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POSSIBLY ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN SLAVONIC FOLKLORE. *UPIÓR ~ WAMPIR**

The two creatures in the title have attracted the attention of ethnographers and etymologists alike for more than a century now, resulting in several theories, more than twenty etymologies, and no consensus. The present paper evaluates these proposals and adds to them yet another one. It also presents linguistic and extra-linguistic data that strengthens some of them and weakens others. The proposal favoured by the authors is presented in more detail, and with new supporting evidence.

etymology, Slavonic, Turkic, *vampire*, vampirism

0. Introduction

The vampire, as we see him today, has two defining properties: he is undead, and he drinks blood. Both ideas are millennia old and can be found in entirely disconnected cultures all over the world; their combination is less common but

certainly not rare. As for Europe, Graeco-Roman Empusae, Lamia, striges, and Gello are cited as the oldest known implementations; accounts more similar to the modern image can be found in 12th century Anglo-Latin literature under the name *sanguisuga* (Olivares Merino 2006). The term *vampire* did not appear in Western Europe until the 18th century (reports of it featuring in the name of a mediaeval English poem are not true; see Olivares Merino 2005) when cases of alleged vampirism were reported in East Prussia and the Habsburg Empire, and kindled the general interest. Bram Stoker's *Dracula* of 1897 sealed the 19th century image of the creature and secured for him a permanent place in the European folklore and popular culture. More recently, Stephanie Meyer's teenage series *Twilight* (2005–2008) fueled another spike in his popularity.

The name *vampire* came from the Slavonic languages, in which it appears in a host of phonetic variants most of which are similar either to *wampir* or to *upiór*. The Slavonic beliefs can be traced back to around the 10th century but those early vampires were not the aristocratic, elegant, lofty creatures that we know today. In their early days in the Slavonic folk tales of the Middle Ages, vampires were probably body-possessing evil spirits rather than actual persons, and their image was certainly more down to earth, gruesome, and more terrifying (see e.g. Novičkova 1995). It is only in the 19th century that the word *vampire*, together with the romanticized image it represents, returned to the Slavonic languages and created an etymologically interesting pair with its largely forgotten forefather *upiór*.

Certainly, etymologists were not immune to the other-worldly allure of this doublet, and set off more than a century ago to investigate the words and their cognates. Many suggestions have been put forward during this long time, which obscured both the path by which the words reached Europe, and their ultimate source. The present paper aims to evaluate these proposals, to reinforce the foundations of what we believe to be the most probable one, and also to slightly complicate the matter by simultenously proposing yet another etymology.

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In all probability, the two Polish words in the title, *upiór* 'phantom, spectre' and *wampir* 'vampire', are eventually one. Similar pairs exist in most if not all Slavonic languages, having entered them through very similar routes. The latter (*wampir*) are relatively late borrowings from the languages of Western Europe (see fn. 2), and of lesser interest to us here. The former (*upiór*), which was itself the source for the Western European shapes, is the one whose origin has for more than a century resisted the efforts of etymologists. The creatures themselves were

often confused in Slavonic folklore, and accordingly, the word *vampire* will be used below to denote both simultaneously. But see also section 1.

The literature on vampires and vampirism is positively vast; a bibliography collected by Hövelmann (2007) contains more than four hundred positions, and it is definitely not exhaustive. This paper is concerned with just two of their names, and it makes use of non-linguistic works only inasmuch as it is required for the etymology; but even in this limited field, we were not able to find or obtain all the relevant publications. A list of works that we are aware of but could not access, is given in 2.3.

In its entirety, the linguistic aspect of the problem can be reduced to three questions: 1. How did the word spread across Europe?; 2.1. Is the word native to the Slavonic languages?; 2.2. Or is it a borrowing, and if so, whence?; and 3. What is the ultimate source of the belief? All of these questions have been tackled more than once, and in more than one way. The focus of this paper is on question two, because it is central to the problem.

As for question one, a partial answer to it will be incorporated in the final conclusion, but only in the form of what appears to us to be the most probable solution, patchworked from already exisitng analyses and without a detailed commentary. The reader is referred to works such as Anikin (2007–), Bielfeldt (1982), Kiss (1970), or Wilson (1985) where further bibliography can be found. This answer is: Serbo-Croat > Hungarian, German (> Swedish, Finnish) > French > English, Italian, Spanish.[1] We will not follow the further wanderings of our word since many, if not all of them, can be relatively easily explained as recent, 19th or 20th century borrowings from English, French, or German.

An answer to question number three, it will be shown below, is not necessary to resolve question number two, and it will be perhaps better left to a council of ethnographers, historians, archaeologists, and researchers of myths. The belief in vampirism is surprisingly widespread all over the world (see e.g. MacCulloch 1921),

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1 **English**: Onions (1966) proposes two sources for the English word, French and German. Given that the time frame is the 18th century, and that the English spelling with *-e* is consistent with French and inconsistent with German, we lean towards the former. So also DHLF and OED (1916? The entry *vampire* is marked as "not yet [...] fully updated (first published 1916)"); **Finnish**: SSAES; **French**: DHLF; **German**: Kluge (2011); **Hungarian**: TESz, EWU; cf. also Kiss (1970) who derives Hung. *vámpir* from German; **Italian**: DEI, Migliorini (1960: 582); **Spanish**: DRAE; **Swedish**: Hellquist (1970).

and it is not unlikely that it appeared independently more than once in more than one place. Since, however, the etymology we champion here assumes a Turkic origin of the European word, we will briefly return in section 1 to an apparently forgotten or overlooked proposal of K. Moszyński ([1]1934: 666, [2]1967: 660) to seek the origin of the myth in China, for Chinese culture had indeed exerted a strong influence on the neighbouring peoples in the first millennium, including the Turks, and the possibility of borrowing cannot be rebutted too lightly.

Let us first acquaint ourselves with the ethnographic background (section 1), and then examine questions 2.1 and 2.2 in more detail (section 2).

1. Ethnography

The discussion of the spread of the vampire myth as it is understood today in popular culture is better left to linguists with access to data which are more conclusive and definite in dating than scholars engaged in purely anthropological research. However, the reasons behind this spread as well as the possible ultimate source can be to some extent explored on the basis of pre-existing religious beliefs of the peoples discussed in the linguistic analysis as well as the psychological significance of those beliefs. This section of the paper will then be devoted to the comparative religious and anthropological discussion of the main points of the text as put forward in the Introduction: the question of the concept being native to the Slavonic peoples; if not native, the problem of the source of borrowing; and the ultimate source of the belief.

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First, the general background of the vampire belief will be examined, discussing the physiological, psychological and religious bases for such a concept to arise and spread so broadly. Proposed theories of the source of the belief, attempts to rationalize medical conditions, will be discussed in relation to the anthropological approach proposed as the general mode of explanation in this section.

There is a certain trend, especially among scholars from fields unrelated to the study of cultures or religion, to propose naturalistic explanations for religious phenomena and things that go bump in the night as rationalizations of naturally-occurring conditions. Such theories are quite often presented in the popular media due to their convincing appearance of empiricism, but under closer scrutiny are in most cases deeply flawed methodologically. Their main weak point is the assumption that phenomena described in religious or folkloristic literature are to be

understood literally and uniformly in the way they are described in the available accounts, as a sort of primitive pseudo-science; possibility for the inclusion of psychological realities, alternative states of consciousness, metaphor or just entertaining fiction used to illustrate metaphysical concepts in the way of a parable are usually neglected. The fact that mythologies have other functions apart from the explanatory one, such as initiation, social cohesion or the formation of the so-called Sacred Cosmos as it was defined by Luckmann (1967), are usually not addressed at all. This creates a major misunderstanding of the source material, which is usually extracted from pre-scientific or non-Western cultures and world-views based on perceptions of reality different than those seen as obvious and axiomatic by contemporary Western scientists. While it is true that some beliefs in the supernatural may indeed stem from attempts at understanding the natural world, it has to be stressed that the connection of a belief to its proposed natural source is not a satisfactory model, for it does not provide any explanation of the particular form of the belief, its social function, philosophical and theological significance or its interaction with other cultures, such as syncretization or spread. To provide a succinct example, while it is to some extent true that deities such as Demeter, Osiris and Xipe Totec are, among other functions, corn deities and their mythological cycles parallel the vegetative cycles, such a statement does not provide any clue to the reasons behind their widely diverging appearances, other functions, associated rituals etc. For these reasons, medical explanations will be cited to provide the reader with both an overview of the diversity of opinions on the vampire complex and a listing of phenomena that may have contributed to the vampire lore; we do not deny that some of the physiological conditions described below may have been adapted to the mythological complex, but we are very reluctant to see them as either definite sources or satisfactory explanations of the belief in question.

Barber (1996) suggested that the vampire folklore was an attempt to explain the process of decomposition otherwise inexplicable to pre-scientific societies. Some of the bodily characteristics associated with vampirism may be explained physiologically. The swelling of the corpse is due to the accumulation of gases in the torso, and the ruddy appearance (along with blood oozing from the mouth and nose) is an effect of increased vascular pressure. The gases escaping through the bodily orifices may produce a sound similar to groaning; and the desiccation of the gums and skin results in contraction of the tissue, revealing more of the teeth and nails than was visible when the person was still alive. It is notable however that if the body was left in the grave, these conditions could

not have been noticed; also, while the process of decomposition was certainly ill-understood for most of the human history, we must note that the exposition to death and corpses was much greater before modernity. It seems disputable to us if the people who lived through famine, plague and war would be shocked to see common signs of decomposition of a body and feel the need to interpret them in a supernatural manner. However, these conditions seem to us to form a believable explanation of the proliferation of the vampire hysteria in 18th and 19th century Europe, where exhumations of individuals considered potential vampires were conducted and the aforementioned signs were indeed interpreted as proofs of the condition. For this reason, the "argument from decomposition" should, in our opinion, be mentioned in the discussions of the modern spread of the vampire belief, but not of its early formation and possible borrowing between mediaeval cultures.

It has also been hypothesized that individuals who were buried alive due to an erroneous diagnosis of death and later regained consciousness could be the source of the vampire belief; the sounds heard in the vicinity of the grave could be explained as their screams, and upon the exhumation fingernail marks would be found on the coffin. The victim could also hit their head on the wood and therefore have blood stains on their face (Marigny 1993). In general, this theory seems to be, similarly to the previous one, applicable rather to the later spread of the belief when exhumations were more common. It is nevertheless plausible that such cases of the dead "coming back to life" occasionally could be interpreted as supernatural, if only for the much lesser frequency of such occurrences than the conditions put forth by Barber. This theory is however still inconclusive due to the impossibility of exclusion of other factors contributing to the formation of the belief.

Vampirism has also been explained as a form of folklore linked to the outbreaks of certain epidemic diseases, causing clusters of deaths in families or communities (Sledzik, Bellantoni 1994). The reported cases come from New England and are associated with tuberculosis in particular, which may cause blood to appear on the lips due to the damage done to lung tissue (Barber 1996: 115). The cases of Petar Blagojević and Arnold Paole are also cited. The earliest of those accounts come from the first half of the 18th century, when the belief in vampirism had already widespread and was causing mass hysteria. While the examples cited may indeed be connected to the mentioned epidemic diseases, the belief in the vampire complex had already been well-defined at the time, and therefore the hypothesis tells us nothing about its early sources.

Dolphin (1985) suggested a connection between the belief in vampirism and porphyria, a blood disorder which causes the loss of haem in blood and an increased sensitivity to sunlight. The theory is quite flawed, as on the one hand, it confuses the modern image of the vampire with its original form – the folkloric accounts in general do not see vampires as being harmed by sunlight, this being a concept originating in 19th century Gothic novels, and on the other hand, it suggests that haem in blood could either be somehow replaced by consuming blood, which is not true, or that sufferers from porphyria in pre-modern times would recognize the disorder as connected to blood and try to treat it that way, which is both highly implausible and completely speculative.

Another disorder that has been linked to vampirism is rabies. Juan Gómez-Alonso suggested in 1998 that the disease may be the factual basis for the vampire legend, since its symptoms include hypersensitivity (e.g. to light or the strong scent of garlic), a disturbance in normal sleep patterns (possibly leading to nocturnality) and hypersexuality. He also suggests that wolves and bats associated with vamprisim can be carriers of rabies and that the disease can create a drive to bite people or to bloody frothing from the mouth (Gómez-Alonso 1998). The issues with this hypothesis are similar as with the previous proposals based in medicine. First, some of the mentioned symptoms (hypersensitivity to light, which has already been discussed in the porphyria-based argument above and nocturnality) are properties of the post-18th century "modern vampire", and not of the original image as found in Slavonic folklore and other pre-modern beliefs. Besides, this explanation fails to address other elements of the legend: hypersensitivity to garlic may be a rabies-related condition, but it in no way explains other apotropaic measures, especially the widespread use of certain kinds of wood, such as ash (Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė 1946), hawthorn (Vukanović 1959), or aspen (Cheung 2013: 35) and religious symbols used for protection. Regarding the association with bats, it has been present only since the discovery of vampire bats in Southern America in the 16th century, and was popularized by Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, where the eponymous character transforms into one. The bat does not play any significant role in earlier vampire folklore.

The great popularity of the vampire archetype from the ancient times to modernity hints at a common psychological basis that lends it meaning and makes it relevant to human experience. The psychological processes behind the formation of such a belief may be explored and to some extent explained with the use of various psychological models; and one of the first such attempts was made by Ernest Jones in his 1931 treatise *On the Nightmare*. Using the language

of classical psychoanalysis, he argues that the formation of the belief is based on a convergence of several defense mechanisms engaged by the strongly emotionally charged experience of the death of a loved one (Jones 1931: 100–102). The primary mechanisms involved would be projection and rationalization. Projection could then be rooted in either the love for the deceased and the subsequent feeling of loss and desire of reunion, which projected upon the deceased individual would form the basis of belief that they, too, want to return; or in the feeling of guilt or fear towards the deceased and a fear of revenge for some real or imagined iniquity committed against them before their death. Such a belief would be regarded as far more plausible in traditional pre-industrial societies, which engaged routinely in magico-religious hermeneutics of their environments. It is notable that such an explanation addresses quite adequately both the belief that a person buried without the proper ritual or having their body desecrated would want to return and take revenge and the idea – more common in folkloristic than in modern accounts – that vampires first return to their families or have sex with their living spouses. In a perhaps less convincing argument, Jones continues that while such a mechanism would be subconscious, the sexuality of it would be repressed, giving way to its more regressive forms, among them, sadism and pre-mature oral fixation, giving rise to the concept of biting and sucking (Jones 1931: 116–120). While the argument is rooted firmly in Freudian psychoanalysis, the concept of psychosexual stages on which it is based is far more controversial in modern psychology than the concept and general classification of the defense mechanisms. The second mechanism proposed would be that of rationalization, according to which the belief that the dead are capable of returning to life to reunite with their loved ones or to take revenge, would be a useful rationalization of the fear of death. While possible, the same argument could be as well proposed with regard to all concepts of afterlife and as such, does not provide us with a deeper understanding of the vampire complex in particular.

Another psychodynamic approach to the vampire complex would be through Jungian archetype psychology. A compendium of archetypal symbols in Jungian interpretation, the *Book of Symbols* (BoS) published in 2010 by the Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism compares the vampire archetype to the hungry ghost (Skt. *preta*) of Hindu and Buddhist belief systems, interpreting them as primarily a personification of an unmetabolized psychological trauma that forms a libido-draining obsession (BoS 700). The authors link the image of the female vampire of modern media to the succubus prevalent in Christian mythology of the Middle Ages, which too is said to drain its victims of life-force,

being however connected explicitly to sexuality and repression thereof, and less to violence per se.

While the aforementioned psychodynamic approaches constitute only a small minority in contemporary psychology in general, they tend to be the ones most commonly used in psychological interpretations of cultural and religious beliefs and phenomena, and for this reason we find few works on the subject of vampires which stem from other psychological perspectives. While similar to the medical approach, these models do not provide an explanation of the source culture of the vampire; they do however serve a useful purpose in explaining the wide popularity of the phenomenon both in modern times and the Middle Ages, allowing us to see the linguistic data presented in this paper in a wider anthropological perspective.

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Next, the specific forms the vampire belief has taken in the Slavonic, Turkic and Chinese folklore will be examined against the background of the belief complexes most closely linked to the vampire mythologem. The views on death, the afterlife and the concept of life-force contained in blood are of greatest interest in this respect; however, since those themes are crucial to most religious cultures of the world this analysis must rely on a very general outline in an attempt to facilitate the understanding of the cultural context in which the discussed linguistic processes took place.

As with all matters pertaining to the pre-Christian Slavonic religion, the data is scarce and rather inconclusive, lacking any original written sources and therefore being reconstructed from folklore, religious relicts, dispersed notes by foreign chroniclers and comparative religious analysis. We will then proceed to describe the vampire as it appears in Slavonic sources as well as the background of Slavonic beliefs on funerary rituals and beliefs about revenants. Little is known for certain about Slavonic pneumatology, the sources however seem to point to a belief in at least two souls (Szyjewski 2003: 204) – and such a case would be quite plausible in the context of other Indo-European religions, as well as most traditional religions in general. This belief is an important part of the background of the vampire belief – the power that animates the corpse to move and interfere with the living is usually understood to be the animal soul (Szyjewski 2003: 205), which explains why it is the people who died a violent death as well as deceased sorcerers and transgressors that seem to be most affected by vampirism. Indeed, among the Slavs a belief was widespread that the soul of a sorcerer or medicine

man is more prone to wander the earth after his death, sometimes becoming a ghost or animating the corpse (Szyjewski 2003: 207). The funerary practices of the Slavs seem to be composed of two earlier religious streams: cremation was widespread, but even in pre-Christian times burial was also practiced (Szyjewski 2003: 204). This tradition of earth burial, however marginal, is important for our case, because if the only known method of funeral were cremation, then the belief in corpses rising to haunt the living due to an incorrect funerary ritual or a confusing state of bodily decay would be rather difficult to spread, and if so, the most probable conditions would be during wartime or plague; and such conditions are not linked to the vampire in any consistent manner.

The vampire belief is quite well documented in the Slavonic folklore, however it is sometimes conflated with other spirits of the dead. The Slavonic vampire is always primarily said to be an undead being who sucks the blood of the living to keep himself alive, leaving its victims apathetic and usually haunted by nightmares. It also tends to be mentioned to possess two hearts and sometimes two rows of teeth, both features being linked to the belief of the vampire having two souls (Pełka 1987: 164, 166). A commonly reported trait is also a red or ruddy face and neck, a hirsute appearance or an abnormally large head (Pełka 1987: 165). In these folkloric accounts it is also mentioned that a vampire is not always malevolent and may come to his house to help or visit his family (Pełka 1987: 169f) or that a dead mother may try to come and nurse her children (Pełka 1987: 166). Those concepts would remind us of the psychological interpretation of the phenomenon as stemming from projection, not necessarily negative in character. Among non-human shapes the vampire can take are a multitude of zoomorphic forms (a ram, a dog, a cat, a horse or a bird among others; Pełka 1987: 167), or the shape of a skeleton. The accounts mentioned by Pełka are rather varied and seem to have little order to them other than that of local traditions; vampire stories also overlap significantly with stories about ghosts or various other harmful spirits (especially werewolves; the two mythical complexes have been confused at various times in history (Petoia 2003: 18, 23–24), the only core trait strongly and consistently linked to the vampire being his blood-drinking. This particular choice of the most salient feature, it will be shown below, contrasts with the Turkic belief complex.

The Turkic obur is described as a malevolent being, very large in posture and with a very big head, tailed; able to fly and breathe fire, and shapeshift into different creatures, especially wolves, dogs, cats and other animals, or a ball of fire. It is

said to devour everything that it encounters, as well as to boil people in a caul-
dron, eat them and then bring them back to life with a breath, and carry them
back to any location from where they were kidnapped; while this last account is
interesting as a relict of shamanistic initiatory complex, it does not seem to be
overtly connected to Slavonic vampire beliefs. Dead sinners are said to become
an obur after death; a connection to sorcerers is also present, as it is said that
the word *obur* may as well refer to living humans who can shapeshift, and to
seers (Beydili 2005 s.v. *obur*). In Western Siberian Tatar folklore, ubyr is a spirit
of a dead sorcerer who returns to haunt the living, bring diseases and drink the
blood of humans and cattle (Valeev 1976: 326). In Tatar folk tales (Zaripova Çetin
2007: 23f), ubyr is a spirit that possesses people, especially pregnant women and
newborns, being for some reason afraid of men. The possessed person tends to
eat huge quantities without gaining weight, as the food is taken not by him or
her, but by the ubyr. At night, the spirit changes into a ball of flame, possibly
disguised as a cat, a dog, or a beautiful girl, and ravages the area swallowing
everything in its path. When the possessed person dies, the ubyr continues
to live in them. After the burial, it first devours the shroud, and then pierces
a hole in the grave, escapes through it, and harasses the living. When a hole is
found in a grave, it should be filled with horse manure or, rather interestingly,
a poplar stake needs to be driven into it. Such beliefs seem to be only partially
connected to the vampire complex as it appeared in Slavonic folklore, since an
important part of this description fits the changeling beliefs and similar con-
cepts better, stressing the creature's insatiable hunger and general destructivity
rather than blood-drinking. It is also noteworthy that in this case it is not the
dead the come back to life, but a spirit that possessed them. Such a difference
distances the belief from others discussed in this paper, not being overtly relat-
ed to beliefs about afterlife and the revenant dead as such; it probably hints at
either a relatively divergent development of the belief among the Turkic peo-
ples or a (possibly local) conflation of different creatures under the name *obur*.
The differences between these belief complexes and the Slavonic one are quite
striking; the most salient similarity is that the word signifies a spirit of a dead
person, usually a transgressor of sorts, who is capable of harming the living and
shapeshifting. Such beliefs are quite common in traditional animistic religions,
and for this reason it appears to be quite plausible that the word would have
been borrowed and appropriated to designate a creature already rooted in earlier
Slavonic folklore. Such a borrowing would explain the large variation of regional
traits between Slavonic-speaking regions which are nonetheless strongly linked

by the blood-drinking aspect, which, while seemingly not central, is indeed noted in Turkic mythology, in contrast to the Chinese source from which it is decidedly missing.

Lastly, we will present an overview of the Chinese belief in vampires in order to provide a background for further research on the possible ultimate Chinese origin of the belief. Before we can analyze the creature as such, it is necessary to describe shortly the religious worldview form which it arose. In classical Chinese culture, later codified by so-called religious Daoist schools, there existed a widespread belief in an invisible, life-giving force that permeates the universe and is concentrated in living beings as well as certain natural phenomena, for example lightning or some minerals such as jade or cinnabar. The force, called *qi*, while essentially lacking any specific traits save its vitalizing power, could take on various properties and lend them to material phenomena to which it was connected. The most basic division of universal forces in the ancient Chinese religion and later Daoism was that between the *yang*; that is, the active, creative, radiating principle; and the yin; that is, the passive, receptive, condensing principle. The dualism being applied to all cosmology, it also had its place in pneumatology. The human soul could be divided into two or more parts which were traditionally classified into two categories: the hun soul, composed of *yang qi*, and the *po* soul, composed of *yin qi*. The *hun* soul ascended to Heaven after a person's death and either became an ancestral spirit or reincarnated, depending on the tradition; the *po* soul, responsible for the vital functions of the organism and the animal part of human nature, usually dispersed into the earth, but in certain cases could remain bound to the body. In such conditions, if the amount of *qi* was sufficient, it could animate the body. Such a revenant would be called a *jiangshi*, and it would seek the living to drain their *qi*, rendering them weaker, and allowing itself a sustained existence. Its behavior would be wholly animal-like, since the human part of the soul had departed; and it would be depicted as a stiff corpse moving around by hopping with its arms outstretched. The *jiangshi* has been sometimes called a *vampire* in European translations due to its core trait being the draining of the life-force of its victims. However, it must be noted, the *jiangshi* was never said to drink blood; it absorbed the *qi* which, while is indeed was noted to reside in large concentration in the blood of an individual, is not a material substance. Any depictions of the *jiangshi* as drinking blood stem from the influence of the image of the vampire presented by Western popular media, especially from the 1980's on, and are still a very

marginal concept of the creature, the belief in *qi* being still widespread and commonly recognized in the East Asian cultural sphere. While the draining of *qi* could easily be culturally translated to the drinking of blood during a borrowing, we should note that the blood-drinking mythologem is quite marginal to the Turkic obur, and so its transmission to the Slavonic religion from the possible Chinese source seems to be a far-fetched hypothesis. Its appearance also differs dramatically; since the *jiangshi* is an animated corpse, it is strikingly dissimilar to both the Turkic fire-breathing, flying giants, and the Slavonic two-hearted revenants. Shapeshifting, the common trait of the Slavonic and Turkic vampire, is also completely absent from Chinese accounts. For these reasons we consider the hypothesis seeking the ultimate source of the vampire belief in China to be very implausible and, unless new data explaining such a drastic change of crucial characteristics on the Chinese-Turkic borrowing route, are found, scientifically worthless.

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In conclusion, on the basis of anthropological data presented in the above overview, we would propose that the word, being borrowed from Turkic languages as described in section 2, has been appropriated to earlier Slavonic beliefs concerning the revenant dead. The essential trait of blood-drinking seems to have gained much more weight in Slavonic regions compared to the aforementioned Turkic sources where it is present but not central. Such a syncretization is plausible also from the historical point of view. Contacts between various Turkic and Slavonic tribes have continued for centuries and resulted in a number of cultural and linguistic borrowings. Tryjarski (1991: 45–48) uses three pages just to list the similarities in burial customs, including such items as fear of the dead, together with the will to mollify or satisfy them, the practice of binding the corpse, and of piercing the corpses of people who died an unnatural death. While those customs are not shared between all the Turkic and all the Slavonic peoples, and similar practices are in general relatively widespread in worlds' religions, they are certainly not universal and should be taken into account as suggesting a common cultural background of the discussed peoples which allows for a deeper religious exchange. The hypothesis of possible Chinese source is highly implausible, however, due to the extreme differences between the *jiangshi* and *obur* that appear to be impossible to reconcile on the basis of information available to us. Further research into the obur, especially its early forms and its possible roots in Turkic shamanism could also show more light on the topic in the future.

2. Etymology

The multitude of ideas that have been offered as explanations of the origin of our word, results from its wide spread across the Slavonic languages (and from them across the entire Europe, and then, the globe), and of the many forms in which they appear, some of which are impossible to justify through regular phonetic changes (see e.g. Kiss 1970: 84). The most common ones are:[2] Blrs. *úpir*, *úpiŕ* | Bulg. *vъpír*, *vapír*, *vepír*, *vampír* | Cash. *łupi* | Cz. *upír* | Pol. *upiór* | Russ. *upýŕ* | SCr. *vàmpīr* | Slvk. *upír* | Ukr. *upýŕ* | and many dialectal shapes, sometimes as far removed as Bulg.dial. *ljapír*, Pol.dial. *wąpierz*, or SCr.dial. *lampijer* which, with one exception, will be ignored here as they seem to be inconsequential for the ultimate source of our word.[3] All mean 'spectre', 'vampire', 'ghoul', or some other fantastical creature, at times even 'sorcerer' or 'werewolf' (see e.g. Hobzej 2002: 144f; Leschber 2013); it seems that the ideas became somewhat confused by various Slavonic peoples (Moszyński K. 1967: 658; also Leschber 2013: 191). The common theme tends to be that of a dead person rising from the grave and harming the living in one way or another. The Russian shape is often linked with ORuss. *Upiŕ*, dated 1047, and cited as the oldest attestation of our word; this might likely not be the case; see 2.4.1.

   Below, presented and discussed are all the previous etymological proposals that we were able to find, those that consider the word native in 2.1, those that

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2   We ignore here those shapes that are apparently missing from native dictionaries and can only be found in etymological papers or in dictionaries of other languages. Some may be phonetic variants, dialectal or archaic forms, but many are, we are afraid, simply erroneous citations or misprints. We also omit here forms belonging to the second, romantic stage of the history of vampires, as they are but late, 18th and 19th century Rückwanderers from Western European languages (probably French or German), such as Blrs. *vampír* | Cz. *vampýr* | Pol. *wampir* | Russ. *vampír* | Slk. *vampír* | Ukr. *vampír*, i.e. Northern Slavonic forms beginning with *vam-*. In the same category, only considerably more delayed, are modern Turkic shapes of the type *vampir*; see e.g. Sariyannis (2013: 199).

3   See e.g. Cooper (2005: 252), Dukova (1997: 97f), Dźwigoł (2004: 67), Hobzej (2002: 142), or Podgórska, Podgórski (2000). In particular, Cashubian has an unusually large number of forms associated with our word, e.g. *håpi*, *ńełåp*, *połap*, *upón*; see Popowska-Taborska ([1999]), Rytter (1986: 123f), and SEK s.v. *łupi*. In some cases, the similarity is so faint that one might even consider questioning that those words are indeed direct cognates of our pair; see fn. 4.

assume a borrowing in 2.2, and several of which we only know second-hand in 2.3. In 2.4, we attend briefly to several loose ends such as dating, and semantic and phonetic peculiarities.

2.1. Native

This subsection discusses seventeen attempts at explaining *upiór* &c. as a native Slavonic formation. They are presented in the chronological order and followed by a short summary with a list of proposed reconstructions in 2.1.18.

One, rather important, general remark that pertains to all of the native proposals and will not be repeated seventeen times below, is the question of Slavonic burial customs. More about this in 2.4.1.

2.1.1. *van-* 'out' + *pir-* 'to blow, to cause a swelling'
This oldest native proposal of which we are aware in fact predates the birth of modern standards in etymology and we will cite it here more for completeness than for serious consideration. According to Böhm (1870), our word originated in the Slavonic languages, as a composition of *van-* 'out' and *pir*, the root of *piriti* 'to blow, to cause a swelling' (cf. 2.1.6 and 2.4.4), which meant 'out with that which cause the blowing up or swelling', and "was perhaps the first watch-word of those who introduced the piercing of the undecayed and blown-up cadaver with sharp staves".

2.1.2. **ǫ-* + **per-* 'non-bird'
PSlav. **pyrь* (Ilьinskij 1911), **ǫpir* (Brückner 1927, 1934), **ǫpirь*, **ǫpyrь*, **upirь* (Rejzek 2001) < PSlav. **ǫ-* (privative) + **per-* 'to fly'; lit. **'non-bird' = **'quasi-bird', as vampires could take on the form of a bird; linked with *(nieto-)perz* 'bat', lit. '(night)-flier'; see Ilьinskij (1911); Brückner (1927, 1934); Vasmer (1953–1958, 1986–87); Skok (1971–1974); Boryś (1975); Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 350); Rejzek (2001); Zoltán (2013a).

On the one hand, birds have been believed since time immemorial to suck blood and milk at nights. On the other, many people have for as long as we know imagined vampires as winged creatures. Confusion was inevitable, and occur it did, e.g. in Lat. *strix* '1. a genus of owls; 2. European nightjar; 3. vampire' (Moszyński K. 1967: 628; SEJP s.v. *kozodój;* related in an unclear way to Slav. *striga* 'witch, hag', Pol. *strzyga* 'ghoul; female spectre; vampire', and others – see Paraskiewicz 2006: 69f). But what the above shows is the blurring of the distinction between birds and vampires, whereas this etymology rests on the assumption that vampires

would be called 'non-birds'. This is one of its two main weak points. The other is
that the meaning one would expect from a combination of the privative *ǫ- with
*per- 'to fly' is actually *'flightless' rather than *'non-bird'.

2.1.3. *ǫ + *per-, linked with 'feather'

PSlav. *ǫpirъ (Holub, Kopečný 1952), *ǫpirь, *ǫpyrь, *upirь (Rejzek 2001); then like
2.1.2, but linked with pióro 'feather'; see Holub, Kopečný (1952), Vasmer (1953–1958,
1986–1987), Rejzek (2001), perhaps also Semjonov (2003).

This propositon is almost the same as 2.1.2, only instead of suggesting the
meaning of *'non-bird', it links the reconstructed word with Slav. pióro &c. 'feather'.
This is more plausible, but raises – to the best of our knowledge, unanswered –
questions about the semantic function of the privative *ǫ-.

2.1.4. *per-, 'qui s'échappe'

PSlav. *upirь < *per- 'aller autrement qu'à pied'; structured like ušidъ; lit. *'qui
s'échappe (p. ex. en volant)', or *'qui s'échappe de sa tombe, le revenant'; see
Vaillant (1931).

This proposal appears to be somewhat improbable for phonetic reasons, as
it requires that PSlav. *u- yield Bulg. vъ-, Pol. wą-, SCr. và(m)-, &c. But it is its
author's line of argumentation that is most noteworthy here because unlike many
others it invites one to stop and wonder about linguistics and etymology: "J'aime
mieux l'étymologie populaire, qui ignore les dissections savantes et a le sens de
la vie des mots." (Vaillant 1931: 677).

2.1.5. vpiti se, впиваться

Linked with Cz. vpiti se, Russ. впиваться 'enfoncer son aiguillon, ses dents, etc.
dans une proie'; see OSN (after Vaillant 1931: 677).

While semantically quite plausible, this proposal fails when it comes to ex-
plaining the phonetic shapes of even the most common modern forms, and for
this reason it must be discarded.

2.1.6. *piriti, 'bulging, bloated, swollen'

PSlav. *ǫpir- < *piriti (> SCr. píriti 'to blow', Russ. пыритъ, Cz. puřeti, pouřiti);
structured like *ǫ-tъk-ъ (> Pol. wątek 'thread', Russ. уто́к id.); lit. *'bulging, bloated',
as vampires were imagined as bloated, swollen with the blood they had drunk;
see K. Moszyński (1934: 622, 1967: 616); and also Vasmer (1953–1958, 1986–1987);
Boryś (1975); Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 350).

It is certainly true that swelling, caused by drinking large amounts of blood, was one of the characteristics attributed to vampires, at least until the spread of their romanticized image in the 19th century (see 0 and 1 above). It is less certain that this particular feature was seen as so important and prototypical as to give the creature its name – less certain but not impossible because our word might have actually developed a very similar meaning in the southern dialects of Russian, see 2.4.3.

At any rate, the author himself admits that there is a weak point in this proposal: the assumption that the belief in vampires had spread through the Slavonic world so early or so rapidly that the word found its way into written documents as early as in 1047, in the form of the name of the priest and scribe Оупирь Лихыи. We, in contrast, do not consider this to be a major weakness; firstly, the same argument applies to virtually every proposal; secondly, it is actually more likely that *Оупирь* and *upiór* are not connected etymologically, see 2.4.1. Another point is that this proposal does not explain the origin of the inital nasal vowel either, but this, too, does not seem to us to be a serious flaw, see 2.4.4.

Overall, this is one of the more probable of native Slavonic proposals, together with 2.1.9 and 2.1.15. See 2.1.18 for what its acceptance would entail.

2.1.7. Aryo-Altaic root > Tkc.N

Aryo-Altaic root [sic!] > Tkc.N *ubyr*, *ubyrly*…; see Mladenov (1941).

Unfortunately, the author does not explain what exactly is to be understood by the term "Aryo-Altaic root". The meaning that suggests itself leaves this proposal with little to defend itself with.

2.1.8. **rēp-*, 'that which clings'

PSlav. **vъ-pěrъ* (Machek 1957, 1968) < PSlav. **rēp-* (> OCz. *vřepiti*, *vpeřiti* 'to stick in', Pol. *wrzepić się* 'to cling like a burr'; also PSlav. **řěpьjь* > OCz. *řěpí*, Pol. *rzep*, *rzepik* 'burr'), with a metathesis of *p* and *r*; lit.* 'démon, který se vkousne, vssaje, vchytí, vrazí (Slk. *vrepí*) do své oběti'; see Machek (1957, 1968); Holub, Lyer (1967); ESUM.

In order to derive from this reconstruction all of the shapes found in modern languages, one needs to assume a large number of phonetic changes with virtually no proof whatsoever – including a metathesis of *p* and *r*, which is not attested outside of Czech (OCz. *vřepiti*, *vpeřiti*). This would effectively lead to the highly improbable assumption that vampires had been dreamed up on the Czech ground. Moreover, it is not known how old the Cz. *vpeřiti* is. The form is cited

as "Old Czech" which, given that the beginning of Old Czech is the 14th century (see e.g. Horálek 1958: 7), seems rather too late. Overall, this proposal does not seem to be particularly plausible.

2.1.9. *vъ-pirati, 'that which pierces in'

PSlav. *ǫpiŕь < PSlav. *vъ-pirati, *vъ-pьrati 'to drive in, to push in'; nomen agentis with the *-i̯o- suffix; lit. *'that which pierces in (into the body, to suck blood)'; see Boryś (1975: 158f); Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 351); Boryś (2005).

Semantically, this proposal cannot be faulted. Its perhaps only weak point is the unusual suffixation. The author himself admits this, but then proceeds to adduce another word with a parallel structure, PSlav. sǫpŕь 'opponent, rival' < *sъperti, *sъpьrati (sę) 'adversari' (Boryś 1975: 99, 159).

This, together with 2.1.6 and 2.1.15, appears to be the most plausible of native Slavonic etymologies. See 2.1.18 for what follows from its acceptance.

2.1.10. *ǫ- + *pyrъ, 'that which did not crumble into dust'

PSlav. *ǫpyrъ < PSlav. *ǫ- (privativum) + *pyrъ 'powder, dust' (> OPol. perz '(hot) dust, ashes'; older Cz. pýr 'hot ash'); lit. *'that which did not crumble into dust', as bodies of vampires did not decay for some time after death; a taboo name for *vьlkodlakъ; see Budziszewska (1983–1985: 13–14).

The semantic side of this proposal raises some doubts. Indeed, it was a sign of a vampire that his body remained in good condition after death, but the noun *pyrъ is very clearly linked to 'heat' and 'burning', and not so much to 'dust' as to 'ash'. Perhaps one should consider connecting it in some way with proposal 2.1.13. For semantics, see also 2.1.15 which may be more plausible because it does not involve the element of 'burning'.

2.1.11. *up- + *-r/n-, 'that which rises from water'

PSlav. *up-r/n-, *op-r/n-, *op-ъjь < *up-, *op- 'water' + -r/n- 'rising' + adjective suffix -ъjь; lit. *'that which rises from water', 'water(y)', 'belonging to water' because in the Slavonic mythology, the afterworld (and hence also vampires) was closely related to water; see Rytter (1986).

To the best of our knowledge, this proposal did not appear later in the literature even though it is the most elaborate attempt at an etymology of our word that we are aware of; as such, it deserves a slightly more extensive commentary.

It is not free of weak points. Rytter conducts a phonetic analysis of upiór and related shapes, and arrives at eight forms in four groups: 1. *upyrъ, *upirъ, *uporъ;

2. **ǫpurъ*, **ǫpirъ*, **ǫporъ*; 3. **upenъ*; and 4. **op-*, the latter two based solely on Cashubian variants. Eventually, this number is reduced to five, of which three, Rytter says, have not been preserved anywhere outside of Cashubian. In fact, there probably exists a different explanation for those words; we are not certain that they even belong to the same etymological family.[4] At any rate, Rytter's conclusion not only raises doubts about what may seem like her disproportionate reliance on Cashubian, but also does not in any way explain the occasional nasal element.

Rytter reaches equally original conclusions regarding the semantics of the shapes she reconstructs. Their Indo-European phonetic equivalents would be ***up-*, ***u̯ep-*, ***u̯op-/**u̯ōp-*, and ***ap-/**āp-*, all with the meaning 'water' (after Pokorny 1949−1959: 51−52, 1149); added to them would be the archaic formant *-r/n-* with the general meaning 'to rise, to emanate'. Next, Rytter argues that the so reconstructed nominal type is not too unusual for the Slavonic languages, if one accepts that it is continued in various geographical names, appellatives connected with water, names

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4   See e.g. Dźwigoł (2004: 69), Popowska-Taborska ([1999]), Rytter (1986: 123f), SEK (s.v. *łupi*), Podgórska, Podgórski (2000). The lack of final *-r* in Cashubian forms is puzzling. There are at least three ways to explain this absence.

  Firstly, according to AJK I (27, s.v. *opi*; 95), Cashubian words should be derived directly from some Germanic shapes, such as LG *api* 'ape, monkey', whence also OCz. *opice*, ORuss. *opica* id., and related forms – among which AJK also counts Ukr. *ópyŕ* 'vampire'. This last word, should it indeed prove to be of Germanic origin, could very much complicate the study of the etymology of *upiór* &c. But for semantic, phonetic, and historical reasons, we are more inclined to see in it a variant, perhaps dialectal, of the 'proper' *upýŕ* id., and to derive it from Turkic.

  The second, new possibility lies in MLG *open* 'to kiss' (> Plb. *öpåk* 'a kiss', see SEJDP). The semantic connection between 'to kiss' and 'vampire' seems to be entirely natural, if the latter were a blood-sucking creature, i.e. one that looked as if it kissed its prey; see also fn. 13.

  There is also a third possibility, suggested in Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 348), which derives the Cashubian word from the root *-pir-* and assumes that the *-r* was quite simply dropped, giving the root an adjectival character. Phonetic changes in inlaut are explained through a secondary association with an interjection, *łup, łup, łup!* which was supposed to imitate the steps and the voice of the vampire (the shape *łupi*), or with the verb *łapac* (the shapes *ńełåp* and *połap*). The changes proposed for the inlaut appear to us to be considerably more plausible than that for the auslaut.

  Overall, it seems that a detailed analysis of the Cashubian forms in unnecessary for the discovery of the eventual origin of the pan-Slavonic word for 'vampire', and as such, lies beyond the scope of this paper.

of mountains, hills and hillocks, and some hydronyms. She proceeds to list a large number of examples; a detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this paper but we should like to note that, while they all do indeed contain the element *(-)Vp(-)*, it is only in some of them that it is followed by an *r* or an *n*, and their meanings are sometimes connected with 'water', sometimes with 'rising', sometimes with both, and sometimes with neither – e.g. Wapno (lit. 'lime'), a village in Greater Poland known for its lime and gypsum quarries. We must also object to Rytter's practice of defining village names as 'a village situated on a hill by a stream'. It has always been much more a rule than a special case that settlements were located close to a source of fresh water and, if only possible, on an elevation, and this fact can hardly be expected to have become the motivation for the village's name.

Next, Rytter tries to find a connection between her reconstruction and ethnographic data.

She argues that water played a very significant role in the Slavonic mythology, that it was often considered to be the home of spirits and souls, and almost the essence of the world of the dead. She mentions the opinion of Tomicka, Tomicki (1975: 104f, 121f), that it is not only the souls of those who drowned that would become *topielce* (water spirits that lure people into swamps, lakes, &c.), but that it could be the soul of anyone who died a premature, unnatural death. K. Moszyński (1964: 679) also remarks on the importance of water, though he does seem to be more reserved in the matter. As for *topielce*, he simply writes about daemons that are "quite meaningfully called simply *topielce* or *topce*".[5]

Further, Rytter asserts that dialectal meanings show that *upiory* are not necessarily bloodthirsty creatures, or even material beings. They can be daemons inhabiting secluded places, most frequently ones connected with water. This last piece of information is difficult to confirm because the meanings she adduces do not in fact mention water at all. It also needs to be pointed out that the rituals she describes, save one Cashubian one and one whose location she does not specify, are not actually related to *upiory*.

Overall, Rytter's proposal is more an exercise in teleology than etymology and must be discarded as rather implausible.

Possibly a similar idea, at least so far as the meaning of 'rising' is concerned, was put forward by Trubačev, though only in a less than rudimentary form; see 2.1.14.

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5   "bardzo wielomównie zwanych po prostu topielcami albo topcami". In Polish, the etymological connection between *topielec*/*topiec* and *topić* 'to drown', is quite obvious.

2.1.12. *ǫ-pyr-jь*, ʻeine gefiederte gefangene Totenseele'

PSlav. *ǫ-pyr-jь* ~ *ǫ-pir-jь*[6] < PSlav. onomatopoeic *-pyr-* ~ *-pir-* ~ *-per-* ʻof the sound of birds' wings' (> *per-per-ъka* > Pol. *przepiórka* ʻquail', or *neto-pyr-jь* > Pol. *nietoperz* ʻbat'); structured like *ǫ-dolъ*[7] (> Pol. *wądół* ʻravine, gorge'), *ǫ-vozъ* (> Pol. *wąwóz* ʻravine, gully'); lit. *ʻeine gefiederte gefangene Totenseele'; see L. Moszyński (1992: 23f), Trubačev ([1994]: 424).

It is not at all clear to us how the combination of those elements could possibly yield the meaning postulated by L. Moszyński. The morphological aspect would, too, require a more elaborate explanation. In its current shape, this proposal seems to be quite untenable.

2.1.13. *ǫ-* + *pyrъ*, ʻunburnt'

PSlav. *ǫpyrъ* (Gluhak 1993), *ǫpirъ*, *ǫpyrъ* (Snoj 1997, 2003: -ъ̆) < PSlav. *ǫ-* (privativum) + *pyrъ* ʻfire' (cf. Gk. ἄπυρος ʻnot given to fire'); lit. *ʻunburnt; not given to fire', as bodies were sometimes burnt before burial to prevent the dead from becoming vampires; see Lukinova (1984: 123), Gluhak (1993); Kurkina ([1994–1996]: 199), Snoj (1997, 2003); Tjapkina (2006: 104f).

Burning of the corpse was one of the very many methods employed for what appears to have been protection against vampires (see e.g. Moszyński K. 1967: 656f or Gardeła, Kajkowski 2013), though not necessarily the most common one. Often, multiple techniques would be used simultaneously for a more certain effect, including: decapitation, piercing of the skull, placing stones, clay or coins in the mouth, binding of the limbs; sometimes also more imaginative ones such as prone burials (so that the vampire would bite into the soil rather than the living) or burying on the crossroads (so that it cannot find its way back to the village), and others. The interpretation of the archaeological finds, however, is not always obvious; see Gardeła, Duma (2013), Gardeła, Kajkowski (2013), and 2.4.1.

In this light, it would seem quite unlikely that a village community, while knowing that e.g. burning the body would prevent a vampire from rising from the grave, should choose not to do so, and bring to life the much feared monster which they would then proceed to call ʻunburnt'. We can only imagine this logic applied to those who exhibited no telltale signs while still alive (hairy palms, the fifth or seventh son in a row, conceived during fast, &c.). We do not know

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6   The author of this proposal also mentions the shape *ǫpyŕъ*. The wording is not entirely
     clear, but the forms with *-jь* appear to be the preferred ones.
7   Where *ǫ-* is a regular phonetic variant of the verbal prefix *vъn-*.

whether it is possible to estimate how high a proportion of all of the instances of suspected vampirism were such cases, but it seems to us that an etymology which relies entirely on just one of the many methods of prevention, applicable on only some of the occasions, is shaky.

There is perhaps one way to cast a considerably more favourable light on this proposal, but it is uncertain for chronological reasons, see 2.4.1.

2.1.14. *ǫ-pyrъ*/*ǫ-pirъ*, 'that which flies up'

[PSlav.] *ǫ-pyrъ*/*ǫ-pirъ*, where *ǫ-* < PIE *ana* 'upwards, atop', in a heterosyllabic position on- (as in PSlav. *on-utja* > Russ. *onúča* 'puttee'), and SCr. *vàmpīr* is a PSlav. word-formative variant *vъnъ-pirъ*/*pyrъ*; see Trubačev ([1994]: 424).

This proposal has only presented in the briefest of forms, occupying hardly more than half a sentence. The phonetic side certainly requires a more exhaustive explanation, and the second element, *pyrъ*/*pirъ* has not been addressed at all. In this shape, it can only be dismissed.

2.1.15. *ǫ-* + *per-*, 'unrotten'

PSlav. form of the type of *ǫpirъ* < *ǫ-* (privativum) + *per-* 'to rot' (see Babik 2001: 231); lit. *'unrotten', as it was one of the distinctive features of vampires that, being filled with the blood of the living, their bodies did not succumb to decay (see e.g. Moszyński K. 1967: 656; Budziszewska 1983–1985: 13f); see K. Stachowski (2005: 78).

This derivation was suggested by one of the present authors as an overlooked variant of the native scenario. Semantically, it is similar to 2.1.10 and a little to 2.1.6 in that it is based on a property of the vampire's body; structurally, it is more akin to 2.1.2, and a little to 2.1.3, 2.1.10, and 2.1.13, only assuming a verb instead of a noun for the second element.

While it is our belief that the Turkic path (2.2.3) is the most probable one, the suggestion above still seems very plausible to us, along with 2.1.6 and 2.1.9. See 2.1.18 for what would remain to be solved if it were accepted.

2.1.16. *b-mp* and similar

We will cite this proposal in the author's own words (Kreuter 2006: 60f), with only a few inconsequential ommissions for brevity; see also 2.3 on Kreuter.

> Maybe another theory or idea is closer to the truth. In 1998, the Musée cantonal d'histoire naturelle in Sion (Switzerland) published a huge two-volume study

on bird and bat names in Europe. [...] the second volume puts the names into paradigms with a similar phonetic structure and compares them with other words of the same structure. Under the current number 6.2.24 names with the consonantic structure "b-mp", "p-mp" are listed. [...] Here we will find our "vampire" and some of its regional variants as for example "vapir". [...] And it is really astonishing to recognize how many words describing elements of the folkloric vampire figure have a similar phonetic attitude. For example the word flame: "vampa" in Sardinia, "vapë" in Albanian [...] Or the word steam: "pampore" in Romanian and "vapore" in Italian. [...] The butterfly is called in Galician "pamuprriña" and in Basque "pinpirin". [...] Do we have here may-be something like a genetic relationship of phonetic structures? We must be aware of jumping to conclusions. Nearly all of the languages mentioned above are are [sic] of Indoeuropean origin so we have to expect a certain similarity of many terms. But is that all? Isn't it possible that "vampire" has something to do with the words for steam and flame and butterfly? We have to hope that the editorial board will publish a volume with explicative articles. And again we have to wait...

2.1.17. *piti 'to drink'

PSlav. form of the type of *ǫpirъ ≪ *piti 'to drink' + -rъ (as in *ži-ti > *žir-, *mei-/mī > *mir-, *ma-niti, *ma-miti > *mar-); lit. *'drinker' [our guess – K.S., O.S.; not stated explicitly], as vampires were creatures that drank the blood of the living; see Valencova (2013).

The idea to connect our word with the verb 'to drink' is not new; in fact, it is the second oldest proposal that we are aware of (2.3). Valencova (2013) furnishes it with some details and a choice of ethnographical data stressing the importance of the aspect of blood-drinking in the image of the vampire. We do not suppose that this point requires any further evidence.

The reconstruction of the word itself, however, is not complete in our opinion. Valencova mentions the diffculties posed by the diversity of anlauts across the Slavonic languages (*o-*, *u-*, *u̯e-*, *u̯o-*, *va-*, *vъ-*, even *le-* and *ro-*) and blames them on the phonetic evolution of specific languages, but she does not explain why such (irregular) evolution would occur or, more importantly, where the initial *ǫ- would have come from in the first place. She mentions verbal prefixes, such as in Cz. *napití* 'das Abtrinken', *opilosť* [pro: -*t*] 'die Trunkenheit', &c., but more as a loose idea than an actual etymology.

Semantically, this proposal is sound; structurally and phonetically, however, it is lacking and, in its present form, it must be considered unlikely.

2.1.18. Summary

Of the above, the most plausible appear to be proposals 2.1.6 (*piriti, 'bulging, bloated, swollen'), 2.1.9 (*vъ-pirati, 'that which pierces in'), and 2.1.15 (*ǫ- + *per-, 'unrotten'), the last two more so than the first one as they appear to rely on fewer uncertain assumptions.

Should either of them be accepted, two major issues would remain to be explained. One, easier to dismiss, is the remarkable similarity of *ǫpiŕъ to the Turkic word *opyr* &c.; see 2.2.3 The other, which we believe to be more resilient, is the question of Slavonic burial customs; see 2.4.1.

Perhaps the most probable explanation is one that combines a foreign origin with native reinterpretation, and thus avoids the chronological trap. See the final conclusion in 3.

Overall, we know of seventeen Slavonic reconstructions proposed so far (alphabetically, and only taking the phonetic shape into account):

1. *ompyr (2.1.7; Mladenov 1941);
2. *opir ~ *opyr (Levkievskaja 1995: 283);[8]
3. *opirъ (Semjonov 2003);[9]
4. *opirъ (Ionescu 1978: 29);[10]
5. *op-r/n-, *up-r/n-, *op-ьjь (2.1.11; Rytter 1986);
6. *ǫpir (2.1.2; Brückner 1927, 1934; Skok 1971–1974);
7. *ǫpir- (2.1.6; Moszyński K. 1934, 1967);
8. *ǫpirъ (2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1.13–2.1.15; Sobolevskij 1911; Vasmer 1953–1958, 1986–1987; BER; Boryś 1975; Trubačev [1994]: 424; Snoj 1997, 2003: -ъ̈; Popowska-Taborska [1999]; Rejzek 2001; Mańczak [forthcoming]);
9. *ǫpirъ (2.1.3, 2.1.17; Holub, Kopečný 1952; ESUM; Valencova 2013);
10. *ǫpiŕъ (2.1.9; Boryś 1975; Popowska-Taborska [1999]; Mańczak [forthcoming]);
11. *ǫpyrjь (2.1.12; Moszyński L. 1992);

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8   These two reconstructions are said to have no "однозначной этимологии", and are not explained any more. Further, other etymologies are mentioned but neither accepted nor rejected.

9   According to the online version at www.slovorod.ru/etym-semenov/sem-u.htm.

10 Unfortunately, the author does not explain the structure or the meaning of her reconstruction which is dictated solely by phonetic reasons, especially the Eastern Slavonic shape упирь. The nasality of the initial vowel is entirely omitted. This proposal is too brief to be discussed, but the reconstruction itself could maybe be accepted as an intermediate stage between Kipch. *opyr/*ōpyr and PSlav. *ǫpirъ or similar.

12. **ǫpyrь* (2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1.10, 2.1.13, 2.1.14; Korsch 1886; Vasmer 1953–1958, 1986–1987; Budziszewska 1983–1885; Lukinova 1984: 123; Trubačev [1994]: 424; Kurkina [1994–1996]: 199; Snoj 1997, 2003: -ъ̆; Rejzek 2001; Tjapkina 2006: 105; Šapošnikov 2010[11]);
13. **ǫpyrъ* (2.1.13; Gluhak 1993);
14. **pyrь* (2.1.2; Ильinskij 1911);
15. **upirь* (2.1.2–2.1.4; Vaillant 1931; Rejzek 2001);
16. **vъ-pěrъ* (2.1.8; Machek 1957, 1968).

2.2. Borrowing

We are aware of five attempts to find the source of *upiór* &c. outside Slavonic. Three of them do not seem to be highly plausible, one is more so, and one considerably more so. Below, they are presented in the chronological order and followed by a short summary in 2.2.7.

2.2.1. Gk. *αἱμα* 'blood'
Considering its venerable age, and later developments in linguistic methodology, this proposal can only be seen today as a titbit from the history of etymology; which is why we will limit ourselves to adducing it in full but without a commentary (Harenberg 1733: 11f):

> Es läſt ſich vermuhten [sic], daß das Wort zuſammen geſetzet ſey aus *αἱμα* Bluht draus *Vam* geworden, und *piren*, das iſt, begierig nach einer Sache trachten. Aus דם *dham* iſt *αἱμα* die adſpiratio wird offt ins V verwandelt e.g. *ἑσπέρα veſpera.*

2.2.2. Hung. *vadember* 'a savage man'
Though newer than the one above (2.2.1), this proposal also belongs to an era before the modern etymological methodology and its value today can be best appreciated by historians of linguistics. Offered by Charnock in 1870, it derives our word from Hung. *vadember* lit. 'savage man', and cited in its support are the following pieces of information: 1. "Hungary and its dependencies were formerly the principal seat of vampirism", 2. "in Kiss Mihály's Hung. Dict. *vadember* is given as an equivalent for *Ogre*", and 3. "*Ogre* is also a Hungarian word, being derived

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11 Šapošnikov (2010) supports this reconstruction but already in the meaning 'vampire', without a further deconstruction.

from Ugri, *i. e.* the Hungarians". Notwithstanding, we must note to Charnock's credit, that he was absolutely correct in recognizing that Pol. *upiór* and *wampir* are the same word, even if his wording is not entirely clear about what kind of relationship exactly he saw between them.

2.2.3. Tkc.N *ubyr* 'witch; evil spirit'

< Tkc.N *ubyr…* 'witch; evil spirit'; **pro**: Budagov (1869–1871); Miklosich (1884–1885, 1886); Hanusz (1885); Polívka (1901); OSN (1907); Preobraženskij (1910–1914); Holub, Kopečný (1952); Skok (1971–1974); Sevortjan (1974-), Šipova (1976), and others; **contra**: Korsch (1886); Vaillant (1931); Vasmer (1953–1958, 1986–1987); Machek (1957, 1968); Boryś (1975); Rytter (1986); Cooper (2005), and others.

Judging from how frequently it was cited, this proposal appears to have much more excited the etymological milieu than any other. It deserves a significantly more detailed discussion.

2.2.3.1.   In its **original form**, the Turkic path leads to Tat. *ubyr* 'witch; evil spirit' (we ignore here the various forms that can be found in the literature, for they are all clearly this word, only in a strange, or simply erroneous, version). The word has a fairly straightforward etymology on the Turkic ground: < PTkc. **ōp-* 'to suck, to swallow, to greedily catch with mouth' + aorist participle *-(V)r*, lit. **'that which sucks, sucker'* (see e.g. Sevortjan 1974–; Şirin User 2010; and also Berta, Róna-Tas 2002: 58; and Róna-Tas, Berta 2011, s.v. *àpol*;[12] see also 2.4.4 for an alternative reconstruction). A combination, in one word, of the meanings 'guzzler, glutton' and 'evil spirit' is not unusual in the Turkic languages, see e.g. *ič-* 'to drink' → Uigh. *ič.käk* 'sot, drunkard', then 'daemon; vampire' (Zajączkowski 1932: 100, Şirin

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12   In both works authored by Berta and Róna-Tas, the root **op-* [sic] is linked with **öp-* 'to kiss', and suggested to be the eventual source of Hung. *ápol* 'to look after someone or something, to nurse'. Were this suggestion true, it would entail a slightly amusing semantic correspondence, 'vampire' ≪ 'to suck, to swallow' ≫ 'to look after'. But in reality *ápol*, while attested for Hungarian with the meaning 'to kiss' (> 'to caress' > 1822 'to look after'; see EWU), cannot be derived from any Turkic language due to the length of the initial vowel. Its older, 17th or 18th century shape is *apol*, with a short vowel, and the Turkic reflexes point clearly to an original long one, see fn. 16. Indeed, one might wonder to what degree Berta/Róna-Tas's reconstruction of PTkc. **op-* was inspired by the short *apol*. TESz, EWU, and Gombocz (1912: 209) all speak against a Turkic origin of the Hungarian word.

User 2010). Among the reflexes of **ōpyr* are Tat. *ubyr*,[13] Chuv. *văвăr* and similar 'witch, hag (very fat)' (Ceylan 1997: 176),[14] Tksh. *obur* 'glutton',[15] and many others, see e.g. Radlov (1893–1911), Şirin User (2010), Ragagnin (2013: 64f), or Zaripova Çetin (2007: 23f).

The idea is also sound from the point of view of semantics and ethnography. Daemons are certainly not unknown to the pre-Islamic culture of the Turkic peoples, and some of them display considerable similarities to *upiory*. More on this can be found in section 1; see also Şirin User (2010) and Yaltırık (2013).

But in this form our proposal entails, as also do all the other ones, a necessity to explain a large number of phonetic variants that our word has across the Slavonic languages, not through regular developments because this is not possible, but apparently through some conspiracy to contort it beyond recognition. We are not aware of this reservation having been raised as yet – except by G. Rytter (1986: 126; see also 2.1.11), who argued that any theory about borrowing is difficult to accept in the light of the wide spread and old age of the notion of vampirism throughout Slavdom. We fail to understand this reasoning.

Effectively, it is only Vaillant (1931: 676f) who presented an actual criticism of the Turkic idea. His argumentation, however, is somewhat unclear and quite impossible to accept. Using a key known only to himself, he divides the Turkic forms into three groups: 1. Bshk., Tat. *ubyr* '(homme, femme à pouvoir de) sorcier, sorcière'; 2. Chuv. *wubur* [sic] 'démon qui dévore la lune ou le soleil', Caucasus-Karachai[16] *obur* 'être malfaisant, démon qui dévore les nouveau-nés', Ott. *obur* 'glouton'; and 3. Uigh. *opur* ~ *obur* 'nourrice'. Next, Vaillant speaks of "l'unité des faits slaves", a grossly over-optimistic assessment, and rejects Deny's proposal

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13   The intervocalic voicing in Tatar requires further explanation because usually, Tatar does tolerate voicelessness in this position. Nonetheless, the existence of this derivative in Tatar, with and without the voicing, is beyond doubt. See also 2.4.4 on Tatar phonetics.

14   With a regular phonetic development and a protetic *v-* + non-labial vowel in the place of the original labial one.

15   With a regular Oghuz voicing of a stop following the shortening of an originally long vowel, and with labial harmony. Regarding the length of the Proto-Turkic vowel, see Dolg. *uobū* ~ *ōbū* 'Bissen, Happen' (defectively attested with *-u* instead of *ū*, see Stachowski M. 1993: 243) = Yak. *uobū* 'Biß' < *uop-* 'einen Bissen in den Mund nehmen' (Stachowski M. 1993: 243) < PTkc. **ōp-*; see also Tekin (1995: 177).

16   A slightly surprising name, for we do not know of any Karachai spoken outside of the Caucasus.

to derive the Turkic forms from a common root *op-*, *up-* 'aspirer, sucer' (making, however, an exception for the Uighur forms) as he believes that this would be an overestimation of the importance of the notion of vampirism which among the Slavs, he continues, appears to be secondary or late, and derivative. We do not see the logical connection here. Vaillant concludes (1931: 677): "Le mot *obur*, *wubur* ressemble fort au persan *awbār*, *obār* 'ravisseur', verbe *awburden* 'ravir', qui sert à désigner divers dragons ou monstres qui dévorent les hommes, les astres, etc., par ex. *māhī-i-merdüm-obār* 'poisson qui dévore les hommes'.", and does not return to the remaining Turkic shapes.

   We fail to see either the logic or the purpose behind Vaillant's grouping of the Turkic words. The phonetic similarity to the Persian word, while it indeed exists, is coincidental and irrelevant, since Pers. *oubār*, *oubāštan* is as native to Persian[17] as Tat. *ubyr* &c. is to Turkic. There is neither basis nor need to take borrowing into consideration.

   Thus, the Turkic etymology rests for now in limbo, with multiple counter-proposals but no serious counterargument.

2.2.3.2.   There is also a **newer variant** of the Turkic proposal. In its original shape, the idea was limited to the Tatar word *ubyr*. But this word is not a Tatar innovation; it is a part of a sizeable family across several Turkic languages. Naturally, some of the cognates have different phonetic shapes, and particularly interesting here is the Bolghar branch, with forms such as Chuv. *văʙăr*, *voʙăr*, *vuʙăr* 'evil spirit' (Ašmarin 1994–2000), or *vuʙăr*, *vyʙăr* 'witch, hag (very fat)' (Ceylan 1997: 176).

   In K. Stachowski (2005), which is the basis for this paper, it was proposed that only Eastern Slavonic forms be derived from Tatar *ubyr*, while the Bulgarian ones from *ubyr*'s Bolghar counterpart. This would shift part of the burden of explaining the phonetic variation across Slavdom onto Turkic historical phonology, and so at least in some cases free our etymology from the necessity to invoke arbitrary, one-time phonetic changes ascribed, for lack of a better explanation, to taboo and other irregular and unpredictable phenomena.

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17   NPers. *oubāštan* (*oubāridan*, *oubārdan*) '1. to fill; 2. to throw away; 3. to devour; to swallow', and *oubār* '1. anything swallowed; 2. strong poison; 3. devouring fire', in compounds 'devouring' (e.g. *aždahā-ye mardom-oubār* 'a dragon devouring man') < MPers. *ōbār-* (*ōpār-*) 'to swallow; to devour' < OIr. **ava-pāryati*, caus. of *ava* '1. away; 2. down' + Avest. *par-* '1. hindurch-, hinübergehen; 2. füllen' (see e.g. Bartholomae 1961: 851; Nyberg 1964–1974). All the phonetic changes are regular.

The idea to derive northern Slavonic shapes from a different source than the southern ones is not new. It was already mentioned e.g. in Polívka (1901), but in an untenable form which binds our word with OBactr. *vyāmbura* (see 2.2.5). During the preparation of this paper, we learned that also a different, considerably more defensible variant of this idea had been in fact proposed before K. Stachowski (2005). Dukova (1997: 100) reports it was already Boev (1970: 905–906, unavailable to us) who suggested Chuvash as the source of the Bulgarian word; she proceeds to support his two-path solution, and let us too look at this proposal in more detail.

In practice, the history of contact between the Slavonic and Turkic peoples, and also the phonetics of the Turkic shapes, leave us with but two possible sources: the Kipchak languages (among them, Tatar), and Bolghar. This variant of the Turkic proposal assumes that our word was borrowed independently from both, and spread across the Slavonic languages along two separate paths. Possibly, a small amount of intertwining in the form of intra-Slavonic borrrowings would need to be allowed for in order to fully account for all of the phonetic shapes (regarding the most likely routes, cf. Boček 2010: 24f).

The **northern** path, in its core, is basically the original proposal (2.2.3.1). The source is Kipch. **opyr* (or perhaps **opyr ~ *upyr*, see 2.4.4) '1. witch; evil spirit; 2. glutton' (> Tat. *ubyr* '1. misfit, weirdo; changeling; werewolf; shape-shifter; 2. glutton') > Eastern Slavonic > Western Slavonic. Later, ephemerally, to French from one of the latter two: 18th c. *oupire*, *upire* (NDEH).

The Kipchak word is not attested for this period, but it is maybe only because the oldest written record of any Kipchak language is from the 13th century. It is the *Codex Comanicus*, and it does in fact contain the word *opmac* 'osculum' (Kuun 1880, though missing from K. Grønbech's 1942 edition). It is also known that the root is common throughout the Turkic languages, and one can assume with a relatively high probability that a formation of the type **opyr* should have existed.

The **southern** path assumes a borrowing from Bolghar, cf. Chuv. *văвăr*, *voвăr*, *vuвăr* 'evil spirit' (Ašmarin 1994–2000), or *vuвăr*, *vyвăr* 'witch, hag (very fat)' (Ceylan 1997: 176) > PBulg. **vъpъr* (Boev 1970: 905–906) > Bulg. *vъpír*, *vapír*, *vepír* 'vampire' (shapes after BER) whence the word would spread across the Balkans. As for the nasalization, Boev proposes OBulg. **вѫпърь* but Dukova (1997: 100) sees the issue as unsolved; see 2.4.4 for some possibilities, and also Zoltán (2013b) on the preservation of nasal vowels in Bulgarian dialects.

It should be noted that the assumption of a Bolghar etymon, with a reduced vowel in the initial syllable, renders the Bulgarian alternation *a ~ e ~ ъ immediately* more understandable.

2.2.3.3.   Of the two variants of the Turkic etymology, the newer one appears to be more likely, in that it better accounts for Slavonic phonetics and thus partially removes the necessity to assume a high number of later internal borrowings between various Slavonic languages. But the details are unclear. Most vital appears to be the question of the time of borrowing, but this requires a slightly longer commentary; see 2.4.1. Also potentially dangerous for this proposal is the only dialectal form that this paper will look into more closely, which is Pol. *wąpierz* with what appears to be a suspiciously ancient phonetic shape; see 2.4.3.

2.2.4.   Gk. *νυκτόπτερος* 'night-flyer'

≪ Gk. *νυκτόπτερος* lit. 'night-flyer' > Slav. *netopir* &c., among others Sln. *netopir* > *topir*, *dupir* (with a dropped anlaut) and Cz. *upír*, Pol. *upiór* (with a further dropping of anlaut) > *vampir* (with an addition of *v-* and *-m-*); see Edelspacher (1876).

　　To the best of our knowledge, this proposal did not appear in later literature. It is quite imaginative but probably not particularly realistic. The dropping of the initial *ne-* is certainly possible in Slavonic where it could easily be mistaken for negation, but the dropping of the initial *t-* in Western Slavonic, and the addition of *v-* and *-m-* are all much less likely, especially if they need to be assumed to have all conspired together to turn the harmless bat into a vampire.

2.2.5.   OBactr./Avest. *vyāmbura* 'hostile to water'

< (? Tkc. <) OBactr. (Miklosich 1884–1885; Korsch 1886) or Avest. (Vasmer 1953–1958, 1986–1987) *vyāmbura* 'hostile to water'; **pro**: Miklosich (1884–1885); ? Korsch (1886); Polívka (1901); **contra**: Vasmer (1953–1958, 1986–1987).

　　The formulation of this proposal is not entirely clear and we are not sure whether the Old Bactrian / Avestan word would have been borrowed directly to the Slavonic languages or via some other language (Turkic?). At any rate, it is even less plausible than 2.2.4. Firstly, the influence of Avestan, and even more so of Old Bactrian, on Slavonic languages is unlikely, or at least considerably less likely than that of Greek or Turkic. Secondly, this proposal assumes a large number of phonetic changes, including the rather peculiar devoicing between a sonorant and a vowel. Thirdly, the semantics are somewhat muddy.

2.2.6.   Dacian Lat. *impūrus* 'unclean'

< a Dacian Lat. form of *impūrus* 'unclean' (perhaps **ęmpurŭ*); see Cooper (2005: 263).

　　According to this idea, vampires and similar "unclean dead who do not decompose in the grave" (Cooper 2005: 263) are a Slavonic invention, originally

referred to as **nečistŭ* 'unclean', borrowed by speakers of Dacian Latin who came in contact with Slavs in the old Roman province of Dacia around the sixth century, and renamed by them in their own language as a form of Lat. *impūrus*, possibly **ęmpurŭ*. The borrowing was then repaid, and the new Latin name was taken by the Slavs to replace their old Slavonic one.

From the point of view of semantics, the proposal appears to be sound. One might not feel entirely convinced by the historical scenario, but it is primarily phonetics that raises our doubts. Cooper devotes more than two pages to clarify this aspect, starting with the statement that

> If the first syllable of **ęmpuru* [sic, -*u* pro -*ŭ*] was pronounced with a distinct front vowel, as might be supposed, given that Romanian now has *impur*, then a Slavonic borrowing [...] would be expected to have initial *ę-*, with prothesis leading to *ję-* (> *ja-* in Russian [...]). (Cooper 2005: 263)

which is followed by the information that classical Lat. *in-* has actually two out-comes in Romanian, *in-* and *în-*. Cooper had just said that it was the former in the case of *impūrus*, but now he proceeds to fill two pages with an analysis of what could happen if it were the latter: "it might then have resulted in the reflex *ǫ-*", leading eventually to **ǫpyrŭ*/[*]*ǫpirŭ* | **vǫpyrŭ*/**vǫpirŭ*, and yielding *u-/o-* in Eastern Slavonic, OBulg. **vǫ-* (possibly later borrowed to Ukrainian dialects as *vo-* and similar), &c. Essentially, all modern forms are to be explained by the alternation **ǫ-* : **vǫ-*, either in Proto-Slavonic or later, and by internal borrowings.

On the whole, this proposal is not unlikely as such, but it does rely on a fairly high number of assumptions, and entails a rather intricate web of borrowings which, we believe, is quite unnecessary.

2.2.7. Summary

Of these five proposals, only two are in any way probable, the Turkic one (2.2.3) and the Dacian one (2.2.6); the former substantially more so. It exists in two variants of which the newer is more complex and also more plausible. This variant assumes two independent borrowings along two separate paths. Some of the details remain to be established; see in particular 2.4.1 and 2.4.4, and a summary in 3.

2.3. Others

Apart from the above, there exist several proposals about which we only have second-hand knowledge. Some were mentioned without specifying the source,

sometimes without even crediting the originator, and some are in works which are unavailable to us, and which we can merely report after other authors.

Publications that we found reported as relevant, or the ones we ourselves suspect of being relevant, but which we could not access include: Bălteanu (2000), Boev (1970; see 2.2.3.2), Burkhart (1989: 65f), Dmitriev (1962), Haefs (2001), Hock (1900), Istrate (1987), Knobloch (1989), Kunstmann (1992), Memova-Sjulejmanova (1981), Menges (1969/1970), Naylor (1983), Perkowski (1989), Schürmann (1990), and Vakarelski (1969: 232f, 240).

Perhaps the oldest of those proposals about which we do have any knowledge, is the one mentioned by Ralston (1872: 410), apparently as somebody else's idea. Şirin User (2010) and Cooper (2005: 260) attribute it to Afanasьev (Aleksandr Nikolaevič?) but an exact location is never specified. It connects *upiór* with Lith. *wemptî* 'to drink' and *wempti*, *wampiti* 'to growl, to mutter' < $\sqrt{p\hat{\imath}}$ 'to drink' with the prefix *u* = *av*, *va*, assuming that "the characteristic of the vampire is a kind of blood-drunkenness" (Ralston 1872: 410). See 2.1.17 for what appears to be a more recent version of the idea.

Piger (1901) says in his review of Hock (1900) that our word is native to the Slavonic languages, that it means 'to suck, to suck out', and has sound correspondences with Greek and Hebrew, as was found by 18th century scholars. Unfortunately, Piger neglects to specify the source of his knowledge.

Next, Kreuter mentions Haefs (2001), ridicules him and immediately dismisses his proposal (Kreuter 2006: 57; by all means see 2.1.16 for his own idea). As for the details, he only says that "the main part [...] consists of a nearly word-by-word rendering of [...] Kunstmann [...] 1992" (Kreuter 2006: 58). Kunstmann's idea, also after Kreuter, is that "the absolute origin of the vampire myth is the mantic Greek god Amphiaraos (Ἀμφιάραος)" (Kreuter 2006: 58). The name would be borrowed by the Slavs twice; for the first time, in the seventh century, yielding *ǫpyŕ* (≫ Cz. *upír*, Pol. *upiór*, Russ. *upiŕ/upyŕ*); and for the second time, after the seventh century, yielding the shapes with *vam-*. Apparently, Kunstmann is also not very clear about the difference between *upiór* and *wampir*: "Bei Serben und Kroaten ist *vampir* zum Beispiel die schriftsprachliche, *upir* hingegen die mundartliche Version." (Kunstmann 1992: 183, after Kreuter 2006: 60). All in all, it seems that, if Kreuter's account is accurate, Kunstmann's idea has to be rejected on phonetic, semantic, and historical grounds.

Lastly, Žuravlev mentions (2005: 863) a proposal by A. Sobolevskij and A. Vajan which connects our word with PSlav. *pariti*; unfortunately he does not provide any details, or a bibliographical address.

2.4. Loose ends

We came across several pieces of information during the preparation of this paper that share a common theme but are not quite sufficient to form a complete picture of their own. What appear to be the important ones among them revolve around the dating of our word (2.4.1), its use as a given name (2.4.2), the meaning of 'bulging' (2.4.3), and the nasal element in its first syllable (2.4.4). A summary is given in 2.4.5.

2.4.1. Dating

2.4.1.1   The native proposals (see 2.1) generally derive our word from Proto-Slavonic, and reconstructions are justified using Proto-Slavonic elements and Proto-Slavonic word-formative methods. Thus, they imply that the word was coined between about the 5th and about the 10th century.

The Turkic proposal, in its original form (2.2.3.1), points to a Tatar word which might suggest the 13th century and the Mongol invasions, but it might also be that *Tatar* was meant in it as more of an umbrella term for north-western Turkic peoples in general, as was not rarely the case in 19th c. Turkological literature; then, the time of borrowing could be anything between about the 6th (SSS VI: 210f) and, in theory, the 18th century when the word appears in western European press to describe cases of alleged vampirism in East Prussia and the Habsburg Empire. In the two-path variant of the Turkic proposal (2.2.3.2) the northern path is essentially the same as the original propostion, while on the southern path the borrowing would have to occur some time between the 6th and the 13th century when Bolghars gradually lost their identity (SSS VI: 210f; Waldman, Mason 2006: 106f).

2.4.1.2   It was mentioned above that the earliest known attestation of what appears to be our word is in Russian and dated 1047. It features in the colophon to the Book of the Prophets as the name of the copyist, one Оупирь Лихыи, usually translated as 'foul/wicked vampire'. This is an unusual name, and it has not gone unnoticed. To explain it, A. Sjöberg proposed that it was in fact the same person as the Upplandic rune-carver Upir Ofeigr. This allows to derive the name Оупирь eventually from the Swedish verb *öpa* 'to cry, to shout' with the meaning 'a screamer, a noisy person' or, as Sjöberg explains (1982: 112), 'someone with a strong voice'. In his 1982 paper, Sjöberg presents linguistic and historical arguments to support his idea; in the 1985 one, he focuses on the historical aspect.

This, we will not attempt to judge; the linguistic part can be retold in brief as below (cf. also Skrzypek 2011: 49f).

The runic signature ᚠᛒᛁᚱ (e.g. Fv1976 107; other variants also exist) can be read *ubir*, *upir*, *übir* and *üpir*; the initial vowel would have to be rendered in Cyrillic as ‹оу›, and the palatality of -*rь* is the same as in *Игорь* or *Гунарь*. The rune-carver's full name was Ofeigr Upir, lit. 'bold/daring screamer/shouter'; ORuss. *lihyj* meant 'surplus, extra', but also 'bold, daring'. This points to a more conceivable name than 'foul/wicked vampire'. Texts carved by Ofeigr Upir's contain several places which can be neatly explained assuming the author's background as a Novgorod priest, but are unclear otherwise. A detailed discussion can be found in Sjöberg (1982: 113f), here we will merely list them: the inscription *iRma:k* (Sö 11), possibly *ieromonach*; the inscription *kriki* or *kiriki* 'church' (U 687), possibly under the influence of OCS/ORuss. *црькы* ~ *цьркы* ~ *цьрькы* id.; Upir's difficulties with the rune ᚼ *h*, consistent with the Orthodox tradition; the spelling of *Halfdan* as ‹alfntan›, consistent with Gk. *Αλφνταν*.

Sjöberg makes a strong case for Ofeigr Upir to have had an Eastern Slavonic clerical background. The supposition that he had been the same man as our Оупирь Лихыи before he moved to Uppland, seems rather plausible. But the first part of the argument, that Оупирь had had a Nordic background, is less well argued, at least from the linguistic side, and this is what interests us here most. We are, however, willing to take Sjöberg at his word – especially that this theory, also supported by Lind (2004, 2012: 348, and p.c.), can explain the shift from *u* in *Оупирь* to *ы* in modern Russ. *упырь*, which is difficult to account for otherwise. Sadly, it does not quite explain late mediaeval attestations with an *u* (see Sreznevskij 1893), Popowska-Taborska ([1999]: 347), and also Odesskij (2011), who strongly criticizes Sjöberg but without addressing his actual arguments at all).

Although there might exist another argument in favour of the use of 'vampire' as a given name (see 2.4.2) it appears that 1047 is not the date of the earliest attestation of our word and in consequence, the time window for its borrowing would seem to remain as wide open as it was at the beginning of this subsubsection.

2.4.1.3 However, archaelogical and ethnographic data might come to rescue. The usual way in which pre-Christian Slavs buried their dead was cremated (see e.g. Gardeła, Duma 2013: 320; Gardeła, Kajkowski 2013: 782). One might suppose that the custom was inspired by the fear of vampires, and is therefore a proof that the belief predates Christianity, but this does not seem to be the case. Inhumation

might have been rare and generally limited to singular cases, but it was certainly not unknown. We imagine it is quite unlikely that any community would choose to administer inhumation, against the usual custom, if they had feared that the corpse could then come back to haunt and possibly even kill them. In some territories skeletal cemeteries actually appear even before Christianity (see e.g. Gąssowski 1992: 138f), but the method only became prevalent together with the spread of the new religion which demanded that bodies be buried whole. Certainly, the introduction of a new religion did not always go unopposed as is shown by several pagan rebellions that occurred in the 10th and 11th century, but to the best of our knowledge, those reactions were inspired by religious and political causes, and they did not place any particular stress on burial customs – which would be expected had the belief in vampires really existed before the spread of inhumation. It appears, then, that the earliest the Slavs could have begun to fear vampires, is after their Christianization.

The official dates are: Croatia and Serbia – 7th century, Slovakia – around 830, Moravia – 831, Bulgaria – 864, Kievan Rus – 867, Bohemia – 884, Poland – 966 and, in view of its considerable Slavonic population, Hungary – early 11th century. Naturally, the baptism of the ruler meant at best that the nobility would also convert, and that missionaries would be let in. It would be sometimes more than a century before the religion spread among the people and its customs were accepted.

It is surprising, then, that anti-vampire burials appear in Poland already in the 10th century. Perhaps, Gardeła, Duma (2013) and Gardeła, Kajkowski (2013) are right in supposing that not all of the measures that were traditionally interpreted as protection against vampires (decapitations, prone burials, bodies covered with stones, &c.) are indeed just that. Perhaps they really are the result of judicial practices or some other beliefs.

Be that as it may, the above has significant consequences for the native etymologies of *upiór* as, effectively, it sets the terminus post quem to at least the 9th century. Almost all of these proposals rely on an initial $*\rho$- (see 2.1.18), and the 9th century is just when nasal vowels are transforming and denasalizing (Schuster-Šewc 2014: 1162, also Zoltán 2013b, who suggests a period of even up to the 12th century, but only for Bulgarian-type dialects which is not sufficient for our cause). With native etymologies uncertain, the only acceptable proposal left is the two-path variant of the Turkic origin (2.2.3.2); notably, it is also fitting from the ethnographic perspective (section 1).

The terminus ante quem is more difficult to establish. If the traditional interpretation of atypical burials from Poland is correct, it would be the 10th century

for Poland and, perhaps, appropriately earlier for other Slavonic peoples. In such case, the appearance of *upiór* on the Slavonic ground would have to be dated to the 9th–10th century. Later only if the archaeological interpretation were to change.

2.4.2. Given name

In the light of what was said in 2.4.1, it seems that it is of little importance whether the *Оупирь* of 1047 is or is not our word. Most likely it is not, but we have to act as the devil's advocate and mention two pieces of information that may potentially authenticate the use of *upiór* &c. as a given name.

One is the case of *Képes Krónika*, a Hungarian chronicle written in Latin in 1358, featuring (Geréb 1964: 36) a captain by the name of *opour*. Geréb (1964: 96) reads the word as *Apor*, a surname found in Hungary to this day, but Tarnai (1992: 130) proposes the reading of *Opur*. To the best of our knowledge, the only attempt to claim the name for Hungarian was made by Ladó, Bíró (1998) but, being limited to the statement 'an old Hungarian proper name', it must be considered empty. If one chooses to accept Tarnai's reading, the name could be a borrowing from Slav. *upyr* or *upyŕ* (see Bárczi [1967: 155f] for Slav. *y* > Hung. *u*, and Helimskij [2000: 422] for OHung. *u*- > Hung. *o*-). On the other hand, the Hungarian shape could also be derived from the Slavonic name *Opor* (attested for Polish since 1265, see SSNO) < *opora* 'benefit' (see Rymut 1999–2001; Cieślikowa 2000) or *opora* 'obstacle' (?) (see Rymut 1999–2001).

The other piece of information is related to the meaning of 'bulging' and discussed separately in 2.4.3.

2.4.3. 'bulging'

The connection between our word and the meaning of 'bulging' has been somewhat elusive. It was not completely convincing when stated explicitly in 2.1.6 (≪ **piriti*, structured like **ǫ-tъk-ъ*, with the meaning 'bulging, bloated, swollen'), but it does reappear in several pieces of ethnographic data (see 1).

In particular, K. Moszyński (1967: 608) mentions that southern Russians use the word *upýŕ to talk about* children with large heads (with hydrocephalus?). It is not entirely clear to us how this might have come to be. Possibly, there is some link here to the fact that Tatars say of children with hydrocephalus, who tend to have trouble falling asleep, that they have been changed by *ubyr* (Zaripova Çetin 2007: 24), and that Turkic *ubyr* itself is often described as having a large head; see section 1. However, one might also suspect a later evolution based on the shared physical feature of 'bulging', in which case this information should probably be

seen as a piece of evidence in support of proposal 2.1.6 – thwarted as it may be by the problem of chronology discussed in 2.4.1. Another, even more speculative, possibility would be that such children are simply seen as ghastly and eerie, and hence the macabre name.

But the meaning of 'bulging' appears also on the southern path of the Turkic etymology. According to Ašmarin (1994–2000) and Skvorcov (1985), *văβăr* &c. means simply 'evil spirit', but Ceylan (1997: 176) translates the word as 'witch, hag (very fat)'. A link is definitely there but we can no more than guess about its nature.

Lastly, a word is due about the Polish dialectal shapes *wąpierz*, *wąpiór*, *wąpor*, and probably also the name of the village of Wąpiersk. Their phonetic shapes appear to be quite ancient and they correspond well to Slav.E *u-* in *upýŕ* &c. The problem is that this regular correspondence suggests a PSlav. *ϱ- which can be no longer relied on for the 9th/10th century which, as it was suggested in 2.4.1, is the most likely period for our word to have appeared on the Slavonic ground. One, admittedly somewhat precarious and unfinished way to solve this, is to explain *wąpierz* as a borrowing from German that was later identified with *wampir* and hence also with *upiór* due to a similarity in phonetics and, through the meaning of 'bulging', in semantics. WDLP contains the word *wąp ~ wąpie ~ …* (1564) 'intestines; liver; stomach' < NHG *Wampe* 'intestines; stomach'. But *Wampe* is not so much just a 'stomach', as NHG 'dewlap; paunch; beer belly' < MHG *wambe ~ wampe ~ wamme* 'belly; paunch' < OHG *wamba ~ wambo* 'abdomen; stomach; belly; paunch; womb; uterus'.[18] Perhaps a **Wamper* 'a person with a bloated belly' existed in colloquial German that could have given Pol. *wąpierz*? (For the auslaut cf. *słojerz* (1389) < MHG *slogier ~ sloier*, *szlifierz* (1528) < NHG *Schleifer*, *strykierz* (1861) < NHG *Stricker*, and others; all after WDLP). Perhaps it is not unimportant in this context that the name *Wąpiersk* was first recorded in 1411 when the village lay in the territory controlled by the State of the Teutonic Order. The usefulness of this conjecture is primarily in that it frees the Turkic etymology from the necessity to assume that a nasal element was inserted twice, independently, both on the southern and on the northern path (see 2.4.4), and that this insertion happened as late as the 9th/10th century, still managing to yield regular reflexes both in Eastern Slavonic and in Polish. See a comparison in fig. 1.

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18   **NHG**: woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=Adelung&lemid=
     DW00566; **MHG**: woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer/?sigle=Lexer&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=
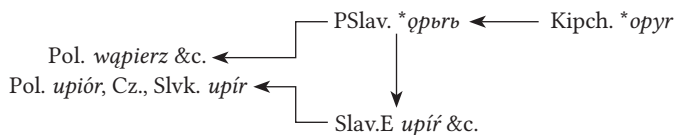   LW00497; **OHG**: www.koeblergerhard.de/ahd/ahd_w.html.

Pol. *wąpierz* &c. ← PSlav. *ǫpьrь ← Kipch. *opyr

Pol. *upiór*, Cz., Slvk. *upír* ←

Slav.E *upíř* &c.

Figure 1a. The origin of Pol. *wąpierz* assuming a Proto-Slavonic rendering with *ǫ-.

NHG *Wamper ⟶ Pol. *wąpierz* &c.

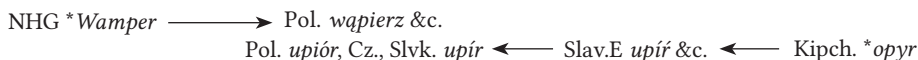Pol. *upiór*, Cz., Slvk. *upír* ← Slav.E *upíř* &c. ← Kipch. *opyr

Figure 1b. The origin of Pol. *wąpierz* assuming a borrowing from German.

2.4.4. Nasality

A weak point of the Turkic proposal, whether it assumes one or two paths of borrowing, is that it does not at any step explain the nasality attested in *wampir* &c. – or in Pol.dial. *wąpierz*, but for this see also 2.4.3. We can think of four ways to address this issue.

One way in which the Slavs could have changed *u*- into *ǫ*- is an insertion of a nasal infix, such as was fairly often added to Indo-European zero grade roots, namely in 34 out of 56 cases of the Slavonic *u* ~ *ǫ* alternation (e.g. *zǫbr* ~ *zubr* 'urus', *čęb* ~ *čub* 'satureia'; Sławski 1939–1947: 286).

This possibility requires that the Kipchak shape begins with *u-. Actually, PTkc. *o-/*ō- > MKipch. *o- > Tat. *u*-, which is to say that the change occurred about the 13th/14th century (see Berta 1993, 1998 for more details), but it seems that in some dialects the raising might have happened earlier. If that were the case, this scenario would simultaneously explain the Slavonic (mostly, Ukrainian) and Slavo-Hungarian (?; see 2.4.3) alternation *u*- ~ *o*-. Unfortunately, lack of pre-13th c. written sources for Kipchak makes it very difficult to definitively accept or reject this possibility.

Another possibility is that the -*m*- was inserted secondarily to ease the pronunciation. Prenasalization is certainly not an unknown phenomenon (see e.g. Flemming 2005: 165f; Ohala 1983: 200f), though it is true that it tends to occur before voiced stops rather than unvoiced ones; cf. nonetheless the phonetically quite similar Arom. *pampore* 'vapour', Bulg. *вампóръ* id. < It. *vapore* id. (Mladenov 1941). Similarly Serb.dial. *tâmbor* 'camp' (Karadžić 1935 s.v. *tâbor*; see also

Németh 2014 for the history of the word), and perhaps also Mac.dial. *fambrika*, *junguslavija* | Rom. *sâmbătă* 'Saturday', G *Samstag* id., Pers. *šanbe* id., &c. ≪ Hebr. *šabbat* id. (see Şirin User 2010) | E *harbinger* < ME *harbergere, -geour* (Onions 1966)[19] | Pol. *cmentarz* 'cemetery' (ca. 1500 *cmyntarz*) with the *-n-* inserted in Polish or borrowed together with the word itself from OF *cimentire* < Lat. *cimetarium ~ cimeterium* | Gk. *Τσιγγάνος* (*-ng-*) 'Gypsy' < Slav. *Cygan* id.[20] (< Tkc.; Stachowski M. 2002: 160f).[21]

The phenomenon is of course irregular, but this might explain why Bulgarian has both shapes, with and without the nasal consonant. The apparent appeal of the *-mb-* sequence would be the reason why it is the shape with this addition that spread across the Southern Slavonic languages, not the other one.

Next, the excess *-m-* could be explained by resorting to folk etymology. We saw in 2.1 that our word raises more than one association with the Slavonic material. Perhaps Tkc. **ōpyr* was reinterpreted by the Slavs in such a way as was suggested in 2.1.6, 2.1.9, or 2.1.15, and then its phonetic evolution simply proceeded as if it were a native word?

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19 This is Onions's flagship example where he collects references to all the other similar words. But actually, this particular word might be not so much a case of insertion of *-m-*, as of dissimilation of *-ergere > -ingere*.

20 This last example may prove to be irrelevant here. Gk. *g > γ* in most positions by the 2nd century BC, remaining unchanged only after a nasal consonant (Horrocks 2010: 170). When it came much later to rendering the Slavonic word *Cygan*, Greeks were effectively reduced to the choice between *γ* and *ng* (cf. also Arvaniti, Joseph 2004: 77), and may have settled for the letter simply because they found it sounded more like the etymon than the former.

21 Though attributed to a different phonetic mechanism, the insertion of *-p-* or *-b-* after a nasal consonant is also a not uncommon occurrence and, since it results in the same sequence, contributes to its frequency and hence, perceived attractiveness. Cf Serb.dial. *amberika* (Sawicka 2005) | Mac.dial. *mbleko* 'milk' | MG *zimber* '1. Wohnung; 2. Bauholz' = OEng. *timber* '1. building, edifice; 2. building material, wood for building' < PGerm. **temra-* 'Bauholz' (Kluge 2011; Onions 1966) | F *nombre* < Lat. *numerus* (Dauzat 1938) | G colloquial [kɔmpt] for *kommt* and [kɔmpst] for *kommst* (Ramers, Vater 1995: 51) or old *sampt* for *samt* (e.g. in a 1633 chalcography by Merian d.Ä.: "Wahre Bildnuß der Statt Maintz, sampt den newen Schantzen, Schiffbrucken und Leger [...]"; www.regionalgeschichte.net/rheinhessen/mainz/bilder.html). While there are also examples of dropping of a *b* in phonetically similar words, see e.g. Knüppel (2009) for the rather complex case of Ott. *tambur(a) ~ damur(a)* &c., they appear to be on the whole rarer, and do not anyway negate the existence of examples which support our case.

Lastly, Ragagnin (2013: 66) suggests that the Turkic etymon was not *ōp-
'to suck, to swallow, to greedily catch with mouth' + aorist participle -(V)r, but the
same verb with the deverbal nominal suffix -gur, i.e. *ōpkur. This would ultimately
yield on the southern path *vupkor > *vapkir > *vappir > vampir. Ragagnin does
not say so explicitly, but we understand from the context that she offers this re-
construction as a way to easier account for the -m-. It is theoretically possible but
we are afraid that in fact explaining the loss of -k-, in all of the Slavonic reflexes,
might prove even more difficult.

It is not possible to tell which of these possibilities is the most plausible. The first
one appears to be better suited to the northern, Kipchak path; the second one
to the southern, Chuvash path; the third one could have happened on both;
the fourth would have to have partially happened on both. In theory, one might
even imagine the first and the third, the second and the third, or perhaps even
some other combination, happening simultaneously in approximately the same
area. But for now this is fantasy. More Slavicist work is necessary.

2.4.5. Summary
The traditional, pagan burial of the Slavonic peoples typically involved cremation,
but inhumation was also sometimes practiced. It is unlikely that the belief in
vampires could take hold among the Slavs before the wide spread of the latter
method (enforced together with Christianity). The terminus post quem should
probably be set at the 9th century, which significantly weakens all of the native
etymologies. A plausible terminus ante quem would be the 10th century. The 1047
attestation of *Оупирь Лихыи*, while chronologically possible, is more likely
a misattribution. There are more serious reasons behind this view than merely
the fact that it would be odd for a person to bear a name that means 'vampire'.
(2.4.1) It does, nonetheless, seem that there are no traces of the word ever being
used as a given name. (2.4.2) It was, however, used to describe people, possibly
as a consequence of the belief that bodies of vampires were bulging, swollen
with the blood they had drunk. This property of theirs might help explain the
Polish dialectal shapes *wąpierz* &c. Otherwise, we would need to assume that
a nasal element was inserted into our word twice, once by southern Slavs, and
once probably by Poles. (2.4.3) We can think of four ways how and why such
an insertion could occur but we lack a way to precisely evaluate these ideas.
We can but suspect folk etymology to be a more plausible explanation than
others (2.4.4)

3. Conclusions

The wide spread of the word *vampire* is a fairly late, 18th and 19th century development, due to alleged cases of vampirism which received considerable attention in German-speaking countries. The word itself is of Southern Slavonic origin, and eventually cognate to northern Slavonic shapes *upiór* and similar (although Pol. dial. *wąpierz* and others also exist). Originally, in the Slavonic folklore, the word referred to a much more gruesome creature than we picture today as a vampire, but which too was most probably a dead person who rose from the grave to harm the living in one way or another. (See 1.)

The word exists in the Slavonic languages in a great multitude of phonetic shapes which cannot be easily explained. More than seventeen etymologies have been proposed to interpret it as a native word (see 2.1), and more than five that assume a borrowing (2.2). Of the first group, we deem three to be more plausible than others (2.1.18), and of the second just one, in its newer and more complex version (2.2.7). As for the dating, the often cited attestation of 1047 appears to be a misattribution; a more plausible terminus post quem is the 9th century when Christianity is introduced to the Slavonic peoples together with a new burial custom (2.4.1). This dating is an important argument against all of the native solutions simultaneously, effectively leaving us with just the Turkic etymology. To account for the Slavonic phonetics, it needs to be supplemented with a nasal element added once or perhaps twice (2.4.3 and 2.4.4).

Overall, what appears to be the most probable history of the words *upiór* and *wampir* can be summarized in the following way: a reconstructed Proto-Turkic form **ōpyr* 'that which sucks, that which swallows' has reflexes in several Turkic languages; in particular, northern (Kipchak) shapes are similar to *opyr*, while southern (Bolghar) shapes are similar to *văʙăr*, all with meanings 'evil spirit' and alike. The northern shapes were borrowed by Eastern Slavs and transmitted to Western Slavs; the southern shapes by Bulgarians and transmitted to Southern Slavs.[22] Both borrowings occurred most likely in the 9th or the 10th century. This was followed by the rise of forms with an unetymological *-m-* (*vampir* &c.) in the south, and possibly some internal borrowings between various Slavonic dialects. It seems rather probable, if unprovable, that folk etymology has more

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22 Incidentally, Tkc. **ōpyr* may likely also be the ultimate source of Russ. *vurdalák* 'vampire, werewolf' (Kajtoch [forthcoming]), but this word merits a separate study (in preparation).

than once altered the phonetic shapes. In this sense, both *upiór* and *wampir* – or perhaps only some of their cognates – can be viewed as simultenously native and borrowings. This may sound like a cheap attempt at reconciling the opposing camps, but having two origins is not in fact a self-exclusive idea; see Laakso (2001) for examples and commentary. The entire scheme is illustrated in fig. 2.

　　　The above does not mean that all Slavonic shapes have now been explained. Still unclear are such forms as Bulg.dial. *ljapír*, Cash. *niełåp*, *upón*, *u̯opi*, &c. (see also fn. 4), Pol.dial. *lupirz*, *łupior*, *upierz* (Lublin area; Karłowicz 1900–1911: vol. 4: 32), *wąpierz* &c. (see also 2.4.3), SCr.dial. *lampijer*, and others. Many are probably no more than dialectal innovations, but for now we know of no way to verify this.

Gloria filioʒ pater eoʒ.
Gratias agimus Tibi!

Abbreviations and references

Arom. = Aromanian; **Avest**. = Avestan; **Bactr**. = Bactrian; **Blrs**. = Belorussian; **Bshk**. = Bashkir; **Bulg**. = Bulgarian; **CS** = Church Slavonic; **Cash**. = Cashubian; **Chuv**. = Chuvash; **Cz**. = Czech; **Dolg**. = Dolgan; **-E** = eastern; **E** = English; **F** = French; **G** = German; **Germ**. = Germanic; **Gk**. = Greek; **H-** = High; **Hebr**. = Hebrew; **Hung**. = Hungarian; **IE** = Indo-European; **Ir**. = Iranian; **It**. = Italian; **Kipch**. = Kipchak; **L-** = Low; **Lat**. = Latin; **Lith**. = Lithuanian; **M-** = Middle; **Mac**. = Macedonian; **-N** = northern; **N-** = New; **O-** = Old; **Ott**. = Ottoman Turkish; **P-** = Proto-; **Pers**. = Persian; **Plb**. = Polabian; **Pol**. = Polish; **Rom**. = Romanian; **Russ**. = Russian; **SCr**. = Serbo-Croat; **Serb**. = Serbian; **Skt**. = Sanskrit; **Slav**. = Slavonic; **Slk**. = Slovak; **Sln**. = Slovene; **Tat**. = Tatar; **Tkc**. = Turkic; **Tksh**. = Turkish; **Uigh**. = Uighur; **Ukr**. = Ukrainian; **-W** = western; **Yak**. = Yakut

AJK = *Atlas językowy Kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich, opracowany przez Zespół Zakładu Słowianoznawstwa PAN*. 1964. [vols. 1–2]. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk.

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PTkc. *ö̆pyr

Kipch. *opyr

Slav.E
(Russ. *upír̂*)
(Russ. *vampír*)

Hung. *vámpír*

Bolgh. *vǎßǎr*

Bulg. *vǝpir*

Fi. *vampyyri*

Sw. *vampyr*

Slav.W
(Pol. *upiór*)
(Pol. *wampir*)

Slav.S
(SCr. *vȁmpȋr*)

Gk. βαμπύρος

G *Vampir*
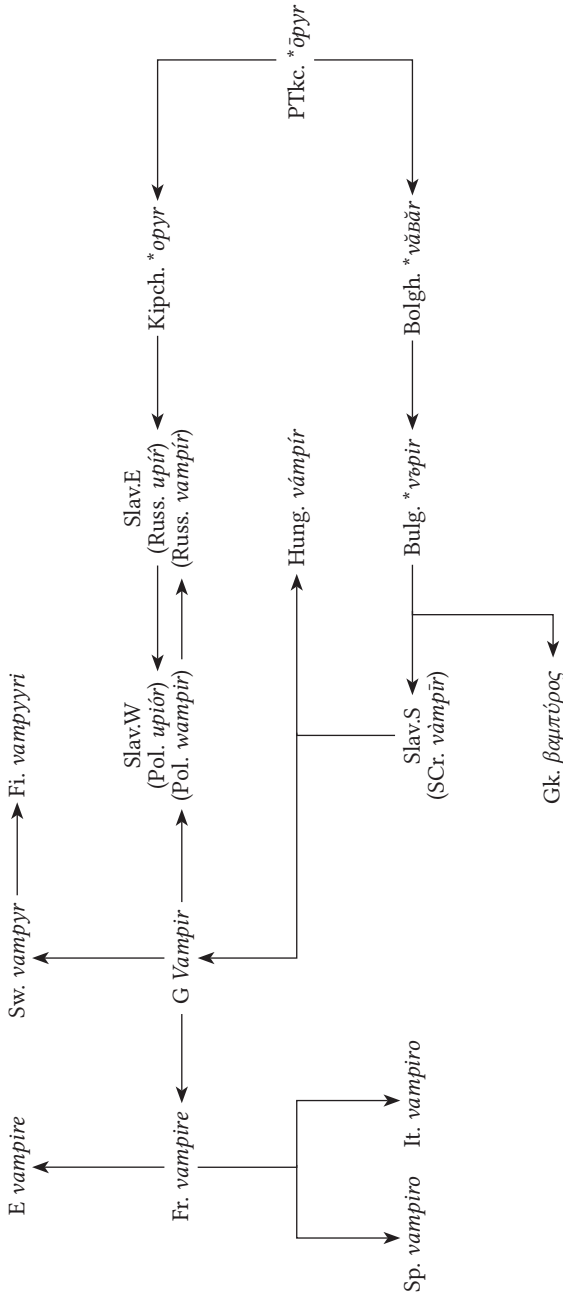
E *vampire*

Fr. *vampire*

It. *vampiro*

Sp. *vampiro*

Figure 2. The most likely origin of *upiór* and *wampir.*

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