa ~ mišt-kää ~ mištää* 'where from', *konš-kaa ~
konššaa ~ konššaak̆kaa ~ konššaa-gaa* 'never'. However, no variation of forms
was attested for the pronominal adverb *kuink̆kaa* 'in no way' and the numeral
adverb *üht-kää*[22] 'not a single'.

Typically, a given native speaker prefers one of the possible variants of
a negative pronominal or adverbial form, but it sometimes happens that
different variants occur in the speech of the same person. In order to test
the type of variation of negative forms more formally, we analysed variants
of 'never' in the Basic Grammar Questionnaire ('never' is the most frequent
negative form there, occurring in 7 sentences of the questionnaire). Three
variants of 'never' were observed: *konššaa*, *konš-kaa*, and *konššaak̆kaa*
(making up 62%, 30% and 8% of attestations respectively). We considered
questionnaires recorded by 34 speakers with more than 5 occurrences of
'never' for each.[23] We checked whether the native speakers use the same
form of 'never' or different forms. Most of the speakers (26 out of 34) do
not demonstrate variation. Only 8 native speakers use different forms. In
six cases, a deviant form was used only once (regularly *konššaa* but once
konššaak̆kaa — 3 speakers, regularly *konššaa* but once *konš-kaa* — 1 speaker,
regularly *konš-kaa* but once *konššaa* — 1 speaker, and regularly *konššaak̆kaa*
but once *konššaa* — 1 speaker). Two more speakers have more than one
occurrence of both *konššaa* and *konš-kaa*. As the distribution of the vari-
ants does not correlate with the dialectal zones, we can conclude that the
variation of negative forms is primarily idiolectal but shows some traces of
free variation.

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[21] The form *mih̆hee* expected here is attested in our data only as a negative counterpart
of *mihe*, the illative case form of *migä* 'what'. We do not know whether this form func-
tions as an adverb.
[22] In Ingrian, there is an adverb *ühtää* 'at all', which possibly also originates from
üht 'one.PART' and a negative particle *-kää*. However, there is some difference in the
meanings of *ühtää* and *üht-kää* as the latter means 'not a single'.
[23] Four questionnaires are not considered because they were recorded only partially,
and only one occurrence of 'never' for each speaker was attested.

6. Conclusions

The three classes of pronouns under discussion here — interrogative/relative, indefinite, and negative — demonstrate a high degree of diversity among the Finnic languages, and the Ingrian material provides further evidence of this. In particular, Soikkola Ingrian has its own set of indefinite pronominal suffixes different from those of the neighbouring related varieties (e.g. the borrowed suffix *-nibu(i)t'*, which is regular in Jõgõperä Votic and Lower Luga Ingrian, is absent from Soikkola Ingrian, while the variant *ikkenää*, occasionally attested in Soikkola Ingrian, is related to the main indefinite suffix of Luuditsa Votic, *-ittšenä*). A significant difference exists between Soikkola Ingrian and closely related Finnish. In terms of the classification of indefinite pronoun systems by Haspelmath (2013), Ingrian is a typical representative of the class "Interrogative-based indefinites", and Finnish belongs to the class "Special indefinites" (see details on Finnish in Haspelmath 1997 : 292—293).

Table 7 summarizes the types of variation in interrogative/relative, indefinite, and negative pronouns. These types are labeled in the table as I — idiolectal, C — context, R — register, and F — free variation. The plus sign marks the presence of the corresponding type, while a plus sign in parentheses indicates that some traces of this type were attested. If we do not have enough data to draw a definite conclusion but we suspect that the type is possible, we use the symbol "?".

Table 7

Types of variation in different classes of pronouns

	Section	I	C	R	F
Interrogative/relative pronouns					
Translative singular forms of *ken* 'who' and *migä* 'what'	3.2.1	?			
Adverbial forms: *kuhu ~ mihe, kuž ~ miž, kušt ~ mist*	3.2.2	(+)			+
Adverbial forms: *mihe ~ mikš*	3.2.2		+		+
'Which, what kind of': *millain ~ milläin ~ milˇttain ~ milˇttäin ~ milliin*	3.2.3	+			(+)
Indefinite pronouns					
Variation of forms with different indefinite suffixes	4.2.1		+		+
Variation of the vowel length in suffix *-lee*	4.2.2	+			(+)
Variation of the consonant and final vowel in suffix *-ikkee*	4.2.3	+			(+)
Assimilation of the consonant preceding the suffix *-lee*	4.2.4			+	
Morpheme order in forms with the suffix *-lee*	4.2.5	+			(+)
Variation with the interrogative/relative pronouns	4.2.6	+	+		+
Negative pronouns					
Variation of negative pronominal forms	5.2	+			(+)

Thus, the general tendency in the variation types of interrogative/relative, indefinite, and negative pronouns is the same as in the classes of pronouns analysed in Schwarz & Rozhanskiy 2022: idiolectal and free variation are the types most typically observed; contextual and register variation are rare; dialectal variation is not found.

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Abbreviations

ABL — ablative; ADE — adessive; ALL — allative; ELA — elative; GEN — genitive; ILL — illative; INDEF — indefinite pronoun suffix; INE — inessive; INF — infinitive; IPS — impersonal; NOM — nominative; PART — partitive; PL — plural; PRS — present; PST — past; PTCL — particle; SG — singular; TRSL — translative; **2** — 2nd person; **3** — 3nd person.

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Appendix. Sentences from the Basic Grammar Questionnaire mentioned in the article

All Ingrian native speakers with whom we worked are bilingual, and their language of everyday communication is Russian. The elicited Ingrian examples were translations of Russian stimuli. Since the pronominal system of English differs significantly from that of Russian and it is not easy to understand through the English translation what the original stimulus was, in Table 8 we give the original Russian stimuli of the sentences mentioned in our article. In the first column of the table,

the number of the sentence in the questionnaire is indicated. In the rightmost column, we give an example of translation into Ingrian for every stimulus.

Table 8

Russian stimuli from the Basic Grammar Questionnaire

N	Russian	English	Ingrian
82	Когда-то давно они жили в Вистино, но потом уехали в Петербург	Some time ago they lived in Vistino, but then they moved to St. Petersburg	*konž-lee aĭkkaa hᵒ̈ᵒ̈ eĺliid viištinaaž, a šiiž mäñniid petterii*
99	Мне кажется, кто-то стучится в дверь	I think that someone is knocking at the door	*miulle näüttiijää kel-lee loiškaa oᵛ̌vee*
100	Ему всегда чего-то хочется	He always wants something	*hänelle ain midä-lee tahtohuu*
108	Его родители умерли в Петербурге, а сам он уехал куда-то далеко	His parents died in St. Petersburg, and he himself moved somewhere far away	*hänen vanhemmad kọọliid petterii, a itse hää mäni kuhulee eĭtäälle*
118	Спрячь все бутылки за шкафы, а то кто-нибудь увидит	Hide all the bottles behind the shelves, otherwise someone will see	*peidä kaig puĭteelid kaappiloin taǩkaakš, a to ken-iǩkee näǩköö*
127	Если он станет тебя о чем-то спрашивать, то не говори, что видел сегодня меня	If he asks you (about) something, don't say that you saw me today	*hää kui noiššoo šiñnua midäiǩkee küžümää, šiä elä šao što näid miñnua*

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СИСТЕМА МЕСТОИМЕНИЙ В СОЙКИНСКОМ ДИАЛЕКТЕ ИЖОРСКОГО ЯЗЫКА: ВОПРОСИТЕЛЬНЫЕ/ОТНОСИТЕЛЬНЫЕ, НЕОПРЕДЕЛЕННЫЕ И ОТРИЦАТЕЛЬНЫЕ МЕСТОИМЕНИЯ И ИХ ВАРИАТИВНОСТЬ

В статье анализируются несколько классов местоимений в сойкинском диалекте ижорского языка, а именно вопросительные/относительные, неопределенные и отрицательные местоимения. Эти классы местоимений относятся к одной из самых малоописанных частей ижорской морфологии, поэтому основная цель статьи — описательная. Особое внимание уделяется анализу вариативности внутри классов местоимений. В то время как вариативность в вопросительных/относительных местоимениях в основном касается нюансов формообразования, неопределенные и отрицательные местоимения демонстрируют немало конкурирующих вариантов. В случае неопределенных местоимений вариативность возникает из-за разнообразия местоименных суффиксов со значением неопределенности, различающихся своим происхождением и семантикой. У отрицательных местоимений другой источник вариативности — это морфонологические процессы, действующие при присоединении отрицательной частицы *-kaa/-kää* к местоименной основе. Во всех рассматриваемых классах местоимений чаще всего наблюдаются идиолектное и свободное варьирование, в то время как контекстуальное и регистровое варьирование встречаются реже.

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ISURI KEELE SOIKKOLA MURDE PRONOOMENISÜSTEEM: KÜSIVAD-SIDUVAD, UMBMÄÄRASED JA EITAVAD ASESÕNAD NING NENDE VARIEERUMINE

Artiklis analüüsitakse isuri keele Soikkola murde küsivaid-siduvaid, umbmääraseid ja eitavaid asesõnu. Need asesõnaklassid kuuluvad isuri morfoloogia kõige vähem käsitletud osade hulka, seega on artikli peamine eesmärk kirjeldav. Erilist tähelepanu pööratakse nende asesõnaliikide varieeruvuse analüüsile. Kui küsivate-siduvate asesõnade korral esineb varieeruvust peamiselt nende moodustamises, siis umbmäärastel ja eitavatel asesõnadel on palju konkureerivaid variante. Umbmääraste asesõnade puhul tuleneb varieeruvus erineva päritolu ja funktsiooniga umbmääraste järelliidete kasutamisest. Eitavatel asesõnadel on teistsugune varieeruvuse allikas: see tuleneb morfofonoloogilistest protsessidest, mis tekivad asesõnatüve ja eitussõna liitumisel. Kõigis neis asesõnaklassides täheldatakse tavaliselt idiolektilist ja vaba varieerumist, samal ajal kui konteksti- ja registripõhist varieerumist esineb palju harvemini.