

Abstract: *Prima che i russi si stabilissero a Primor'e nella seconda metà del diciannovesimo secolo, commercianti e coloni cinesi avevano dominato la regione e monopolizzato il commercio con la popolazione indigena, portando alla sinizzazione dei toponimi indigeni tungusi. Questi toponimi vennero successivamente tradotti in russo, e tali prestiti linguistici – spesso indiretti e distorti – rimasero in uso per quasi un secolo. L'articolo esamina la concomitanza di vari fattori che hanno favorito questa interazione linguistica. All'inizio degli anni Settanta, in seguito alle dispute sui confini sino-sovietici, per evitare delle eventuali future rivendicazioni territoriali, il governo sovietico decretava che tutti i toponimi anche lontanamente legati alla Cina dovevano essere cambiati. Ciò ha comportato la perdita di 1780 nomi storici (compresi idronimi, oronimi, oconimi). Tuttavia, mezzo secolo dopo, non tutti questi nomi puramente russi sono entrati nell'uso corrente, mentre alcuni dei nomi originari continuano ad essere regolarmente utilizzati.*

Introductory remarks¹

Place names reflect historical conditions, natural characteristics of territories named and specific features of the languages of the peoples inhabiting these territories. N.I. Nadeždin (1804-1856), a literary critic and geographer of the nineteenth century, refers to place names as “the language of the earth” and describes the earth as “a book where human history is written in the geographical nomenclature” (1837: 28).

The study of place names is carried out by *toponymy*, which attracts specialists from a variety of disciplines, including cartographers, historians, ethnographers, and biologists, but above all, linguists. From seemingly ordinary geographical names (hydronyms, oronyms and oconyms),² through a comprehensive analysis, which includes historical, geographical, ethnographic, and other information, linguists seek to determine the etymology and semantics of these terms.

The main terms used by toponymy are the *toponymic stem* (the semantic part of the

toponym) and the *formant* (a word-forming element that is not used independently in the language), which often indicates the type of object. A *toponymic calque* is a translated copy of a name that retains its original meaning. *Hybrid names*, or *semi-calques*, are toponyms whose components (*stems* or *formants*) derive from different languages.

The toponymic space of Приморский край /Primorskij kraj/³ is determined by its geographical position, reflected in the very name of the region, as *при* /pri/ means ‘near’ and *море* /more/ means ‘sea’. This article does not aim to show all aspects of the toponymy of Primor'e but is limited to the etymology and semantics of the names of some geographical objects of this region.

Vladivostok, the largest city of Primor'e, was founded on July 2, 1860, four months before the Treaty of Peking was signed. An oceanfront city, exposed to winds and woven of contradictions, a free-trade port and at the same time a military post, city of sailors, fishermen and adventurers, referred to as a ‘Far Eastern Nice’ in the 1900s, Vladivostok was a city at the junction of civilisations: Japan in the east, China in the west, Korea in the south. Not as large as Shanghai, Vladivostok was nevertheless home to a large and thriving expatriate community which socialised in German and English. A Russian city built by Europeans, a European city in Asia: Vladivostok comprised a rich and complex blend of cultures and languages.

Indigenous population of the region

The Chinese historical tradition divided and described all neighbours according to the cardinal directions. The peoples of interest to us were classified as *dong yi* 夷 (Дун И) ‘Eastern Barbarians’. This term first appeared in the texts of the middle first millennium BCE and it was a hypernym⁴ for the indigenous peoples of the Shandong 山東 Peninsula, including the *sushen*

肅慎 ethnic group. Subsequently, ancient ethnonyms⁵ were transferred to the new extended areas. The exonym⁶ *sushen* became a collective name for non-Chinese tribes in the northeastern outskirts of ancient China. The inhabitants of Manchuria and Primor'e were also associated with *sushen* (Brodjanskij 1996: 134). The evolutionary line is usually drawn as follows: *sushen* – *yilou* – *wuji* – *mobe* (сушэнь – илоу – уцзи – мохэ); however, there is no plausible anthropological evidence linking *dongyi* with *sushen*. The cultures of the Northeast (the term traditionally includes the cultures of Dongbei 東北, Korea, Primor'e and Priamur'e⁷) have differed from the cultures of North and East China since the Paleolithic, but these differences do not exclude their possible contacts (Brodjanskij 1996: 135).

In the V century CE, the area of modern-day Primor'e, Priamur'e and Northeast China was inhabited by *mobe*. *Mobe* consisted of several communities and lived within the territory from the valley of the Sungari River (*Songhuajiang* 松花江) in the southwest to the lower Amur in the northeast. In the VIII-IX centuries, some of the *mobe* tribes lived within the state of Bohai 渤海 (698-926), which occupied the eastern part of modern Northeast China, southwest of Primor'e and the northern part of the Korean Peninsula. In the X century, these tribes were conquered by the Khitans⁸ (кидани, *Qidan* 契丹), a nomadic people, who by that time had developed their own writing system. The ethnonym *Jurchen* (чжурчжэни) derives from the Khitan *n.i.gu* 'gold', transcribed in Chinese as *nügu* 女古. Accordingly, *nüguzhen* 女古真 and *nüzhen* 女真 mean 'the people who live on the Golden River' (Kučanov 1997: 155). The Jurchen founded two dynasties that reigned over China: the Jin 金 (NB: lit. 'gold') dynasty (1115-1234) and the later Manchu (*manzu* 滿族) Qing 清 dynasty (1644-1911).

Therefore, according to Bičurin (1777-1853), the eastern edge of Central Asia had

always been inhabited by the same ethnic group, the Tungus. Having originally appeared in history under the name of *sushen*, over time this group developed into two types: northern Tungus, or Manchus, and southern Tungus, or Koreans. Furthermore, as Bičurin points out, the term *Tungus* (тугус) is an exonym: "It is likely that the Russians, having originally reached the Jenisej River, borrowed this term from the Jenisej Tatars. We learnt from Chinese history that, since the earliest times, the Tungus breed pigs. Today, pigs are used exclusively as sacrificial animals, and 'pig' in Tatar is *dongus*" ([1851] 1950: 7).

By the XVI-XVII centuries, the two major Tungusic indigenous groups who lived within the territory of Primor'e were the *woji* (воцзой) and *warka* (варка), the ancestors of the Nanai and the Oroch respectively. In addition to the Tungusic-speaking peoples, the territory was also inhabited by the Ainu and the Nivkh, whose languages are classified as 'Paleo-Asiatic' (Diakova 2015: 620-621)(Fig. 1).

The indigenous languages were orally transmitted and had no writing systems; accordingly, local toponyms were kept only in memory throughout generations. Solov'ev (1973: 141) notes that the indigenous peoples made no distinction between common and proper names. The first toponyms were generic and nominative and often denoted a geographical object (mountain, river, lake, etc.). The people who lived there were called by the name of the place. For example, the ethnonym *warka* derives from the name of the area where these people lived, while *woji* comes from the Manchu *вэжу* 'grove, dense forest extending over a large area' (Cincius 1975: 130-131).

Primor'e on the first geographical maps

More than three and a half centuries ago, the territory of what is now Primor'e was a white spot on the maps. For example,

on the *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (1655) by Martino Martini (1614-1661), the coastal line of the region and mountain ridges that extend from the north to the east and southeast on the mainland part of the territory are marked very approximately. On the 1663 map by Joan Blaeu (1596-1673), the contours of Primor'e appear inaccurate, and the Jesuit Philippe Avril's (1654-1698) work of 1692 lacks information on this territory. Witsen's (1641-1717) map of 1697, based on the reports of Russian explorers, was the first to offer any real data on this region (Solov'ëv 1973: 19).

Subsequently revised, Witsen's map was published in 1706 by Isbrantz Ides (1657-1708), the Russian envoy to China from 1692 to 1695. This map shows the Amur River system in more detail and Primor'e is charted as an exclusively mountainous land (Fig. 2).

In 1709, the Kangxi 康熙 Emperor sent the Jesuits Jean-Baptiste Régis (1663-1738), Pierre Jartoux (1669-1720) and Xavier Ehrenbert Fridelli (1673-1743) to map Manchuria. By 1733, based on the data received from the Jesuits, the French cartographer Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697-1782) completed a depiction of lands beyond the border with Manchuria. The placenames were transliterated from Manchu directly onto the map (Cams 2014: 59). The first Russian map of Primor'e was created by Bičurin in 1851 based on the Manchu-language sources (Sazykin 2012: 10).

Based on the data collected by Régis, Jartoux and Fridelli, several maps were also published in 1718 in China. The geographical objects on these maps are transcribed in Chinese and followed the rules of Chinese geography, i.e., each object has a toponymic formant, e.g., *he* 河 'river', *shan* 山 'mountain', *cheng* 城 'city'. This naturally assigns Chinese forms to the local aboriginal toponyms and significantly distorts their sound (Solov'ëv 1975: 8).

For example, the hydronym *Ulahe*

(Улаха), the name of a large tributary of the Ussuri River, underwent an interesting metamorphosis. The term derives from the Tungus-Manchu *ula* 'deep and wide river'. To the stem *ula*, which the Chinese assumed was a proper name, they added a formant *he*, also meaning 'river'. Consequently, in the 1860s, the hybrid term *Ulahe* was charted on Russian maps (Šavkunov 1992). In 1972, the *Ulahe* became to be referred to as *part of the Ussuri* and was accordingly renamed *Ussuri*. Interestingly, at the time of d'Anville and Bičurin, the *Ulahe* river was already known as *Ussuri* (Solov'ëv 1975: 26).


On the origins of the hydronym Amur

The first Russian settlers from Eastern Siberia came to the Upper Amur around 1650 and began to develop the territory. In this regard, it is interesting to address the origins of the hydronym Amur. The Nivkh name for Amur is *La* or *Laeri*; *la* means 'wind, large water space' and *eri* means 'river'. The first local ethnic group Russian settlers encountered were the Daghur, so the Russian name of the river is based on a false dissection of the Daghur name *Kara-mur* 'Black River', which itself is a calque of the Manchu name of the river *Sabalïyan-ula* 'Black River' (Gruzdeva, Temina 2020: 172). In modern China, the Amur is called the Heilongjiang 黑龍江 'Black Dragon River'.

Europeans and place names given by Europeans

The earliest European place names appear in the territory of Primor'e in the late XVIII century and are associated with the French naval expedition of Jean-François de La Pérouse (1741-1788), such as the Gulf of Ternay, after Admiral Charles-Henri-Louis d'Arsac de Ternay (1723-1780), and the Bay of Suffren (today *Золотой* 'Golden'), in honour of Admiral Pierre André de Suffren (1726/29-1788).

In 1852, the crew of the French cor-



vette *Caprice* discovered and described the Bay of d'Anville (since 1854 Possiet) named after Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, a renown French cartographer, and the Pelis Islands, French *Iles Pelees*, meaning 'naked', due to the poverty of their forest vegetation. The islands were renamed the Rimsky-Korsakov⁹ Islands in 1863, but their original name remained assigned to the largest island of the archipelago, which today is called Greater Pelis (*Большой Пелис*) (Sazykin 2012: 41, 162).

In 1855-1856, during the Crimean War, the battleships of the Anglo-French squadron patrolled the shores of Kamchatka and visited the coasts of Primor'e. They discovered, charted and assigned hydronyms to several gulfs: Napoleon, Guérin (after René-Florimond-François Guérin d'Étoquigny (1762-1831), a general of the Napoleonic era), Hornet (named after the British corvette *Hornet*, it was subsequently named the Gulf of America and today is known as Naxodka Bay), Port Seymour (in honour of Admiral Sir Michael Seymour (1780-1834), today Olga Bay), Port May (after the Navigating Officer of the frigate *Winchester*), Victoria Bay (currently Peter the Great Gulf), and Hamelin Strait.

One of the main sources on these territories during the mid-nineteenth century is the *Personal Narrative of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary, and Various Parts of Coast of China* (Tronson 1859: 373-374): "We were now advancing towards a more thickly peopled region, and in many creeks, we could discern some Tartar houses, with a few boats or canoes drawn up on shore <...>. Some of the islands afford capacious and well-sheltered anchorages and are partly inhabited by Mantchu Tartars..."

It is interesting to note that Tronson does not use the terms *Chinese, Han, Cathay, or Mandarin*. Having previously been to China, it was obvious to Tronson that the people of the region were not Chinese (Zuenko 2017).

In 1860, the Russian government decided to apply the status of *porto-franco* to all

ports of Primor'e to help economic development. This attracted many merchants and expats from Europe and the USA.

In 1864, Gustav Kunst (1836-1905) and Gustav Albers (1838-1911) from Hamburg opened a store in Vladivostok (Fig. 3), which was the first German department store outside Germany. Kunst & Albers not only sold agricultural machinery from Mannheim, beer from Munich, champagne from France, and the latest styles from Paris, but also operated a wholesale trade in American flour and Saxalin coal. By 1914, the company had established more than 30 stores and small branches in towns, cities, and villages throughout the Russian Far East and Manchuria and had agents in Europe, Japan, and the USA.

An American emigre Charles Smith (1834-1898) settled in Vladivostok in 1886 and opened his own trading company, the American Store. The store advertised the availability of a multitude of goods for sale: hunting rifles and other guns, farming necessities, mining and camera equipment, bicycles, gramophones and records, typewriters, dried fruits and nuts, coffee, chocolates, and canned goods. At the same time, Smith was buying furs from Russian trappers and sending them to the New York and London markets (Ingemanson, Pray 2013: xxix).

Gottlieb Steinbach opened the first brewery in the Russian Far East; German-born Keyserling (1866-1944), together with a Swede from Finland, Otto Lindholm (1832-1914), owned a whaling business (Pavlov 2020)]; a Swiss Johannes Kuster (1837-1895) opened a brick factory; a Pole Michał Jankowski (1842-1912) established a horse-breeding farm and reared herds of sika deer.. Otto Lagerfeldt (1881-1967) (to use the family name before he changed the spelling), the father of the legendary fashion designer Karl Lagerfeld (1933-2019), was a highly successful salesman for the Carnation Evaporated Milk Company (Bondarenko, Tajurskij 2019) (Fig. 4).

By the 1900s, a large and thriving European expat community which socialised in German and English had formed in Vladivostok (Figg. 5-6), with the Lutheran community alone numbering over 3000.¹⁰

Famous Europeans, who visited the city during the first decades of the twentieth century included the Norwegian polar explorer Roald Amundsen (1872-1928), the English novelist W. Somerset Maugham (1874-1965), and the German playwright Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956).

Today, several places bear the names of European merchants of that time. Examples include the De Vries (*Де-Фриз*) peninsula, named after a Dutch merchant and traveller, Cooper's (*Купер*) Cape, named after an American landowner, Höök (*Гек*) Bay, named after a Finnish-native whaler, and Briner (*Бринер*) Cape, named in honour of Swiss-born Julius Bryner (1849-1920), the grandfather of the renowned American actor Yul Brinner (1920-1985), who owned steamships and mines and acted as commercial agent for Holland and Norway.

Toponyms of Tungus-Manchu origin

After the Treaty of Peking (1860) was signed, Russians begin to colonise Primor'e. During the early stages of Russian exploration, Manchu texts and cartographic sources were extensively used. Accordingly, many of the primary geographic appellations charted by the Russians on maps of Primor'e are of Tungus-Manchu origin. Some of these toponyms have survived to this day.

For example, the hydronym *Ussuri*, the name of the main river of Primor'e, which runs through Xabarovskij and Primorskij Krajs and the southeast region of Northeast China before joining the Amur (the reason why Primorky Kraj for a long time was called then either Ussurijskij or Amurskij) derives, according to one version, from the ethnonym *usuri*, which denoted one of the ancient Nanai clans that lived along the banks

of this river (Solov'ëv 1975: 121); according to another version, the Ussuri River was already known as the 黑水 Black River in the latter half of the first millennium CE. In Middle Chinese, these characters were read as *xok sywijX* (Baxter, Sagart 2014: 341, 361), the phonological and semantic equivalent of which may be the Manchu *bosori* / *busuri* 'soot' (Zaxarov 1875: 427) and was accordingly etymologised as 'black as soot'. Hence, the ancient name of the Ussuri was Husuri, meaning 'soot-black river' (Šavkunov 1992). In modern Chinese, the hydronym *Wusulijiang* 烏蘇里江 is a semi-calque from Russian, where *Wusuli* is the toponymic stem adapted via phonological transcription and *jiang* 'big river' is a formant.

The hydronym *Suifenhe* 綏芬河 denotes a large river which starts in Northeast China and flows into the Amur Bay in Russia. The river valley lies within the territory that during the Jin dynasty was a prefecture of the fortified city of Furdan. The French Jesuits were the first to learn of this archaeological site. On d'Anville's map, the name of the river is transcribed as *Suifond pira*, whereas on Bičurin's map it appears as *Фурдань-бѳра* /Furdan'-bira/ (Solov'ëv 1975: 28). *Furdan* means 'a nick (in a knife blade); scar; barrier' in Manchu (Cincius 1975a: 303; Zaxarov 1875: 1094), whereas *bira* means 'river' in many Tungusic languages (Cincius 1975: 84). On Russian maps of the second half of the nineteenth century the river was often charted as *Суѳун* /Sujfun/ (Solov'ëv 1975: 28). This name came into use and remained in use until the early 1970s. The etymology of the Manchu term *suifun* is unclear. According to some sources, it means 'awl (for shoe sewing)' (Cincius 1975a: 121, Zaxarov 1875: 632), while others believe that the term derives from the homophonous ethnonym, which denoted one of numerous aboriginal clans that inhabited the area in ancient times (Solov'ëv 1975: 28). Folk etymology claims that the Manchu word for awl was referring to the shape of a species

of *Oncomelania* snail that lived in the river. Despite the attractiveness of the hypothesis, no proofs have been found. Therefore, the contemporary Chinese hydronym (as well as its homophonous oeconym) *Suifenhe* is a semi-calque, where *Suifen* is the toponymic stem adapted via phonological transcription from Manchu and *he* ‘river’ is a Chinese formant.

The rugged *Сихотэ-Алинь* /Sixotè-Alin’/ mountains run southwest-northeast, parallel the coast, to the mouth of the Amur. The first component of this compound oronym corresponds to the Olcha and Nanai *sikte* / *sibte* ‘pine needle’ (Cincius 1975a: 81), while the second, *alin*’, means ‘mountain(s), ridge’ in Manchu (Zaxarov 1875: 32). In modern Chinese the oronym *Xihuote-Alin* 錫霍特-阿林 is a phonemic loan.

There is a unique place in Primorskij Kraj, a small island and a river where the borders of three countries – Russia, China, and North Korea – intersect (Figg. 7-8). The river has several names: *Tumen-ula* (*tumen* ‘forever’ + *ula* ‘river’) in Manchu (cfr. *Toumen oula* on d’Anville’s maps and *Тумынь-ула* on Bičurin’s), *Tuman’gang* 두만강 (*gang* 강 means ‘river’) in Korean, *Tumenjiang* 圖(土)門江 in Chinese (Solov’ëv 1975: 166). The term is a semi-calque, where *Tumen* is the toponymic stem adapted via phonological transcription and *jiang* ‘big river’ is a formant. In Russian, the river was originally called *Туманган* /Tumangaŋ/, but in 1972 was renamed *Туманная* /Tumannaja/, lit. ‘foggy’ (the adjective stem *tumann-* derives from the noun *туман* /tuman/ ‘fog, haze’).

Slavic and Finno-Ugric place names

Slavic toponyms began to flourish in the middle of the nineteenth century and primarily aimed to emphasise the coastal and frontier position of the region. The late-1850s were tumultuous in Russia due to the intense political crisis that is often called

the first revolutionary situation. To strengthen the defence of its eastern borders, warships of the Baltic Fleet were sent to the Far East (Kosolapov et al. 2016: 431). Fearing a military invasion, the development of diplomatic ties with Japan were of fundamental importance to the Tsarist government.

In June 1959, navigating back from Hakodate on the corvette *America* after the first protocol meeting with the Japanese side, N.N. Murav’ëv-Amurskij (1809-1881), the governor general of Eastern Siberia, explored the shores of Primor’e and changed several hydronyms: Napoleon Gulf became Ussuri Bay (*Уссурийский*), Guérin Bay transformed into Amur Bay (*Амурский*),¹¹ and Port May Bay was renamed Golden Horn (*Золотой Рог*) alluding to a similarly shaped gulf of the Bosphorus Strait. Furthermore, on the shores of Hamelin Strait that turned into Eastern Bosphorus, a place for the first Russian military post Vladivostok (from the Russian *владеть* ‘to rule, govern’ + *восток* ‘east’) was chosen.

The first Russian toponyms of the Primor’e coast were predominantly memorial. About 180 names of military officers are borne by 340 geographical objects. However, some objects are named after the Eastern Orthodox Church feasts and saints, as the following gulfs: St. Eustathius (*Св. Евстафия*), Transfiguration (*Преображения*), etc. (Ermakova 1997: 479-480, Sazykin 2012: 16, 55, 58, 165).

Civilian settlers – relocated either by force or voluntarily – had been arriving either from the north by the Amur and then Ussuri rivers, or by sea. Since 1880, the Russian Volunteer Fleet, the regular line between Odessa and Vladivostok or Sakhalin, carried a great number of soldiers, exiles, and peasants from what is now Ukraine, Belarus (Sazykin 2012: 13), Estonia, the Moonsund islands (Val’dman 2009: 17), and the European part of Russia to the Russian Far East. The journey was across the tropical seas, via Constantinople, Port Said, Aden, Colombo,

Singapore, Shanghai, and Nagasaki; it usually took two months and the migrants often died from hypothermia or disease. The journey by land from Siberia was much more difficult and lasted from one to two years (Sazykin 2012: 13).

New places were generally named by the migrants in memory of their native places and almost never reflected the natural characteristics of a place (Sazykin 2012: 13). Morphological structures of some toponyms are very transparent. For example, the toponymic formant *-ка* /ka/ implies Slavic origin (*Славянка* /Slavjanka/, *Петровка* /Petrovka/, etc.), the formant *-чи* /či/ reveals Byelorussian origin (*Кневичи* /Kneviči/, *Бровничи* /Brovniči/, etc.), while *-ское* /skoe/ (*Платоно-Александровское* /Platono-Aleksandrovskoe/, *Барано-Оренбургское* /Barano-Orenburgskoe/, etc.) is a typical formant for the Cossack villages (Ermakova 1997: 480, Sazykin 2012: 32).

Han-Chinese in Primor'e in the latter half of the nineteenth - early XX century

Before Russians started colonising Primor'e, small settlements of Han and Korean traders and farmers, whose main occupation was seaweed collection and *trepang* catching, were sprinkled along the shores of Port May. Unsurprisingly, the Chinese referred to the Gulf of Port May as *Haishenwai* 海參崴 'Trepang Bay'. Today, Chinese use this name to refer to Vladivostok.

The territory of modern-day Primor'e was denoted by several names, such as *Wusulijiang* 烏蘇里江 'Great Ussuri River', *Hai'an* 海岸 'Seashore' and *Dongdashan* 東大山 'Great Mountains in the East' (Arsen'ev 1912: 175). The last term is particularly interesting. The Chinese were struck by the contrast between mountainous Primor'e and flat Manchuria. This contrast evoked associations with a semi-mythical folk hero Erlang 二郎. According to legend, Erlang used a whip to move the mountains out of

Manchuria. The mountains moved away to the east, reached the sea, and piled up here, on the shore of the Great Ocean (Arsen'ev 1914: 56).

The proximity of the border and the lifting of restrictions on crossing the Willow Palisade (*liutiaobian* 柳條邊)¹² attracted Han civilians to settle in Primor'e. According to Šrenk (1883: 69), the largest number of colonists came from the three provinces closest to Manchuria, Shandong (one of the most populous provinces in Northern China), Shanxi 山西 and Zhili 直隸 (modern-day Hebei 河北). The Manchu called these colonists *manzi* 蠻子 'Southern Barbarians', 'the southerners'. Subsequently, the Russians adapted this term, and the exonym *манзы* /manzy/ became a collective name for all migrants from China (Grave 1912: 8, Solov'ev 1975: 67, Šrenk 1883: 62). The peak of Chinese migration to Primor'e occurred between 1890 and 1905 (Arsen'ev 1912: 221).

Grave (1912: 27) divides the Chinese living in Primor'e in the 1900s into three categories, according to their activities:

1. those leading a relatively sedentary lifestyle (merchants, traders, farmers, etc.);
2. unskilled and temporarily employed laborers, *кули* /kuli/ (*ku* 苦力) coolies;¹³
3. vagrants; this category included ginseng diggers, gold diggers, *спиртоноссы* /spirtonosy/ (smugglers who delivered alcohol to the mines in exchange for gold), and *хунхузы* /hunhuzy/ (*honghuzi* 紅鬍子, lit. 'red-beard ones') bandits.

Han-Chinese place names

As mentioned above, the indigenous peoples of Primor'e had no writing system and accordingly left no written records of geographical names that existed in this territory in ancient times. *The Great Qing Records of the Unity* (*Da Qing Yitongzhi* 大清一統志), the imperial geography of the Qing dynasty, mentions some toponyms and hydronyms of Primor'e. Starting from the second half of

the nineteenth century, Russian and European explorers of Primor'e borrowed a considerable number of the existing indigenous toponyms from Qing geographical sources, which was why these toponyms show traces of Chinese transcription. Moreover, the local toponyms were transcribed by Russians from the speech of frequently illiterate Shandong dialect speakers. Nevertheless, most Han-Chinese toponyms in Primor'e are understandable and their written forms, taken from the *Dictionary of Chinese Toponyms* by V.F. Solov'ev (1975), look plausible.

The number of Han-Chinese toponyms in Primor'e increases from north to south; many following the riverbanks and the coastal line of the Sea of Japan from Olga Bay to the border with Korea. A large number are concentrated on the right bank of the Ussuri river and in the valleys of its tributaries, where Chinese engaged in hunting and trade with local people (Ermakova 1997: 480, Solov'ev 1975: 20).

Two factors contributed to the spread of Chinese geographical names: firstly, no toponyms existed other than those invented by Chinese hunters to orient themselves in the remote *taiga* areas; secondly, Russian colonists were initially predisposed to borrowing and adapting local toponyms, including those from Chinese labourers (Zuenko 2011: 85).

In their turn, Chinese settlers had been assigning names to geographical objects following these criteria:

1. according to the cardinal directions, e.g., the oeconym *Судатун* /Sidatun/ derives from the Chinese Xidatun 西大屯 'big village in the west' (Solov'ev 1975: 91, 163), the hydronym Нанча /Nanča/ derives from the Chinese Nancha 南汉 'southern tributary' (Solov'ev 1975: 73);

2. according to the distinctive features of the object, e.g., the hydronym *Шамора* /Šamora/ comes from the Chinese *Shamoer* 沙漠兒 'Fine Sand' (Solov'ev 1975: 141, 169) and is probably a transcription of the Manchu *samara* 'large wooden bowl (for sacrific-

es)' (Arsen'ev 1914: 58, Cincius 1975a: 59, Zaxarov 1875: 567), the oronyms *Пидан* /Pidan/ and *Чандолаз* /Čandolaz/ are phonological adaptations of the Chinese names *Pidang* 丕場 'Great Mountain' and *Changdalazi* 長大嶺子 'Big and Long Mountain Range' respectively;

3. semi-calquing, e.g., the hydronyms *Wusulijiang*, *Suifenhe*, and *Tumenjiang* (see above).

The spread of Han place names reached its peak by the end of the nineteenth century. After that, the number remained steady before slowly declining at the beginning of the twentieth century (Ermakova 1997: 480). With the spread of Russian colonists to remote areas of the region, Slavic toponyms became predominant, Chinese toponyms being either adopted or ousted.

There are unique examples of homophonous renaming via Russian, as in the case of the name of the *Амбабоза* /Ambaboza/ Lake. In the late nineteenth century, this lake had a name *Вамбабоза* /Wambaboza/, which was a phonemic loan of the Chinese *Wangbapozzi* 王八泊子, lit. 'turtle' + 'lake' (Solov'ev 1975: 35, 156). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the first syllable of this compound lost an onset 'b-' /v/, a voiced labiodental, and a velar /ŋ/ in coda position was substituted with a nasal /m/. The toponymic stem results in *амба* /amba/, which in many aboriginal languages, including Oroch, Olcha, and Nanai, means 'tiger' (Cincius 1975: 37). The hydronym acquired a hybrid, Aboriginal-plus-Chinese, form *Amba-pozzi* 'Tiger Lake' and was phonologically adapted in Russian as *Ambaboza*. Interestingly, in the 1970s it was renamed *Черепашье* /Čerepaš'e/ 'Turtle Lake' (Fig. 9).

Phonological adaptation of Chinese toponyms in Russian

In the process of phonological adaptation of Chinese toponyms in Russian, Chinese sounds are often reduced or distorted, as the

sound sequences, combinability, and harmony in these two languages are very different. Moreover, some Chinese sounds are difficult to pronounce for Russian speakers. Analysis of adaptations of Chinese toponyms reveals the following phonotactic pathways:

1. diphthongs are often replaced by a single vowel, e.g., the hydronym *Toudaogou* 頭道溝 ('First River') has the variants *Tydaza* /*Tudaga*/, *Tydaɔy* /*Tudagou*/, *Tydaɔy* /*Tudagu*/ (Solov'ëv 1975: 18);

2. the dental 'z' /ts/ transforms into the syllable [za] /za/ or to a voiced 'z' /z/, e.g.: *Fulazi* 阜砬子 ('Pile of Rocks') > *Фаласа* /*Falaza*/, *Kanggouzi* 炕溝子 ('Drying River, Dry Valley') > *Кангауз* /*Kangauz*/;

3. vowels following the fricatives 'h' /x/ and 'sh' /ʃ/ often change, e.g.: *Shitouhe* 石頭河 ('The Stony River') > *Шетуха* /*Šetuxa*/, *Шетухе* /*Šetuxe*/, *Шумухэ* /*Šituxè*/ (Solov'ëv 1975: 143), *Huluai* 葫蘆厓 ('Bottle-gourd Shore') > *Холуай* /*Xoluaj*/ (Solov'ëv 1975: 129);

4. when two vowels stand juxtaposed or adjacent one another in the source word, Russian vowel harmony requires a qualitative reduction of a second vowel, which causes contraction and results in forming a falling diphthong in the target word, e.g.: *Mayihe* 螞蟻河 ('The River Ant') > *Майхе* /*Majxe*/;

5. since Russian /o/ in most unstressed positions tends to undergo mergers with /a/ and this vowel reduction is not reflected in Russian orthography, the unstressed 'a' in the source word can be transcribed as 'o' in the adapted version, e.g.: *Changdalazi* 長大砬子 > *Чандолаз* /*Čandolaz*/ [tɕændl'las];

6. the formant *-ka* /ka/, characteristic of Russian place names, can be added, e.g.: *Xiedan* 澗潭 ('Small Island in the Bay') > *Седанка* /*Sedanka*/ (Solov'ëv 1975: 86), *manzi* ('Chinese', see above) > *Манзовка* /*Manzovka*/.

There were undoubtedly toponyms that kept their original sound envelope, such as the oronym *Dadianshan* 大巔山 ('Great Mountains') > *Дадяньшань* /*Dadjan'shan'*/ or

the oeconym *Suchang* 素昌 ('Prosperous'), which, in turn, was a phonemic loan of the Nanai *suchan* 'Clay Pot' (Cincius 1975a: 132), > *Сучан* /*Sučan*/.

Changed but not forgotten

The established balance of Tungus, Han, and Slavic geographical names in the region which had evolved over a century, was disrupted in the early 1970s when, after the Sino-Soviet border disputes, to avoid future territorial claims, the Soviet government decided to remove all non-Slavic toponyms from the map of Primor'e.

By the Primorskij Kraj Executive Committee Act 1167 of 11 November 1970, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR Decree of 26 December 1972 and the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR Resolution 753 of 29 December 1972 about 1780 toponyms in total were changed.

The decision was a toponymic tragedy, as it led to the elimination of not only Han Chinese but also the most ancient Tungus toponyms. In addition, those geographical names that were even remotely related to foreign cultures – including those given by Russian and European explorers – were also wiped out.

The *Tumangaŋ* River that runs between Russia and North Korea metamorphosed into *Tumannaja* ('nebulous') and the *Sujfun* River into *Раздольная* /*Razdol'naja*/ ('sprawling'). The Gulf of Ternay that in remote 1787 was named by La Pérouse himself became *Серебрянка* /*Serebrjanka*/ ('silver') Bay. The Gulf of America, named after the glorious Russian corvette *America* and not Russia's geopolitical rival, the USA, transformed into *Находка* /*Naxodka*/ ('discovery') Bay.

Some of the newly designed place names are calques, which somehow conciliate them with the original names, as they became 'transparent' and semantically motivated. For example, the *Kangauz* River became *Суходол* /*Suxodol*/, which is the abbreviation for *сухая*

/suxaja/ 'dry' + *долина* /dolina/ 'valley', and the Ambaboza Lake became *Серепа́ше* 'Turtle Lake'.

Other newly assigned geographical names are related to local history. For example, Mount Falaza was renamed *Литовка* /Litovka/ after the nearby village *Новолитовск* /Novolitovsk/ ('New Livonia'), founded in 1889 by immigrants from Livonia (Sazykin 2012: 132). The city of Sučan became *Партизанск* /Partizansk/, since S.G. Lazo (1894-1920) and A.A. Fadeev (1901-1956), the members of the partisan movement in 1919-1920, fought there. The town of Manzovka changed its name into *Сибирцево* /Sibircevo/, after V.M. Sibircev (1893-1920), Lazo's companion-in-arms. The Tudagou River changed its name into *Арсеньевка* /Arsen'evka/, in honour of V.K. Arsen'ev (1872-1930), a prominent explorer and ethnographer. The Dadjan'shan' mountains became *Пржевальского* /Prževal'skogo/ in memory of a renowned explorer N.M. Przewalski (1839-1888). The Sedanka River acquired the politically correct name *Пионерская* /Pionerskaja/ and the village of Majxe became *Штыково* /Štykovo/ in honour of T.F. Štykov (1907-1964), the first Soviet Ambassador to North Korea.

Many newly designed names are frustratingly ordinary. The village of Sidatun became *Мельничное* /Mel'ničnoe/ (the adjective derived from *мельница* /mel'nica/ 'mill'), the Nanča River changed its name into *Мраморная* /Mramornaja/ (the adjective derived from *мрамор* /mramor/ 'marble'), the Šetuxa into *Клюквенная* /Kljukvennaja/ (the adjective derived from *клюква* /kljukva/ 'cranberry'), Čandolaz transformed into *Лозовый* /Lozovyj/ (the adjective derived from 'willow') (Sazykin 2012: 110), and Xolujaj became *Островная* /Ostrovnaja/ ('insular, pertaining to an island') Bay.

A few newly designed toponyms are essentially associative. For example, the name of Šamora Bay was changed into *Лазурная* /Lazurnaja/ (adjective 'azure') not only be-

cause of its water colour, but also in association with the Côte d'Azur (Sazykin 2012: 105). Mount Pidan was renamed *Ливадийская* /Livadijskaja/, which derives from name of the nearby town *Ливадия* /Livadija/ that has the same name as the resort in Crimea (Sazykin 2012: 107).

Fortunately, several original names, including those denoting the gorgeous Sixotè-Alin' mountains and the Ussuri River, have survived, so that the map of Primor'e does not totally lack distinguishing characteristics.

In the early 1990s, proposals were floated to reinstate the original Tungus and Han place names in Primor'e. The Regional Commission on Toponymy recognised the 1972 campaign as 'politically erroneous' and suggested the reinstatement of 116 former geographical names (Avčenko 2013). Today, there appears little likelihood of this recommendation being implemented.

Primor'e has been living with the newly designed toponyms for fifty years. Some of the former toponyms have long been forgotten, while others have remained in use, despite all the decrees. For example, Livadijskaja, the new name of Pidan, has never become widely used. The 'Flying Man', a local *yeti* with bat's wings and a human face that screams at night, is believed to live on Mount Pidan, *not* Livadijskaja (Fig. 10). In the case of another mountain, Čandolaz, a name which rhymes with the word *скалолаз* /skalolaz/ 'mountaineer', is the oronym still in use today and Lozovyj is never used. Similarly, travel agencies offer climbing on Mount Falaza but never Litovka.

In the hinterland of Primor'e, the local population exclusively uses the former toponyms. Specifically, a large tributary of the Ussuri is still called Ulahe, the town of Sibircevo is still known as Manzovka (Avčenko 2013, Zuenko 2017), people go to fish to the Sujfun River but not Razdol'naja, and the city officially named Partizansk continues to be referred to as Sučan by residents.