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Chapter 14

Loanwords in Kildin Saami, a Uralic language of northern Europe *

Michael Rießler

1. The language and its speakers

Kildin is an endangered Saami language spoken on the Kola Peninsula in north-western-most Russia.

Kildin speakers refer to themselves as Saami and to their language as *Sām' kīll* 'Saami language' in the same way as each different Saami group normally refers to its individual variety as 'Saami language', adding the name of the own village to avoid misunderstandings only when necessary. The name *Kildin*, originating from the name for an island on the Barents Sea coast close to present-day Murmansk, originally referred only to the one rather peripheral group of Kola Saami from that area (i. e. the Killt dialect). However, *Kildin* (Russian *kil'dinskij (jazyk)*, North Saami *Gieldda-(sámegiella)*) came into use as exonym referring to the whole group of neighboring Saami dialects linguistically distinguished from the other Kola Saami varieties Akkala, Skolt, and Ter.

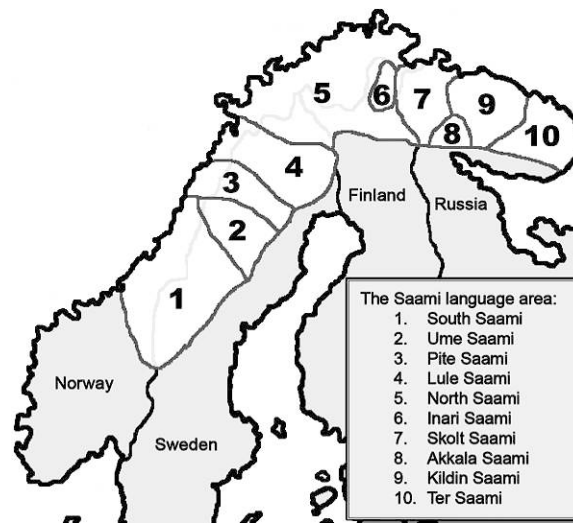
1.1. Genealogical affiliation and geography

Saami is a branch of the Uralic language family. All Saami languages are fairly similar in grammatical structure and lexicon. They form a dialect chain stretching over the whole North Calotte. Sápmi – the Saami homeland – reaches from eastern Norway and adjacent parts of central Sweden over northern Norway, Sweden, and Finland, to the eastern tip of the Kola Peninsula in northwestern Russia. Kildin belongs to the group of East Saami languages. The other subgroup of Saami is West Saami.¹

* The subdatabase of the World Loanword Database that accompanies this chapter is available online at <http://wold.livingsources.org>. It is a separate electronic publication that should be cited as: Rießler, Michael. 2009. Kildin Saami vocabulary. In Haspelmath, Martin & Tadmor, Uri (eds.) *World Loanword Database*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, 1342 entries. <<http://wold.livingsources.org/vocabulary/14>>

¹ For more detailed information on Saami, see Sammallahti (1998), who offers a comprehensive introduction to the linguistic history of the whole Saami branch. A descriptive grammar of Kildin has been published by Kert (1971).

Sammallahti (1998: 26–34) divides the East Saami languages further into a mainland group, comprising Inari, Skolt, and Akkala, and a peninsula group, comprising Kildin and Ter. It is, however, not clear whether the shared innovations across the members of each group are the result of common inheritance from reconstructable proto-forms (Proto-Mainland-East Saami and Proto-Peninsula-East Saami) or not.



Map 1: Sápmi and the Saami languages

Another subgroup of East Saami – commonly referred to as Kola Saami and comprising Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter – does not form a genealogical unit. The isoglosses shared among these languages are most likely the result of recent contact-induced changes.²

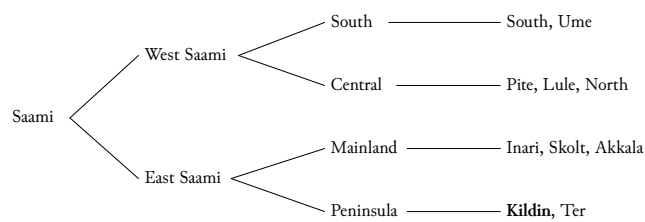
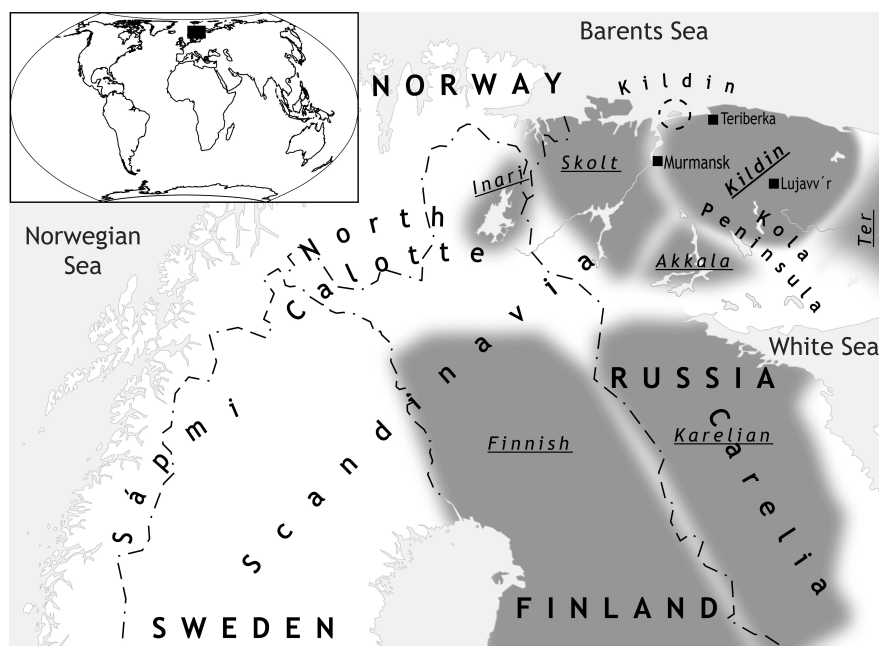


Figure 1: Saami language tree

² From a strictly geographical point of view only Kildin and Ter, spoken on the peninsula, should be regarded as “Kola Saami”. However, the term “Kola Peninsula” is now often used as a synonym for the Russian administrative area (Murmansk region) where the four Saami languages are (or were) spoken.

Map 1 shows the geographical distribution of the Saami languages in Northern Europe. A language tree of Saami is given in Figure 1. Map 2 zooms in on the Kola Peninsula and shows the location of Kildin and its main dialects.



Map 2: Geographical setting of Kildin Saami

Kildin can be divided into six main dialects, defined geographically by the original Saami settlements. All dialects are clearly mutually intelligible. Originally, Kildin was spoken in most parts of the central Kola Peninsula. Today, more or less compact Kildin Saami settlements in or close to their original villages are found only in Lujavv'r, Kola, Loparskaja, Šonguj, Teriberka, and Revda. At least the four dialects of Årsjogk, Lujavv'r, Koarrdegk, and Killt are still maintained by older speakers, most of whom have been relocated to new settlements.

The forced centralization of most parts of the Kola Saami population to the village of Lujavv'r (see §1.3) resulted in admixture of some dialectal features in the speech of Kildin Saami. However, since most speakers now live in Lujavv'r, this central and probably most innovative variety has been chosen as normative basis for the language. Some teaching materials and dictionaries have been published since the 1980s and all of these use some orthographic variant based on this variety. As a result, the Lujavv'r dialect is now usually regarded as the standard variety of Kildin.

Consequently, the present study is restricted to this quasi standard and does not consider dialectal variation in the lexicon.

1.2. Recent contact history

The integration of the Kola Saami into the Russian Empire, their adaptation to Russian culture, and their conversion to orthodox Christianity began as early as the 15th century. But despite the longstanding assimilation pressure, the Saami communities were able to preserve their social, economic and cultural identity until the end of the 19th century. Only half a century later the Saami culture was on the verge of destruction.

The Russian contacts can consequently be divided at least into two sociolinguistically distinct periods: before and after the founding of the Soviet Union (which marks a crucial moment of change in the history of the Saami-Russian contacts). The tapping of mineral resources and the military armament of the region were connected to an immense influx of manpower from Russia and other republics of the Soviet Union. Together with the forced integration of Saami reindeer breeders into large new agricultural co-operatives and the relocation of Saami settlements for socio-political, economic and military reasons this led to a dispersion of the original Saami speech communities and language loss among large parts of the former speakers of Kola Saami languages. The former compact Saami settlements and coherent local speech communities have now been replaced by mixed communities of Saami, speaking different local varieties, together with Russians, Komi and speakers of other languages (see in more detail Seiwert 2000).

1.3. Sociolinguistic situation

Kildin is currently spoken by no more than about 500 people living in the Murmansk region (Russian *Murmanskaja oblast'*) in the northwestern-most part of the Russian Federation. The most compact Saami settlement is found in the village and municipal center Lujavv'r (Russian *Lovozero*) with approximately 300 Kildin speakers (among a total population of the village of approximately 3000). Other Kildin speakers live spread over all parts of the Murmansk region both in rural and urban settlements, one of them being the town of Murmansk, which is the administrative center of the region.

The language is highly endangered due to an ongoing language shift to Russian. The number of 500 speakers (out of approximately 1900 ethnic Saami in Russia), which is based on the most recent Russian census from 2002 (cf. Scheller 2006: 280–282), seems rather optimistic. All Kildin speakers also speak Russian. But Kildin is hardly ever heard in public life nowadays. According to my own observations, it is almost exclusively older Saami who prefer to use their mother tongue in conversation with family members, relatives or friends. Among the younger generation, there is a strong decline in active language competence due to the lack of a vibrant speech community and the lack of any social motivation for learning and using Kildin.

Kildin is neither used in official business or administration nor in higher education. In mass media Kildin is only marginally represented. Radio programs in Kildin have been broadcast locally in Lujavv'r since 1983, but broadcasting time has never exceeded 5–20 minutes per day. Some fictional literature in Kildin has been published in books and journals, but these texts consist almost exclusively of short tales and poems for children. At present, Kildin is taught to children only in one school in Lujavv'r. This weekly course is optional and for grades 1 through 4 only. One pre-school in Lujavv'r has a Saami group in Kildin. Besides that, evening classes in Kildin are occasionally taught in Lujavv'r and other places.

2. Sources of data

Lexical data used for my database is taken from the three existing dictionaries of contemporary Kildin: Kuruč et al. (1985) (comprising about 4000 Kildin headwords with Russian translations), Kert (1986) (a Kildin-Russian-Kildin school dictionary with about 4000 headwords in both directions), and Sammallahiti & Chvorostuchina (1991) (a Kildin-North Saami-Kildin dictionary with approximately 2500 headwords in both directions).

Items missing in these dictionaries have been looked up in the descriptive Kola Saami dialect dictionary of T. I. Itkonen (1958a). But since T. I. Itkonen's monumental work mostly reflects the language of the beginning 20th century (or earlier), words taken from here are considered only after cross-checking with the three contemporary dictionaries of Kildin or with my consultants.

Not a few items were missing in either of the dictionaries mentioned. These words have been translated for me by Kildin Saami speakers. Some of these words denote internationalisms and are culturally irrelevant for Kildin speakers, but are nevertheless well known to the speakers due to Russian intermediation, like the word *slonn* 'elephant' (< Russian *slon*). Others are not. There is, for example, no word for 'manioc' in Kildin and even Russian speakers I consulted did not know this word.³ However, the decision whether or not to choose the Russian word, to form a Saami neologism or loan translation, or to decide that such a word does not exist in Saami, was up to my consultants.

Note that nonce-forms as well as neologisms based on loanwords and loan translations are not counted as loanwords.

2.1. Earlier work on loanwords in Kildin and Kola Saami

The most thorough investigation of Kola Saami vocabulary is T. I. Itkonen's (1958a) descriptive dialect dictionary. It comprises about 7200 word stems, which

³ Even though the Russian word *manio*k 'root of a tropical tree used as food (or the tree itself)' is normally explained in encyclopedic dictionaries of Russian as well.

are listed with all known cognate forms from different dialects of the four Kola Saami languages. T. I. Itkonen also gives the North and/or Inari Saami cognates and, finally, in the case of assumed loanwords he suggests a source word (in most cases a Finnish or Russian one). T. I. Itkonen's dictionary comprises the author's own material from several field trips but also older word lists from other scholars (Abercromby, Europaeus, and Genetz, among others). The dictionary is thus not only a valuable source for loanwords but also for determining their age in Saami: Finding a certain loan word entry cited from one of the older word lists gives a positive indication of the word's minimum age. The listing of Inari or North Saami cognates also makes it possible to determine the age of an inherited word.

The assumed North Germanic (including more recent Norwegian) loanwords among the entries in T. I. Itkonen's Kola Saami dictionary are dealt with in a separate article by the same author (T. I. Itkonen 1958b). This article is in fact a discussion of an earlier article on North Germanic loanwords in the Kola Saami languages written by Wiklund (1892). The latter listed 63 "certain" loanwords plus an additional 35 words which might be considered as borrowed from North Germanic.

Another comprehensive list of North Germanic loanwords in Saami was compiled by Qvigstad (1893). Qvigstad's valuable dictionary has about 3000 entries. It lists known North Germanic loanwords – including recent North Germanic as well as Proto-North Germanic borrowings – in all of the different Saami languages where they are known to occur. For Kola Saami, Qvigstad used the same material as Wiklund (1892), namely the Kola Saami dictionary of Genetz (1891).

Turkin's (1994) article on Komi-Saami contacts lists a few loanwords which were borrowed either way between Komi and Saami, among them the only Komi loanword *kārr't* 'iron; plate' that is found in the LWT-list.⁴

Regarding the Karelian contacts, there is a comprehensive list of about 200 Karelian words in Kola Saami grouped in semantic fields in another article by T. I. Itkonen (1943).

2.2. Proto-Saami and Uralic loan etymologies

There are quite a few studies on Proto-Saami reconstructions. The most relevant sources for the present investigation are Lehtiranta's (1989) list of reconstructed Proto-Saami word stems, Sammallahti's (1998: 226–268) frequency list of the "845 most common North Saami words and their etymological background" as well as the same author's chronological surveys of different strata in Saami loan vocabulary (Sammallahti 2001, 1998: 125–131). Lehtiranta's and Sammallahti's etymologies are also included in the etymological database Álgú (2002–2009). Other recent Proto-Saami and Uralic etymologies are found in the numerous articles on the subject written by Koivulehto (2002, elsewhere) and by other scholars.

⁴ The Komi etymology of this word is also given in T. I. Itkonen 1958a.

Last but not least the etymological dictionaries of Finnish (E. Itkonen et al. 1955–1981; E. Itkonen & Kulonen 1992) and of Uralic (Rédei 1988–1991) have to be mentioned as valuable sources.

3. Kildin Saami linguistic contact situations

Figure 2 shows the different layers of linguistic contacts relevant for the present loanword study, i.e. the contact situations of the subdatabase. Contact languages given in parentheses are not represented among the loanwords from the Loanword Typology (LWT) meaning list.

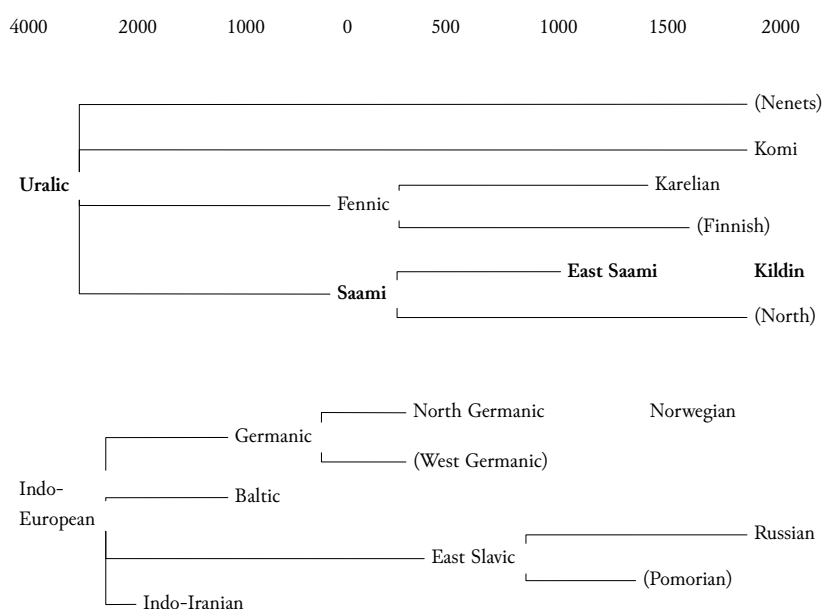


Figure 2: Approximate time layers of Kildin Saami linguistic contact dealt with in this investigation. (Contact situations given in parentheses are not reflected among the words from the LWT meaning list.)

The figure shows both the current contact situations and those going beyond the language of my investigation (Kildin) and its antecedent Proto-East Saami. The pre-Proto-East Saami contacts are nevertheless relevant for this investigation since several old layers of loanwords – reaching back in time as far as to Proto-Uralic – have been identified. In fact, half of the identified loanwords in my database were borrowed from historical or pre-historical contact languages and can thus not testify to linguistic contacts with Kildin or even East Saami. These words have not

been borrowed by speakers of Kola Saami dialects but have been inherited from a parent language at a certain stage during the earlier history of the language.

The following section lists all known contact languages of Kildin as well as historical and pre-historical Saami contact languages prior to contemporary Kildin. The certain contact situations are grouped – in reverse chronological order – according to historical layers. In case of the more recent and late historical language contact situations relevant for Kildin, the contact situations are described in more detail. The sociolinguistic conditions under which the loanwords from the different contact situations arose are dealt with at the end of this section.

3.1. Current and recent language contact situations

3.1.1. *Contact with North Saami*

A potential source for linguistic influence on Kildin in post-Soviet times besides Russian is North Saami. North Saami is the most prominent of the Saami languages as it is spoken as native language by approximately 75% of the ethnic Saami in the three countries Norway, Sweden, and Finland (Sammallahti 1998: 1). North Saami is also increasingly used as lingua franca for speakers of other Saami languages from Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. Ever since the opening of the Iron Curtain, personal and official contacts between Saami from Russia and the three western countries have been growing rapidly. Learning North Saami is especially attractive for young Saami in Russia (regardless of whether they speak one of the Kola Saami languages or not) since the Saami educational and partly also labor market may offer some attractive opportunities in Scandinavia and Finland. Consequently, teaching of North Saami in Saami communities of the Kola Peninsula has been established by different Saami political, cultural, and missionary organizations.

Some occasional instances of grammatical calquing from North Saami can be observed in the speech of individual Kildin Saami and North Saami vocabulary relating to Saami culture, economy, and politics might well be regarded as true loanwords in Kildin, for example North Saami *duodji* ‘traditional Saami handicraft’ or North Saami *Sápmi* ‘the Saami homeland’.

However, contacts with North Saami are not reflected in the present investigation since such loanwords are not found among the items in the subdatabase.

3.1.2. *Contact with Russian*

The principal contact language of all Kola Saami languages is Russian, and this has been so at least since the end of the Middle Ages. The linguistic contacts with Russian are reflected in the heavy lexical influence from Russian on all four Kola Saami languages. This influence is noticeable also in Skolt Saami, most speakers of which resettled in Finland during World War II. Beside lexical influence there are

also considerable grammatical borrowings in the Kola Saami languages (Rießler 2007 for Kildin; see also below §6).

The first, though sporadic, contacts between Kola Saami and Russian date as far back as the 12th century, when traders from the empire of Novgorod landed on the southern shores of the Kola Peninsula. More intense contacts with speakers of Russian, however, did not start before the permanent settlement of Russian colonists in northern Karelia and on the Kola Peninsula from the 15th–16th century on (Kert 1994: 101–102). Russian settlement went parallel with the missionary work of the Russian Orthodox Church, which founded monasteries and churches in the area. However, it can be assumed that the contacts between Russian and Saami were relatively loose from the beginning. Each group probably had its own economic and socio-cultural niche. Until very recent times, contacts with the Pomors (the self-designation of the North Russian settlers of the White Sea coasts) were rather of a symbiotic relationship.

The influence from Saami on Pomor dialects might even have been equally strong at one point in time. This is reflected in borrowed vocabulary, mostly belonging to natural phenomena and names of animals and plants. T. I. Itkonen (1932) lists more than 100 Saami loanwords in the North Russian dialects. A considerable part of this borrowed vocabulary has found its way from North Russian into the Russian standard language; among them the word *paren* ‘boy’ (< Kola Saami *pārr’n* ‘boy, son, kid’ < North Germanic, cf. Swedish *barn* ‘child’, Scheller 2004).

However, in the course of ongoing Russian colonization, the Russian influence became stronger. This is witnessed by the relatively large number of loanwords in the Kola Saami wordlists recorded during the second half of the 19th century (of which Genetz 1891 is the most important). Russian influence also resulted in borrowed function words and even in calqued expressions and grammatical constructions. The use of the Russian topic-marking enclitic =*že*, noted already in Halász’ grammatical description of Kola Saami (Halász 1883: 40), may serve as an example.

Still, Russian influence during the period of Russian colonization was fairly marginal, compared to the period after the October Revolution in 1917 and the founding of the Soviet Union. Loanwords from this period are often easy distinguishable from Russian words adapted in pre-revolutionary times since many of them refer to newly introduced matters such as terms related to Soviet social and political administration, technical innovations, etc. Accompanied with the ever-increasing degree of russification, even words for basic concepts were replaced by Russian borrowings.

Another date in the proposed contact chronology goes back to a crucial point in the history of the Saami in Russia: the relocation of large numbers of the Skolt Saami to Finland in 1940. Since there were practically no contacts between the few remaining Skolt Saami speakers in Russia and their relatives on the Finnish side of the border, Russian words which are present in the Finnish varieties of Skolt clearly go back to borrowing prior to the war. The word *päss’pe* [pa:s:’pə] ‘thanks!’ (< Rus-

sian *spasibo* [spa'sibɐ]) in Kildin may serve as an example. The cognate form *spässeb* is found in Skolt. Another example is the Skolt word *jarplan* 'airplane' (< Russian *aeroplán*). The word for 'airplane' in Kildin *samm'l'oht* has replaced the original word with a new borrowing from Russian, namely the Soviet Russian neologism with the same meaning *samolét*.

The contact with Russian during early Sovietization prior to World War II concerned all Kola Saami languages equally. Russian influence yields similar effects on the vocabulary and grammar on most of the Kola Saami dialects. The ongoing cultural and linguistic Sovietization after 1945 and especially the forced dissolution of the traditional Saami communities resulted in heavy influence from Russian on the lexicon and the grammar of the central dialects of Kildin due to a rapidly accomplished language shift. The more peripheral dialects of Kildin as well as the other Kola Saami languages are already extinct (Akkala) or moribund (Ter).

3.1.3. Kola Saami contacts with Komi and Nenets

Two minor contact languages of Kola Saami are the Ižma varieties of Komi-Zyrian and Tundra Nenets. Both are Uralic languages but belong to more distant branches, as shown in figure 3.

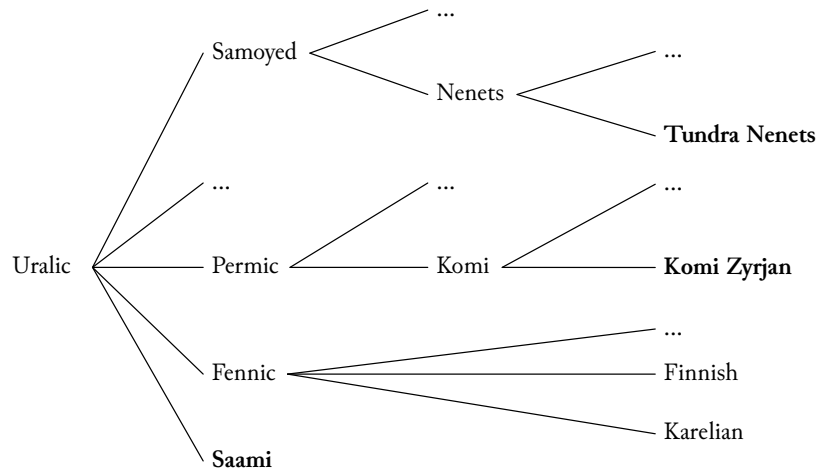


Figure 3: Uralic language tree

Since the second half of the 19th century families of Komi and Nenets reindeer herders have been migrating from their original homelands around the river Ižma south of the White Sea and founded permanent settlements mostly on the central and eastern parts of the peninsula. Consequently, the contacts have been closest with speakers of Ter and Kildin originally. In more recent times there has been

close contact due to mixed settlements and intermarriage, and (especially after collectivization and forced relocation of the Saami to centralized villages) also due to shared work in the reindeer brigades. The contacts with Komi speakers continue at present and trilingualism in Komi, Saami, and Russian is still common in ethnically mixed families or among reindeer herders. But interestingly, Saami and Komi do not seem to have influenced each other except for some word borrowings in both directions. Note also that some of the Komi loanwords in Saami, all of which are dated before 1900, were in fact borrowing from Nenets into Komi originally.

Komi is represented among the donor languages in the Kildin Saami subdatabase, but only with one word. Contacts between speakers of Nenets and Saami, however, seem to have left no traces at all. The migrating Nenets reindeer herders, all of them working as farm-hands for the Komi, were socially ranked below the Komi. Several members of the Kola-Nenets community have reported to me that a language shift from Nenets to Komi was going on long before their ancestors migrated to the Kola Peninsula.

3.2. Historical contacts

3.2.1. *Kola Saami contacts with Norwegian and Finnish*

Fur and other natural resources of the Kola Peninsula have been attracting traders and settlers from Scandinavia (mostly from Norway but also from Sweden) and Finland already during historical times. Until the beginning of the 17th century, the Kola Peninsula was politically under the influence of the Dano-Norwegian crown, as is witnessed, for example, by the Norwegian establishment of the town Murmansk. At the end of the 19th century there were considerable settlements of Norwegian and Finnish colonists mostly in the western parts of the Kola Peninsula, i. e. in the original Skolt and Akkala Saami areas. The Kola Saami contacts with Norwegian and Karelian colonists and traders ended during the first decades after the founding of the Soviet Union. During World War II, many Finns and Norwegians were deported from the area. Nowadays only few descendants of Norwegians and Finns live in the Murmansk region, and there are probably no active speakers of the languages among them.

Identifying Finnish loanwords from this period is problematic since the Finnish (and Karelian, see below §3.2.2) contacts are a continuation of the older Proto-Saami contacts with Fennic and loanwords in Kildin resembling modern Finnish words might as well be borrowed from Karelian. Similarly, recent North Germanic (Norwegian) loanwords are not always easily distinguishable from Proto-North Germanic borrowings into Common Saami. Without any doubt the dialects of Kildin, spoken mostly in the inlands east of the Norwegian and Finnish settlements, were much less influenced than the dialects of Skolt and Akkala Saami directly neighboring the Norwegian and Finnish settlers. According to T. I. Itkonen (1958b) there are over 200 North Germanic loanwords in the dialects

of Skolt. Even the easternmost Saami language Ter seems to have adopted a larger number of recent North Germanic loanwords. Most Ter Saami settled along the peninsula's north-eastern coastline and had regular contacts with Norwegian sea-traders.

There is in fact a large number of loanwords originating from North Germanic languages in Saami. Most of them, however, were borrowed relatively early and inherited by the modern Saami languages from Common Saami. The best evidence for this is the fact that almost all of these early borrowings are found in different modern Saami dialects (as shown, for example, in the dictionary of Qvigstad 1893). The respective cognate forms show a fairly high degree of phonological adaptation with sound shapes fitting regularly to the known sound laws in the individual Saami languages. Thus, I do not find it convincing to assume (like Ravila 1936; T. I. Itkonen 1958b; both argue against Wiklund 1892) that most of the North Germanic loanwords are inter-dialectal "Wanderwörter" which have been borrowed relatively recently into Kola Saami. Even though I do not deny the possibility of inter-dialectal borrowings in some cases, most loanwords of North Germanic origin in my database clearly belong to layers relevant for Proto-Saami. The much more recently borrowed Norwegian words – found in Kildin but also in other Kola Saami languages – have been independently borrowed by speakers of different Kola Saami dialects in direct contacts with Norwegians.

3.2.2. *Kola Saami contacts with Karelian*

Obviously the recent North Germanic contacts on the Kola Peninsula did leave fewer traces in Kildin than in Skolt. The Finnish contacts, on the other hand, were even more restricted to the western Kola Saami languages Akkala and Skolt. I could not identify a single Finnish loanword among the items of the LWT meaning list. A much more prominent loanword layer in Kildin resulted from the Karelian colonization of the original Saami lands.

In earlier times the East Saami inhabited an area stretching much further south and including most parts of what now is Karelia. In the course of time the Saami were gradually assimilated by the Fennic majority population, which consisted mostly of Karelians. Until relatively recent times Karelians settled side by side with Saami even on the Kola Peninsula. This is reflected in the many borrowed names and place names, among them the name of the former capital of the Region, *Kola*, founded at the shore of the estuary fjord of the river Tuloma. This settlement gave its name to the whole peninsula (T. I. Itkonen 1943: 46). T. I. Itkonen (1943) lists about 200 Karelian loanwords in Kola Saami. Most of them are found across all four Kola Saami languages. A few loanwords are even found in the more distant East Saami language Inari. The occurrence of cognate forms of Karelian loanwords across all East Saami languages indicates the relative old age of their adaptation.

The number of Karelian loanwords among the items of the LWT-list is fairly high even compared with the pre-Soviet Russian loanwords. This is especially true if one considers that some Karelian borrowings have later been replaced by recent

Russian words, as for example *knīga* ‘book’ (< Russian *kniga*) which has replaced the older Karelian loanword *kīrr’j*.

The high amount of Karelian loanwords indicates intense contact. There are probably also grammatical borrowings from Karelian in East Saami. It has, for instance, been assumed that the use of the partitive as attributive case after quantifiers is due to borrowing from Karelian (Kont 1967: 2–3). The partitive is found in all East Saami languages including Inari Saami. This innovation would thus be older than the Karelian colonization on the Kola Peninsula.

It should be noted that there has always been contact between Russian and Karelian as well, even before Saami and Russians came in close contact with each other. Not a few Karelian loanwords in Saami were originally borrowed from Russian into Karelian, as for example the word for ‘window’ *ehkan* borrowed from Karelian *akkuna* which in turn was borrowed from Old Russian **okъno* (cf. Russian *okno*).

3.3. Old historic and pre-historic contacts

The Karelian contacts constitute a continuation of older contacts between dialects of Proto-Fennic and Proto-Saami in pre-historical times. The disintegration of the Fennic language unit was a rather gradual process, and there might have been a northeastern Fennic complex comprising the predecessors of the present northeastern Fennic languages, especially Karelian and Vepsian. The old Karelian loanwords which are spread over all East Saami languages (including Inari) as well as the above mentioned grammatical borrowing of the partitive case might originate from this older stage rather than from Karelian proper.

Dialects of the assumed Common Saami language unit have been in contact with East Slavic, Fennic, and North Germanic.⁵ Lehtiranta (1989) lists about 1500 reconstructed Proto-Saami word stems, 700 of which were inherited from a Fennic-Saami parent language according to Sammallahti (1998: 117). For the largest part of the remaining 800 Proto-Saami word stems, no cognate forms have been identified in other Uralic languages and their pre-Proto-Saami etymology remains uncertain (see §3.4 on the hypothesized pre-historical substrate in Saami). The remaining reconstructed Proto-Saami vocabulary consists of about 150 Fennic and 100 Germanic (i. e. Proto-Germanic as well as West- and North Germanic) loanwords (Sammallahti 1998: 125).

Both the North Germanic, Fennic, and East Slavic loanwords are spread (in most cases) over all modern Saami languages, without any significant eastern or western tendency in borrowing from the one or the other direction. Later inter-dialectal transfer of certain words may have played a role. However, the high degree of morphophonological integration of these loanwords as well as their regular sound

⁵ To a lesser extent there were also contacts with West Germanic, which is, however, not reflected among the loanwords in the subdatabase.

shape (according to sound laws of the individual Saami languages) suggest relative early borrowing into a common proto-form of Saami.

Two other languages lending words during an early period in Saami language history are Proto-Baltic and Proto-Germanic. In many cases, loanwords from these languages are also found in the sister language of Proto-Saami, Proto-Fennic. Even though some independent loans from early Baltic and early Germanic indicate direct contacts with Saami, it is often assumed that the contacts with speakers of Baltic reach back to a pre-Proto-Saami period and that most of the loanwords in question were adopted into a Proto-Fennic-Saami parent language (cf., for instance, Sammallahti 1998: 123–125). Following the argumentation of, for example, T. Itkonen (1997) or Salminen (2002), however, the existence of a common Fennic-Saami proto-form is not certain.

Since it is not crucial for my investigation whether or not a Proto-Fennic-Saami unit can be reconstructed, I will leave this question open. All words borrowed prior to Proto-Saami are here considered to belong to a pre-Proto-Saami loanword layer.

A third direct successor of Proto-Indo-European, besides Proto-Germanic and Proto-Baltic, is Proto-Indo-Iranian, certain dialects of which also lent a considerable number of words to pre-Proto-Saami.

Finally, the oldest identified loanword layer in Saami comprises words which were adopted into Proto-Uralic. These words originate from either pre-Indo-Iranian, pre-Germanic or pre-Baltic. According to Carpelan (2006: 86) these languages belong to a “Proto-Northwest-Indo-European” archeological culture. The respective loanwords from this period are labeled as Proto-Indo-European.⁶

3.4. The pre-Proto-Saami substrate hypotheses

According to Sammallahti (1998: 125), about 550 Proto-Saami word stems, i. e. more than 30% of the total number of the approximately 1500 reconstructed Proto-Saami stems, are with uncertain origin. Lehtiranta (1989: 8) gives the number of 43%. These words have neither a loan etymology nor cognates in other Uralic languages. Some scholars have assumed that these words originate from an unknown northern European substrate language (among others Saarikivi 2004; Aikio 2004, 2006). Aikio argues that positive evidence of a reconstructed source language is not necessary for his model of paleo-linguistic substrate in Saami since (1) the amount of non-etymologized vocabulary is fairly high, (2) the respective words belong to certain semantic fields susceptible to substrate influence, (3) in many cases they exhibit untypical phonemes or phoneme combinations, and (4) some of these word stems show irregular sound correspondences and could thus be

⁶ The given chronology as well as the proposed loanword layers might be considered as too simplified. But the discussion of the exact age of a single contact situation or the exact dating of every single loanword in accordance to the known sound changes in Uralic and Indo-European is not the goal of this investigation.

borrowed into different Proto-Saami dialects independently (Aikio 2004: 8–9, 2006: 44–66).

It is tempting to connect this hypothesized substrate language not only to certain non-Uralic layers in the Saami lexicon but also to certain peculiar phonological and perhaps even grammatical developments. It has thus been assumed that, for example, preaspiration, which also occurs in neighboring North Germanic languages, could be the result of substratum influence common to both languages (cf., for instance, Kylstra 1972).

If there really are no cognate features of preaspiration to be found in the phonology of other Uralic languages (though Kusmenko 2008: 153–156 thinks there are some) than preaspiration in Saami could in fact be a plausible candidate for a phonological substratum effect. However, preaspiration in North Germanic is not older than the first centuries CE. It is rather unlikely to assume an unknown language still being spoken in Scandinavia at this relative recent time. Consequently, preaspiration in North Germanic is most likely the result of substratum interference due to the language shift of scandinavized Saami (Rießler 2004, Kusmenko 2008: 129–173).

In my database the words belonging to the assumed pre-Proto-Saami substrate layer are not indicated as “borrowed”. Counting these words as loanwords must be very tentative as long as any positive indication of a substrate language underlying Proto-Saami is missing.

3.5. Notes on the sociolinguistics of Kildin Saami language contacts

The sociolinguistic conditions under which the loanwords from the pre-historic contact languages were adapted are unknown, and we can only speculate about them. The relatively large number of Baltic and Germanic loanwords, however, suggests relatively close contacts.

Even though the Baltic and Germanic speakers were obviously not the first Indo-Europeans who happened to come into contact with speakers of Uralic languages, it has been assumed that the results of the early linguistic contacts with Baltic and Germanic would reflect the beginning of a period of strong Indo-Europeanization in the former Uralic areas of northeastern Europe. It is likely that it was just these contacts which led to the linguistic (and cultural) disintegration of the Fennic and Saami branches. If this hypothesis is right, the dialects of Proto-Fennic are much stronger Indo-Europeanized than Proto-Saami.

The contacts between Fennic and Saami are without any doubt characterized by language-shift due to Fennicization of the former Saami speaking areas in Northern Europe. This process is clearly reflected in relatively recent substrate toponymy in southern and southeastern parts of Finland as well as in Russian Karelia. The language shift due to the Fennicization continues until the present, considering the historical contacts between East Saami and the Fennic language Karelian but also

the still ongoing language-shift of North Saami and Inari Saami speakers to Finnish.

Similarly, the contacts between North Germanic and Saami (as continuation of the older contacts of Proto-Saami with Proto-Germanic) are also characterized by linguistic and cultural Scandinavization of the Saami. This is clearly reflected in North Germanic language history since many important isoglosses characterizing the northern subbranch of Germanic as well as the northeastern dialects of North Germanic are the result of geographically and chronologically layered Saami substrate influence (Rießler 2004: 178–181, cf. also Kusmenko 2008).

I would assume a similar contact situation of uni-directional assimilation and language shift as characteristic for the time of the Karelian colonization in the former lands of the Kola Saami. As a matter of fact, the former Saami inhabitants were not driven out of their original homelands south of the Kola Peninsula. They were rather assimilated by the surrounding Fennic culture(s). The rich Saami substrate toponymy in Karelia indicates a language-shift situation. The relatively high number of Karelian loanwords and their concentration in certain semantic fields (agriculture, among others) point also to a contact situation in which Saami speakers shifted to the language of their culturally superior Karelian neighbors.

Similar sociolinguistic conditions might even have been characteristic of the contacts during the Russian colonization. Widespread bilingualism among Saami is in fact attested. According to a Finnish traveler's account from the Russian parts of Sápmi (cit. Qvigstad 1893: 1–2, fn 3), the Russian language has been understood and spoken in all parts of the Kola Peninsula at least from the middle of the 19th century on. Many Russian loanwords from that period also belong to semantic fields such as agriculture, religion, and administration (among others), and some of them have replaced earlier Karelian borrowings.

The contacts after the founding of the Soviet Union and especially after World War II, are of quite different nature. Whereas the period of Russian colonization was characterized by a gradual (and unsolicited) assimilation of bilingual Saami, the forced Sovietization has led to language loss during the period of only three generations of Saami speakers. The Russian loanwords thus clearly belong to two different layers prior to and after the founding of the Soviet Union. This is reflected in their phonological shape but also in the semantic fields they belong to.

4. Numbers and kinds of loanwords in Kildin Saami

The Kildin Saami subdatabase contains 1344 words, of which 414 (30.8%) are identified as being borrowed (or probably borrowed) at a certain stage during the linguistic history of Kildin. The oldest loanword layer contains 34 (2.5%) Proto-Indo-European, 16 (1.2%) Proto-Indo-Iranian, 18 (1.4%) Proto-Baltic, 23 (1.6%) Proto-Germanic, 59 (4.1%) Proto-Fennic, 49 (3.5%) Proto-North Germanic, and 4 (0.3%) Proto-East Slavic words – all of which were borrowed into Proto-Saami or at an earlier stage. The oldest loanwords identified are Proto-Indo-European loan-

words in Proto-Uralic. As true loanwords in Kildin I regard 41 (3.1%) Karelian, 5 (0.4%) Norwegian, 1 (0.1%) Komi, and 165 (12.4%) Russian borrowings. The overall number of loanwords is thus slightly lower than one third among the entries in the subdatabase. Only half of them, however, have been borrowed as result of Kildin or Kola Saami language contacts. The other half consists of loanwords which Kildin inherited from its ancestor language.

4.1. Loanword figures compared

The high number of Russian borrowings is not unexpected, given the intensity of recent contacts with Russian and the thorough bilingualism of Kildin speakers. However, the overall loanword figures in Kildin allow for some interesting observations.

First, the number of Karelian loanwords seems relatively high and is somewhat comparable to the number of pre-Soviet Russian loanwords. More than half of the Russian loanwords in my database have in fact been borrowed since the first half of the 20th century. One should also bear in mind that recent Russian borrowings have replaced a number of earlier borrowings from North Germanic and Karelian. The figures of North Germanic (Norwegian) and Karelian loanwords are thus consistent with what is known about the contacts of speakers of Kola Saami with Norwegian and Karelian colonists.

Second, the number of Komi loanwords is remarkably small, given the relative close interaction between Komi and Saami speakers during the last century.

Third, the fraction of loanwords in Proto-Saami or at stages prior to it is relatively high and averages one half of the total number of loanwords identified in my database. These numbers are consistent to what is known from earlier investigations on Saami etymology and the historical and pre-historical Saami language contacts.

4.2. Loanwords and semantic word class

The breakdown of loanwords by semantic word class is given in Table 1.

According to the overall figures borrowings of nouns outnumber borrowings of all other word classes. The highest number of borrowed verbs is from Russian, but it is not always clear if the verb in question was borrowed from a Russian verb or if it was derived from a borrowed noun. For example *sūdte* ‘to adjudicate’ (< Russian *sudit*) could also have been derived in Kildin from the borrowed noun *sūdt* ‘court’ (< Russian *sud*).

There is also a considerable number of borrowed adjectives and function words in Kildin, most of which, however, have been borrowed into Proto-Saami or earlier.

Table 1: Loanwords in Kildin Saami by donor language and semantic word class (percentages)

	Russian	Fennic	North Germanic	Karelian	Indo-European	Germanic	Baltic	Indo-Iranian	Norwegian	Slavic	Komi	Total loanwords	Non-loanwords
Nouns	16.9	3.7	4.9	4.0	2.5	2.4	1.4	1.2	0.5	0.2	0.1	38.0	62.0
Verbs	5.7	4.7	1.3	1.0	3.3	0.3	1.0	1.0	0.3	0.3	-	19.1	80.9
Function words	4.3	7.6	1.1	-	-	-	1.1	1.1	-	-	-	15.1	84.9
Adjectives	4.0	3.3	0.9	4.3	1.8	0.9	1.8	1.8	-	0.9	-	19.8	80.2
Adverbs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0	100.0
all words	12.4	4.1	3.5	3.1	2.5	1.6	1.3	1.2	0.4	0.3	0.1	30.5	69.5

4.3. Loanword and semantic field

The breakdown of loanwords by semantic field is given in Table 2.

Kildin has borrowed words from all semantic fields. By far the highest portion of loanwords belong to the field *The house*. Other semantic fields containing relatively high numbers of loanwords are *Clothing and grooming*, *Religion and belief*, *Modern world*, and *Food and drink*.

It might seem unexpected that the greatest number of loanwords is not found among the modern world items. Still, almost all of these words are relatively recent borrowings from Russian, which is not unexpected.

Semantic fields which are relatively resistant to borrowing are *Miscellaneous function words*, *Sense perception*, *Kinship*, and *The body*.

By far the largest number of loanwords in Kildin are borrowed from Russian. These words can be found among all semantic fields, except in the fields *Spatial relations* and *Miscellaneous function words*. The high number of Russian loanwords in certain fields, however, is partly due to the fact that Russian mediated the borrowing of exotic items such as the words for ‘elephant’ (from *Animals*) and ‘banana’ (from *Agriculture*).

Borrowings from Fennic do also occur in all semantic fields, except *Warfare and hunting*. Remarkably, Fennic is the only language contributing words from the field *Miscellaneous function words* to Kildin.

Table 2:
Loanwords in Kildin Saami by donor language and semantic field (percentages)

	Russian	Fennic	North Germanic	Karelian	Indo-European	Germanic	Baltic	Indo-Iranian	Norwegian	Slavic	Komi	Total loanwords	Non-loanwords
1 The physical world	3.7	5.0	1.9	-	5.0	1.2	3.7	-	-	-	-	20.5	79.5
2 Kinship	5.6	2.8	2.8	1.4	1.4	-	1.4	-	-	-	-	15.3	84.7
3 Animals	9.8	2.0	4.9	5.9	-	4.9	1.0	1.0	-	-	-	29.4	70.6
4 The body	2.0	4.3	2.0	1.4	1.7	0.7	0.7	1.7	2.0	-	-	16.5	83.5
5 Food and drink	20.6	4.8	7.9	5.5	1.4	1.4	-	4.8	-	-	-	46.4	53.6
6 Clothing and grooming	18.7	3.7	11.2	8.4	4.7	1.9	1.9	-	-	1.9	-	52.3	47.7
7 The house	41.3	4.1	6.9	5.5	-	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	-	-	68.8	31.2
8 Agriculture and vegetation	23.6	1.5	2.6	4.4	-	1.5	3.0	-	-	1.5	-	38.0	62.0
9 Basic actions and technology	8.8	5.9	11.1	2.9	5.9	1.0	-	-	-	-	1.5	37.1	62.9
10 Motion	12.4	1.9	1.2	1.2	6.2	1.2	-	2.5	-	-	-	26.7	73.3
11 Possession	15.0	7.5	5.0	7.5	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	40.0	60.0
12 Spatial relations	-	6.1	2.8	4.2	1.4	3.5	2.8	2.8	-	-	-	23.6	76.4
13 Quantity	8.3	2.8	2.8	-	1.4	-	2.8	2.8	2.8	-	-	23.6	76.4
14 Time	1.8	9.2	0.9	3.7	1.8	2.8	1.8	1.8	-	-	-	24.0	76.0
15 Sense perception	1.2	1.2	1.2	-	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	-	-	-	12.7	87.3
16 Emotions and values	8.4	3.5	2.1	5.2	4.2	-	-	2.1	-	2.1	-	27.5	72.5
17 Cognition	12.0	10.0	-	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23.1	76.9
18 Speech and language	19.5	7.0	-	-	4.2	2.8	0.9	-	-	-	-	34.4	65.6
19 Social and political relations	17.0	1.7	-	3.4	6.8	6.8	2.3	-	-	-	-	38.1	61.9
20 Warfare and hunting	7.5	-	9.0	3.0	6.0	4.0	6.0	-	-	-	-	35.5	64.5
21 Law	25.9	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27.6	72.4
22 Religion and belief	28.0	4.0	4.0	8.0	-	-	-	-	-	4.0	-	48.0	52.0
23 Modern world	46.4	1.8	-	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49.1	50.9
24 Miscellaneous function words	7.0	9.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.3	83.7
	12.4	4.1	3.5	3.1	2.5	1.6	1.3	1.2	0.4	0.3	0.1	30.5	69.5

5. Integration of loanwords

Only the most recent (post-Soviet Russian) loanwords form clearly recognizable vocabulary strata for speakers of Kildin. These words normally show a low degree of phonological integration and belong to certain semantic fields (*Modern world*). Most words from the older layer are phonologically well integrated.

5.1. Speakers' attitudes to loanwords

Speakers are well aware of the high amount of recent Russian borrowings in their language. Sometimes Russian words are avoided and replaced by neologisms or loan translations, such as, for example, *yšštemšajj* 'chair' (lit. 'sitting place') sometimes used instead of *stūla* < Russian *stul*. I have also observed conscious phonological adaptation of certain loanwords, for example *mášina* with stress on the first syllable instead of *mašina* 'car' < Russian *mašina*. The conscious use of neologisms and loan translations as well as conscious phonological extension of Russian words is obviously due to puristic attitudes of certain speakers. The overall tendency among most speakers today is, however, to use Russian words if a Kildin equivalent is not accessible and adapt these words without any phonological modification.

The older Russian borrowings are also identified as loanwords by the bilingual Saami speakers. However, none of the loanwords from the preceding strata are normally thought of as coming from other languages. A reason for this might be that most of these loanwords are phonologically and morphologically well integrated into Kildin.

Interestingly enough, even words with uncommon sound or syllable structure, such as *lājjh* 'gift' with a word-final voiceless sonorant /j/ (< Karelian *lahja*), or *lix'em* 'cow' with intervocalic /x/ (< Karelian *lehmä*) or Russian words mediated by Karelian, such as *ehkan* 'window' (< Karelian *akkuna* < Old Russian **окно*) are hardly identified as loanwords by Kildin speakers.

5.2. Loanword adaptation

The major adaptation processes that loanwords in Kildin undergo are (1) orthographical, (2) phonological, and (3) morphophonological.

5.2.1. Orthographic adaptation

Some borrowings have been integrated only in writing, such as, for example, the words *vint* [vint] 'screw' < Russian *vint* [vint] or *kniga* 'book' /kni:ga/ < Russian *kniga* [kni:ga]. Other words, however, are written according to the Russian orthography. Since these words most often refer to items which are not considered in the three dictionaries of contemporary Kildin, I trusted my consultants' intuition whether or not to adapt Saami orthographic rules for such borrowed words.

5.2.2. Phonological extension

Loanwords in Kildin normally show some sort of phonological adaptation. An exception are some words of the most recent stratum which are often adopted without any phonological extension. The word for 'ocean', *ak'edn* (< Russian

okeán), may serve as an example. The word retains both its original stress (Saami has first-syllable stress as a rule) and its original syllable structure (three-syllabic word stems are rather rare in Kildin). The loanword *päss'pe* [pa:s:i:pə] 'thanks!' (< Russian *spasibo* [spa'sibə]) on the other hand clearly belongs to the older stratum (in view of the cognate *spässep* in Skolt). The word stress is shifted to the word initial syllable. The vowel and stem consonant in the word initial syllable have become long while the second syllable vowel is apocopated (the palatalization of /s:i:p/ is a reflex of the second syllable front vowel /i/ of the Russian word). Finally, the word final vowel [ə] of the source word is further reduced and pronounced as schwa.

Other typical examples of phonological adaptation of loanwords are loss of the first consonant(s) in word-initial clusters, as in *līšš* 'bold' < Russian *ples'*, or preaspiration of word-medial or -final voiceless plosives, as in *zeabt'* 'son-in-law' < Russian *z'at'*. Whereas word-initial consonant clusters seem to be accepted more easily in recent loanwords preaspiration occurs in very recent loanwords, too, as in *plubt* 'cheat, swindler' < Russian *plut*. However, according to my own observations there is considerable variation among speakers as to how strongly voiceless plosives are really preaspirated. An example is *samml'oht* [sam:l'io t] ~ [sam:l'ioht] ~ [sam:l'ioxt] 'airplane' < Russian *samolét* [səma'l'iot]. The consistent spelling of such words with preaspiration in the dictionaries might simply reflect the author's attempt to preserve an archaic phonological rule. If so, it would rather constitute an instance of orthographic than of phonological loanword adaptation.

Phonological adaptation of loanwords also applies to syllabic restructuring yielding (ideally) closed mono-syllabic (C)V(C)C or open disyllabic words (C)V(C)CV with a long first-syllable vowel. Whereas the vowel and the coda of word-initial syllables are normally lengthened, second- (or third-) syllable vowels are reduced or lost.

5.2.3. Morphophonological adaptation

Kildin exhibits rich morphophonological alternations with (1) quantitative or qualitative changes of stem consonants (*stem gradation*), (2) palatalization or depalatalization of stem consonants, and (3) qualitative changes of stem vowels (*metaphony*).⁷ Whereas metaphony does not seem to occur in borrowed words, the consonantal changes regularly apply to borrowed words as well. Consider the borrowed verb *sudte* /sud:-e/ [adjudicate-INF] 'to adjudicate' (< Russian *sudit'* [sud'i:tɕ]). The word's stem consonant /d:/ is in the strong grade before the infinitive suffix. In accordance with the stem gradation rules, the consonant in *suda* 1SG.PRS is in the weak grade (shortened). In the form *sudt'e* 1SG.PRS the consonant is again in the strong grade (long) but palatalized, contrasting with the form of the infinite.

⁷ Both stem gradation, palatalization, and metaphony are morphologized in some forms where the phonological trigger of these changes are lost.

5.3. Borrowing routines

The adaptation processes mentioned above are hierarchical in the sense that morphophonologically extended loanwords normally undergo phonological adaptation and the latter in most cases are integrated orthographically as well.

Besides orthographic, phonological, and morphophonological loanword adaptation, certain borrowing routines apply to the inflected word classes of nouns, verbs, and adjectives in order to integrate these words into Kildin morphology. Thus many Russian adjectives are adopted by productive replacement of the attributive suffix *-ij / -yj* M.SG by a suffix *-e*, e. g. *kommunističeske* ‘communist-’ (< Russian *kommunističeskij* M.SG) or *norvežke* ‘Norwegian’ (< Russian *norvežskij* M.SG).⁸ These borrowed adjectives are retained unchanged in predicative position. The replacement of the Russian suffix *-ij / -yj* M.SG by *-e* also applies to the borrowed relative particle *kotore* (< Russian *kotóryj* M.SG) and the borrowed superlative particle *same* (< Russian *sámyj* M.SG).

Russian verbs are normally adopted without the Russian infinitive suffix but with a stem consonant in the strong grade, as shown in the example *sudte* ‘to adjudicate’ above.

Borrowed mono- or disyllabic nouns often have a nominative form in the strong grade which shows regular paradigmatic gradation, e. g. *poarr* ‘steam’, which exhibits the weak grade *poar* regularly in the plural.

6. Grammatical borrowing into Kildin Saami

Russian grammatical borrowings into Kildin are dealt with in detail in Rießler (2008). The large number of Russian grammatical borrowings in Kildin is nevertheless worth mentioning here. Instances of contact-induced changes are found at all levels of grammar: phonology, morphology, syntax, as well as in discourse pragmatics. Changes concerning the borrowing of actual linguistic material are mostly found at the level of discourse-pragmatic text structuring (e. g. the discourse marking conjunction *a* < Russian *a* ‘but’, the coordinator *ele ~ ili* < Russian *ili* ‘or’, the subordinator *što* < Russian *što* ‘that’), in the replacement of an original synthetic superlative construction by the superlative particle *same* (< Russian *sámyj* M.SG), and in the replacement of an original negative suffix by a borrowed negative prefix *ne-* on negative indefinites. Other changes in verbal and noun morphology, such as the grammaticalization of an analytic future tense and the introduction of secondary diminutive and augmentative forms are the result of borrowed grammatical patterns from Russian.

⁸ This word displaced the older borrowing *tärr* ‘Norwegian; Russian; farmer (i. e. originally ‘non-Saami’)’ < Karelian *taro* ‘cultivated land; village’ < Russian dialectal *dor* ‘clearance (in order to cultivate land)’ (E. Itkonen & Kulonen 1992: 273).

7. Conclusion

Loanwords from the following layers have been detected among the entries of the Kildin Saami subdatabase: (1) Reconstructed Proto-Indo-European word forms and reconstructed word forms from dialects of Proto-Indo-European, including pre-Proto-Indo-Iranian, pre-Proto-Germanic and pre-Proto-Baltic are grouped together. These old Indo-European loanwords were borrowed prior to Proto-Saami. The next groups comprise words borrowed from daughter languages of Proto-Indo-European, i. e. from (2) Proto-Indo-Iranian, (3) Proto-Baltic, and (4) Proto-Germanic. Most of the loanwords from the last three languages were adopted very early in Proto-Saami. The next layers of loanwords, borrowed into Proto-Saami and passed on to the succeeding languages, originate from (5) Proto-Fennic, (6) Proto-North Germanic, and (7) Proto-East Slavic. The flow of loanwords from the last three languages found its continuation in words borrowed into East Saami and later into Kola Saami from (8) Karelian, (9) North Germanic (Norwegian), and (10) Russian. Another language which has lent words to Kola Saami is (11) Komi. The flow of loanwords from Russian is continuing beyond Common Kola Saami until modern Kildin Saami.

Most loanword layers, however, are the result of contacts at older stages of the language. More than half of the absolute number of loanwords in the Kildin Saami subdatabase were not borrowed by Kildin speakers but inherited from at least Common East Saami. These words do not reveal anything about the linguistic contacts of Kildin Saami with speakers of other languages.

Taking into account that true borrowing in Kildin only originate from the four most recent layers (Karelian, Norwegian, Komi, and Russian) the fraction of loanwords from these languages in the database seems not exceptionally high. Only about 15% of the items of the subdatabase have been identified as loanwords in current Kildin.

Usually, it has been assumed that the highest input on the lexicon of the Kola Saami languages is the result of contact with Russian (cf., for instance, Kert 1975: 161). This is true in absolute numbers. By far the greatest number of loanwords originate from Russian. However, most of these words have been introduced with modern-world items during or after Soviet times. Regarding their number and their affiliation to certain semantic layers the pre-Soviet Russian loanwords are by all means comparable to the loanwords from Karelian.

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Loanword Appendix

Proto-Indo-European		Proto-Indo-Iranian		<i>suel</i>	island
<i>abb'r</i>	rain	<i>čūdt'</i>	hundred	<i>sūjīn</i>	hay, grass
<i>čoagk'</i>	brush; comb	<i>čuell'</i>	gut, intestine	<i>toafant</i>	thousand
<i>kall'me</i>	freeze	<i>cuemp</i>	frog	<i>vūras</i>	old
<i>kēbče</i>	fall	<i>čuerr'v</i>	horn	Proto-Germanic	
<i>kēnn</i>	dandruff	<i>jērrb't</i>	side, flank	<i>ārr'p</i>	scar
<i>koas'kes'</i>	dry	<i>jugke</i>	drink	<i>a3'</i>	high tide
<i>köllke</i>	flow	<i>jūnn</i>	footpath, trail	<i>čuenj</i>	goose
<i>kuefs</i>	dawn	<i>kuedt'</i>	hut	<i>kānn'c</i>	friend
<i>kunn</i>	ash	<i>mīdt</i>	honey	<i>kēdče</i>	ask
<i>kūšš'</i>	basket	<i>puedt'e</i>	come	<i>kiess'</i>	summer
<i>limm</i>	broth, clear	<i>puer'es'</i>	old	<i>kiež</i>	end
	soup	<i>pūrr'</i>	good, kind	<i>kīnnt</i>	clearing; per-
<i>lōgke</i>	read; count	<i>uījne</i>	see		manent
<i>mīgke</i>	sell	<i>vuennč</i>	meat; flesh		dwelling
<i>nēmm</i>	name	<i>vuerjal</i>	west		place; yard,
<i>pēlle</i>	fear	<i>vūjī</i>	butter, oil, fat		court
<i>pēsse</i>	wash	Proto-Baltic		<i>kūss'</i>	guest
<i>poannj</i>	crooked,	<i>čigke</i>	dig in, bury;	<i>lām'pes'</i>	sheep; goat
	twisted		cover, hide,	<i>lēsst</i>	leaf, sheet
<i>pūvvl</i>	knee		conceal, keep	<i>nāvv't</i>	beast; wolf;
<i>riejjbm</i>	upper part of a		secret		peltry
	fishnet	<i>jāvv'r</i>	lake	<i>porjas</i>	sail
<i>rievv'n</i>	boundary	<i>kabp'er'</i>	cap, hat	<i>pūjīt</i>	fat, grease
<i>suemm'p</i>	stick	<i>kēllt</i>	club	<i>rūmmt</i>	edge
<i>sugke</i>	row	<i>kelmas</i>	the cold,	<i>rūppse</i>	red
<i>sūnn</i>	thread; chord;		(hard) frost	<i>rūvv't</i>	iron; trap;
	blood-vessel	<i>koabče</i>	order; call, call		scissors
<i>tūsste</i>	dare		upon; invite	<i>sajj</i>	site, place
<i>vens</i>	boat	<i>lūvv't</i>	board	<i>sajjyk</i>	pin
<i>viešš'k</i>	copper	<i>lūxxt</i>	bay	<i>suvv't</i>	gill
<i>viež'ar</i>	hammer	<i>miehc'</i>	hunt	<i>vāl'es'</i>	whale
<i>vijje</i>	drive (trans.)	<i>neapaj</i>	a man's	<i>vūjīyk</i>	fishhook
<i>vīrem</i>	part of a		nephew/niece	Proto-Fennic	
	fishnet	<i>rājjk</i>	hole	<i>ājjk</i>	time
<i>voafsxess</i>	aurora borealis	<i>sārr't</i>	reindeer heart	<i>all'ke</i>	begin
<i>vuerr'</i>	awl	<i>sērrv</i>	moose	<i>ann'te</i>	give
<i>vuerr'pen'</i>	sister	<i>siem</i>	seed, grain of	<i>īgk'</i>	year
<i>vuess'te</i>	buy		seed, kernel	<i>īlas</i>	embers

<i>ill</i>	coal; charcoal	<i>subk</i>	sock, stocking	<i>riennb'k</i>	earring	
<i>imm'el'</i>	the Lord	<i>tīdte</i>	know	<i>ruenn</i>	green; unripe	
<i>iŋŋk</i>	soul, spirit	<i>tīrvas</i>	healthy	<i>rūmm'p</i>	boil	
<i>ja</i>	and	<i>ukks</i>	door	<i>sāgk</i>	hack-saw	
<i>jāvv</i>	flour; flour	<i>vaj</i>	or	<i>sillp</i>	silver	
	soup; beer	<i>viell'k</i>	debt	<i>soagk</i>	announcement;	
	(coll.)	<i>vierr'</i>	fault; wrong;		notice; news;	
<i>jēnne</i>	many		guilty		word	
<i>jērr'k</i>	ox	<i>vinn'</i>	wine	<i>tāll</i>	bear	
<i>jūvute</i>	come in time;	<i>vīrše</i>	stir, stir up	<i>tujj</i>	work, labor	
	be in time			<i>ull</i>	wool	
<i>kull'm</i>	eyebrow	Proto-North Germanic			<i>vādt</i>	fishing line
<i>kurr</i>	furrow, rill;	<i>ārrij</i>	oar	<i>vāll'</i>	hawk	
	vulva	<i>čārrv</i>	ice-pick, stick	<i>vāll'te</i>	take	
<i>lāvvl</i>	song	<i>kāll'es'</i>	old man, hus-	<i>vānas</i>	few, some,	
<i>lāvvle</i>	sing		band		little	
<i>liessk</i>	widow(er)	<i>kārr'</i>	bowl, (deep)	<i>veazveš</i>	wasp	
<i>libke</i>	make, do,		plate for	<i>voabc</i>	mitten	
	work; finish		food; trough	<i>voalše</i>	choose	
<i>mādt</i>	worm	<i>kārrv</i>	cormorant	Proto-East Slavic		
<i>māk'se</i>	pay	<i>kāss'</i>	earwax	<i>šoalše</i>	to regret	
<i>mierr</i>	sea	<i>kivvkan</i>	oven	<i>pāss'</i>	holy, sacred	
<i>mill'te</i>	with; after;	<i>koall'</i>	gold	<i>mullb't</i>	soap	
	according to	<i>koavvne</i>	find	<i>kūmpar</i>	mushroom	
<i>mušš'te</i>	remember	<i>liejip</i>	bread	Karelian		
<i>nābp'</i>	navel	<i>lijjn</i>	linen	<i>ceassan</i>	chapel, praying	
<i>nāšš'k</i>	neck	<i>lōbk</i>	door lock;		house	
<i>nūrr</i>	young		padlock	<i>cullbk</i>	silk	
<i>oantše</i>	understand	<i>mānn</i>	moon; month	<i>ebkan</i>	window	
<i>pājibk</i>	place, region	<i>miell</i>	mill	<i>illpe</i>	proud	
<i>pāll</i>	ball, sphere	<i>mībk'</i>	sword	<i>iššte</i>	sit, sit down	
<i>pāšš'te</i>	roast, bake;	<i>nābp'</i>	cup	<i>jēbaš'</i>	horse	
	shine (sun);	<i>nāvv'l</i>	nail, (wooden)	<i>jūdt'</i>	saucer	
	burn; fried		peg	<i>kānn'</i>	hen	
<i>pīras</i>	family	<i>nijip</i>	knife	<i>kāssv</i>	face	
<i>poajjine</i>	paint	<i>nāšš</i>	porpoise	<i>kaura</i>	oats	
<i>puall</i>	button	<i>noall'te</i>	spindle	<i>kēbp</i>	sick; cold;	
<i>rāvv't</i>	blacksmith	<i>nurr'</i>	cord; rope		disease	
<i>rīnnt</i>	shore	<i>nurrh't</i>	east	<i>kīrrj</i>	letter; book;	
<i>sābk</i>	net, spoon net	<i>oakkše</i>	axe		decoration	
<i>šall't</i>	bridge; floor	<i>olma</i>	person	<i>koalles</i>	expensive	
<i>sānn'</i>	word;	<i>pābk'</i>	mountain	<i>koass</i>	cat	
	expression;	<i>pārrbk</i>	bark	<i>lann'</i>	country; town	
	agreement	<i>pierrk</i>	food; meat-	<i>lapp'se</i>	milk	
<i>sārrne</i>	speak		dish	<i>lieff</i>	cow shed; farm	
<i>šēnnte</i>	grow; become;	<i>poann'</i>	bottom	<i>līx'em'</i>	cow	
	be born	<i>puffš</i>	trousers	<i>māijt</i>	milk	
<i>siell'k</i>	back	<i>rāss'</i>	flower; grass;	<i>millves'</i>	wise; clever	
<i>sīz</i>	in, into		plant; vegeta-	<i>nāim</i>	wedding	
<i>sīz'n</i>	inside		ble			
<i>soarr'm</i>	the dead (one)	<i>riemas</i>	eyelash			

<i>niedt'el'</i>	week	<i>cērkav</i>	church	<i>mašna</i>	machine; car
<i>nīvv'l</i>	needle (for sewing)	<i>cīffra</i>	number, figure	<i>mīrr</i>	world, earth, planet, universe; peace
<i>oaz</i>	clothing	<i>cīp</i>	chain		
<i>pāllb'k</i>	hire, lease, rental, payment	<i>cīpp'c</i>	tongs	<i>moažant</i>	ointment
		<i>čisste</i>	peel, clean	<i>mōlle</i>	grant, allow; pray
<i>palves</i>	sacrifice	<i>coarr</i>	king, tsar	<i>mōsst</i>	bridge
<i>pērrrbt</i>	house	<i>čum</i>	large tipi	<i>mōtor</i>	motorcycle
<i>pīll</i>	mast	<i>dača</i>	garden-house, summer cottage	<i>nādjedte</i>	hope
<i>pīss</i>	gun		electricity	<i>naredt</i>	people, nation
<i>rībp'ex'</i>	kerchief, cloth	<i>el'ektrīceske</i>	or	<i>nīeft</i>	petroleum
<i>rīss</i>	rice	<i>ele</i>	bean	<i>noarrbt</i>	sledge
<i>rīsst</i>	cross	<i>fāssel'</i>	fig	<i>noll</i>	zero
<i>šagk'</i>	pig	<i>figa</i>	newspaper	<i>nōm'er</i>	number
<i>siennnte</i>	be angry	<i>gaz'ēt</i>	rake	<i>očke</i>	glasses
<i>šūrr</i>	tall; big	<i>grabl'a</i>	anchor	<i>or'ex</i>	nut
<i>sūvv'ed'</i>	Saturday	<i>joakar</i>	jolly-boat, dinghy	<i>ōss'el</i>	donkey
<i>vājvaš</i>	poor; poor man, peasant; beggar	<i>jōlla</i>	sausage	<i>oteral'nebk</i>	towel
		<i>kalpas</i>	a pen for reindeer, pasture	<i>ovves'</i>	oats
<i>vālle</i>	cast; pour	<i>karall'</i>		<i>pall'te</i>	coat
<i>vāsst</i>	besom, brush			<i>parxodt</i>	steamboat
<i>vearr</i>	soup	<i>karndašš</i>	pencil, pen	<i>piehc</i>	oven, baking oven
<i>vuejj</i>	ditch, brook	<i>kartoške</i>	potato	<i>pier'en'</i>	mattress
Norwegian		<i>kas</i>	servant	<i>pier'ves'k</i>	hair band
<i>īll'te</i>	shelf	<i>kina</i>	film, movie	<i>piera</i>	pen; feather
<i>kūll</i>	testicles	<i>kīrpebč</i>	brick	<i>pierec</i>	pepper
<i>lānn't</i>	crowd	<i>knīga</i>	book	<i>pierve</i>	first
<i>pūņņ</i>	womb	<i>koal'es</i>	wheel	<i>piettex</i>	rooster
<i>šlēbkle</i>	click; crack; pop	<i>koass'</i>	plait	<i>pīla</i>	saw
		<i>koazza</i>	goat	<i>pīmm'e</i>	paper
		<i>kōfe</i>	coffee	<i>pīva</i>	beer
Komi		<i>komnata</i>	room	<i>pl'eménibk</i>	sibling's son or daughter
<i>kārr't</i>	iron; plate	<i>korbenč</i>	tin, can	<i>plāšš</i>	cloak, raincoat
		<i>kōrreb</i>	box, basket	<i>plōtn'ebk</i>	carpenter
Russian		<i>kōss</i>	scythe	<i>plūgk</i>	plough
<i>adres</i>	address	<i>kosse</i>	mow	<i>plubt</i>	cheat, swindler, knave
<i>adt</i>	hell	<i>krann</i>	tap		
<i>ābkliņk</i>	shark	<i>kroavaht</i>	bed	<i>poahp</i>	priest
<i>ak'eán</i>	ocean	<i>kubp'es'</i>	stingy	<i>poal'a</i>	field
<i>arka</i>	arch	<i>kūrre</i>	smoke	<i>poarr</i>	steam
<i>banann</i>	banana	<i>kuss'k</i>	piece; part	<i>pōdešk</i>	pillow
<i>banņk</i>	bank	<i>kūxn'a</i>	kitchen	<i>pomm</i>	bomb
<i>bārban</i>	drum	<i>lāff'k</i>	store	<i>pošta</i>	post office; mail
<i>blagasluvve</i>	bless	<i>lamm</i>	electric lamp, torch	<i>pričen'</i>	cause
<i>būb'en</i>	shaman drum	<i>liestvec</i>	ladder	<i>pridtebk</i>	omen
<i>čajj</i>	tea	<i>lievv</i>	lion	<i>proaššje</i>	forgive
<i>čäss</i>	hour; watch	<i>lišš</i>	bald	<i>puss't</i>	fool, idiot
		<i>mārrka</i>	postage stamp		

<i>rādio</i>	radio	<i>stienn</i>	wall	<i>učtell'</i>	teacher
<i>rābk</i>	crab, prawn	<i>stuell'p</i>	pillar, doorpost	<i>ujjte</i>	leave, go away
<i>rānn</i>	blanket	<i>stūla</i>	chair	<i>vāšen'</i>	dough
<i>rānn'</i>	wound, sore	<i>südt</i>	court;	<i>vāta</i>	cotton wool,
<i>riad</i>	garden bed		judgment		cotton
<i>rōd'x'el'</i>	parent	<i>südtē</i>	adjudicate	<i>vāxxta</i>	guard, duty
<i>rōdt</i>	one's rela-	<i>sul'a</i>	bottle	<i>viēš'</i>	thing,
	tive(s),	<i>süll'</i>	salty; salt		belonging
	family, dy-	<i>sviet'el</i>	witness	<i>vijjte</i>	go out, leave
	nasty, lineage	<i>tābex</i>	tobacco	<i>vili</i>	pitchfork
<i>rōšš'</i>	rye; grain	<i>tiel'fonn</i>	telephone	<i>villk</i>	fork
<i>sād</i>	garden	<i>tienny'k</i>	coin; money	<i>vinn'c</i>	lead
<i>sāhp'e</i>	boot	<i>tikva</i>	pumpkin;	<i>vinnbt</i>	screw
<i>samml'obt</i>	airplane		gourd	<i>viss'te</i>	weight
<i>sārfann</i>	skirt; sarafan	<i>toarkan</i>	cockroach	<i>vladjē</i>	own
<i>sāxar</i>	sugar	<i>toass'k</i>	grief, sadness,	<i>vōdte</i>	lead
<i>siejje</i>	sieve, strain;		melancholy	<i>voltar</i>	altar
	sow	<i>toavvrešš</i>	comrade,	<i>xozjen'</i>	host
<i>šienn'</i>	wheat; millet		friend	<i>zakonn</i>	law
<i>sirr</i>	cheese	<i>tollbk</i>	reason, sense,	<i>zavodt</i>	factory
<i>škōla</i>	school		intelligence	<i>zeabt'</i>	son-in-law
<i>slonn</i>	elephant	<i>trupke</i>	pipe	<i>zierkal</i>	mirror
<i>soaltex</i>	soldier	<i>tualebt</i>	toilet	<i>živa</i>	animal; insect,
<i>soann</i>	sledge;	<i>tuell'</i>	table		beetle
	toboggan	<i>turr'm</i>	prison	<i>žoarr</i>	heat; fever
<i>stiekle</i>	glass	<i>turr'p</i>	horn, trumpet		