ETHNOCENTRISM AND LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT IN URALIC: THE CASE OF INGRIAN-FINNISH

by

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(Under the Direction of Peter A. Jorgensen)

ABSTRACT

Ingria is a region no longer on any map, but rather a place in the hearts and minds of diasporic Ingrians and Ingrian-Finns, whose numbers have systematically dwindled from the time of Stalin's xenophobic purges beginning in the 1930s to the self-imposed exodus from their native soil beginning in the 1990s. The goal of this study is to prove that diminishing numbers in an opposing ethnocentric environment are predictive of language endangerment and negative identity attitudes, as loanwords from a dominant culture infiltrate a minority speech community. Conflicting religions and ideologies spanning the past century are analyzed as they affected the daily lives of the Ingrian and Ingrian-Finnish populations via Russian terminology, with special attention paid to internationalisms. Religio-linguistic differences between Orthodox and Lutheran Ingrians were significant enough to shape identity issues and language choice, resulting in the proposal here of a matrix depicting interactional combinations of religion, identity, language and ethnicity. Such a matrix may serve as a socio-linguistic tool for minority ethnic group application.

Since modern cartographers have neither incentive nor opportunity to preserve the identity of original, non-Russian toponyms in the St. Petersburg area, a portion of this study addresses

toponymic conversion in Ingria by political regimes, which has left rivers, towns, parks, lakes, streets, etc. of indigenous linguistic minorities and ethnic homelands within Russian borders difficult to identify with the naked eye. This study asserts that the cultural identity of an individual or community is closely linked to one's linguistic identity and postulates that ethnocentrically 'russifying' the linguistic community has had a direct effect on the death of the Ingrian language and related Balto-Finnic dialects, and consequently, of Ingrian and Ingrian-Finnish culture. Analyzed as solid, documented evidence, lexicographic innovations also reveal increased loanword use. Loanword infiltration is discussed as a possible convergent trend with other economic and political corollaries engendering language endangerment, reflecting the changing socio-linguistic situations of minority Ingrian speech communities. Promulgating such a lexical-based investigation is helpful in illustrating how language death and the lack of will to maintain a collective cultural identity ultimately lead to irreversible decay, of which the minor Finno-Ugric languages are prime examples.

INDEX WORDS: Ethnocentrism, Language Endangerment, Uralic, Finno-Ugric, Ingria, Ingrian-Finnish, Loanwords, Internationalisms, Lexicography, Toponyms, Language identity, Soviet-Russia language minorities, Remigration

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the remaining Ingrian communities in Eurasia as an effort to honor their socio-linguistic position and heritage within the prevailing state of diminishing Uralic-family language members. As a contribution to the global recognition of Ingrian-Finnish speakers in particular, it is hoped the following dissertation aids in identifying them as having been a distinct ethno-linguistic group amid ethnocentric, and ultimately, ethnocidal forces.

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I am indebted to my husband Don, who had patiently monitored the progress of this work. My young son Samuel had accompanied me every step of the way, including to Helsinki where I spent my Fulbright year researching this topic and meeting the remigrants of former Ingria. My gratitude is not only extended to the Fulbright-Hayes committee for granting me that opportunity, but also to the special people at my home institution: Peter Jorgensen, whose long-term guidance, knowledge, insight and expertise in historical and contemporary linguistics has helped me develop into a nascent Finno-Ugricist; Marlyse Baptista, who passionately instills the nuts and bolts of linguistic science into her students; and Dr. Betsy Rymes, who awakens in each of us the humanitarian element necessary for comprehensive socio-linguistic research. I am deeply appreciative to the University of Georgia's Graduate School for their belief in my research capabilities by granting me a Freeman Research Award in 2002 and subsequently, a Dissertation Completion Assistantship 2004-05. Tapani Ikonen, my academic mentor in Pieksämäki, Finland deserves acknowledgement for his unending support of Finnic history and language study by foreigners. Gyula Dečsy warrants recognition for sponsoring me and Elliot Sperling for awarding me visiting scholar status at Indiana University, where the best archives in the country exist to aid in the completion of this study.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Purpose of investigation

The objective of this study is to characterize the opposing socio-linguistic cultures clashing in the everyday lives of endangered Ingrian-speaking populations as manifested in their loanword usage over the past century and to examine the role of dominant language influence on their vocabulary, lexicography, religious lexica and, ultimately, linguistic identity issues in the Balto-Finnic region. Such an approach shall be helpful in illustrating how language death and the lack of will to maintain a collective cultural identity ultimately lead to irreversible decay, further exemplifying how endangered linguistic communities may respond to the changing socio-linguistic situations in which they find themselves.

CHAPTER 2 will consist of a concise overview of the Finno-Ugric languages and of that part of the language family to which Ingrian-Finnish belongs. Referencing contrastive linguistic features to the Finnish matrix language will be helpful as a descriptive synopsis for the reader, especially in considering the still heatedly debated question: Is Ingrian-Finnish (and hence other minor varieties) a dialect or a full-fledged language? The avid deliberation of dialect versus language is alive and well among minority-language scholars, but is especially acute in Finno-Ugric language studies. Based on the results of this study, a less-than-popular-stance of choosing dialect over language is substantiated for all social, political and academic purposes. Certainly Ingrian has never been considered a literary language. However, a discussion of written endeavors in Ingrian and Ingrian-Finnish appears beneficial at this point, since extant

publications do play a vital role in lending credence to a nearly defunct linguistic community. In order to fully grasp the historical and geographic sense of what is meant by *Ingria*, a number of useful appendices will be introduced for historical and linguistic lineage reference, as well as text samples of transcribed Ingrian.

CHAPTER 3 analyzes Soviet language policies specifically as they relate to the minority Balto-Finnic languages, reflecting namely the western branch of Finno-Ugric languages found in the Baltic region. By surveying ethnocentric approaches to oscillating language-driven policies in the U.S.S.R, particularly in the Leningrad oblast, the advantages and disadvantages of such legislation from a linguistic-minority viewpoint will be exemplified. Soviet-style colonialism and its linguistic consequences further exemplify the plight of the Ingrian people and will be discussed in light of language hegemony and russification efforts. The chapter will commence, however, with a discussion of early Russian dominance followed by Soviet policy change regarding the Uralic language minorities. A map and corresponding table will be reproduced—one depicting the original topographical identifiers and another illustrating the changed Russian toponyms[1]. Hopefully the reader will be able to obtain a point of reference regarding when and where the indigenous language had been alive and spoken. Furthermore, the effect of toponymic and orthographic replacement on cultural-linguistic identity will be addressed. Next, the placement and representation of Ingrians and Ingrian-Finns will be based on Czarist/Soviet census calculations. A note on pan-Uralic fears by Soviets and an observation on present Uralic dislike in Russia will conclude the chapter.

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[1] Any necessary Russian terms will be anglicized utilizing a modified version of the BGN/PCGN 1947 transliteration system (United States Board on Geographic Names & Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use).

Russian as a lingua franca in the Baltic region will be addressed in CHAPTER 4. Specific examples of Russian loanword infiltration into Ingrian-Finnish will be cited from spoken-data transcriptions, news publications, scholastic texts, theological works and laments. The significance of each group of texts will be explained and the identified loanword patterns will be tallied and analyzed. This should give the reader an indication of which media source has possibly been most influential in contributing to this language's decline in prestige, practicality, and hence, in use. A loanword model will be partially employed as a guideline for classification. Transcription methodology—its hurdles and results for this study—will be summarized and a proposal to constitute a 'chain of linguistic relevancy' will be highlighted regarding field documentation and subsequent analysis.

CHAPTER 5 will discuss lexicographic attempts at preservation specifically for Ingrian and Ingrian-Finnish. I will addresss whether publishing a dictionary gives the language community more credibility and how it enhances its members' cultural-linguistic identity. The role of dictionaries will be examined in light of either validating pro-language arguments for Ingrian or elevating pro-dialect arguments to a higher literary and academic status. A critical comparison of two texts—one published during Communism and the other during the post-Soviet era—proves seminal in identifying linguistic modification and transformation in the Gulf of Finland's far eastern corner and beyond.

The role of the Lutheran church in language preservation will be addressed in CHAPTER 6. The remaining minority or 'heritage' speakers have benefited from Lutheran humanitarian efforts by rebuilding parishes in Ingria through the publishing of liturgical texts and newspapers, music, economic support, educational and technical opportunities, informative websites, etc. Efforts at language maintenance via the church will be assessed as an integral part of a survival

program, albeit too late for true and lasting revival. I also propose a religion-identity-language-ethnicity (RILE) matrix as a general approach for measuring inherent inclusivity or exclusivity of minority ethnic groups in an open circuit of interaction. Such a tool would aid in determining the necessary level of language protection effort for diversely preference-motivated minority speakers.

CHAPTER 7 brings the study forward by addressing the real need for language revival and whom it benefits. Early identity issues will be cited and the primary signs of predicting language death will be noted, followed by a contemplation of 'why preserve?' I will present the case of Ingrian-Finnish identity as it coincides with language decay. A very real cultural implosion has resulted in a situation now recognized as *linguicide*, which is in this instance directly equated to what I observe as internal apathy—the most detrimental element of language identity loss. The concept of internal versus external remigration will be introduced as a conflict among a supposedly 'rescued' citizenry. Acknowledging the attitude of the Finns toward Ingrians as long-lost relatives and Finland assuming the role of permanent host will be important in identifying the type and extent of discrimination this minority continues to face.

2.0 Implications of this study

In sum, Ingria is a region no longer on any map, but rather a place in the hearts and minds of diasporic Ingrians and Ingrian-Finns, whose numbers have systematically dwindled from the time of Stalin's xenophobic purges beginning in the 1930s to the self-imposed exodus from their native soil beginning in the 1990s. The goal of this study, which is the first of its kind in English to introduce differing language, religious and demographic policies to Ingria's socio-historic backyard, is to prove that ethnocentric environments in which loanwords from a dominant culture infiltrating a minority speech community are predictive of negative identity attitudes and

subsequently, language endangerment. Discussed in depth are conflicting religions and ideologies spanning the past century that affected the daily lives of the Ingrian and Ingrian-Finnish populations via Russian terminology, as depicted in Chapter 4 with special attention paid to internationalisms. Religio-linguistic differences between Orthodox and Lutheran Ingrians were significant enough to shape identity issues and language choice, resulting in the proposal of a matrix depicting interactional combinations of religion, identity, language and ethnicity in Chapter 7. Such a matrix may serve as a socio-linguistic tool for minority ethnic group application.

Since modern cartographers have neither incentive nor opportunity to edify the original, non-Russian toponyms of the St. Petersburg area, a portion of this study is devoted to the ethnocentric process of toponymic conversion in Ingria by political regimes, which has left rivers, towns, parks, lakes, streets, etc. of indigenous linguistic minorities and ethnic homelands within Russian borders difficult to identify. This study asserts that the cultural identity of an individual or community is closely linked to one's linguistic identity and postulates that ethnocentrically 'russifying' the linguistic community has had a direct effect on the death of the Ingrian language and related Balto-Finnic dialects, and consequently, of Ingrian and Ingrian-Finnish culture.

Analyzed as solidly documented evidence, lexicographic innovations are examined to reveal increased loanword use. Loanword infiltration is offered as a possible trend converging with other economic and political corollaries to engender language endangerment, reflecting the changing socio-linguistic situations of minority Ingrian speech communities. Initiating such a lexical-based investigation is helpful in illustrating how language death and the lack of will to

maintain a collective cultural identity eventually lead to irrevocable decay, of which the minor Finno-Ugric languages are prime examples.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL INGRIA AS A CULTURAL-LINGUISTIC BRIDGE

2.0 Brief background

The Karelian Isthmus north of St. Petersburg, with which Ingria shares a common border, can easily be considered a historical bridge of cultural and linguistic contact. Being situated between ideologically westernized Finland and Russia to the east, it has been a region of great historical and political turmoil, where the ethnic composition has fluctuated throughout the past millennium. In addition to famines and epidemics, homesteads were lost and identities were redistributed as borders changed hands over the centuries. The most disastrous source of desecration to the Ingrian-Finnish speech community, however, was the nearly two decades of purges during Stalin's reign of terror. In order to fully understand the current linguistic status of Ingrian-Finnish, it is of seminal importance to examine the ethnographic history of it as having been a living and subsequently dying entity.

2.0.1 Etymological geography

To characterize ancient Ingria, one may start by identifying where the name actually had been derived. The Latin appellation is Ingria, however the Russians refer to it as Ižora, the Finns as Inkeri and the Germanic languages as Ingermansland. Some believe that Ingegerd, daughter of the ruling Swedish King Olof (955-1022), had as part of her dowry, land in the far eastern corridor of the Swedish kingdom, which today encompasses the fertile territory between Estonia and Lake Ladoga. (see appendix A) According to legend, since tensions between the Swedes and Novgorodians were still high, Ingegerd's dowry was to impress Earl Jarloslav of

Novgorod (Jaroslav I the Wise 978-1054) to whom she was married in 1019. When they settled in the area, people called it 'Ingers mannars land'. (Survo 13) Another account, supported by the well-known Estonian Finno-Ugricist, Julius Mägiste, derives the name from a derivative of the Finnish word for eel 'ankerias'. (Haltsonen 8) We are left to assume that eels were prevalent enough in either the eastern Gulf of Finland or inhabiting its tributaries to warrant naming the region. The Estonian translation is 'angerjas', but Mägiste never discusses this as a possible related source of derivation. The most sensible, non-folkloristic explanation would be that of a much earlier group location and real estate, i.e. the River Inkere. It flows into the Neva and on through the city of St. Petersburg to eventually empty into the easternmost corner of the Gulf of Finland.

2.0.2 Defining Ingrian

According to sociolinguist Harald Haarman's account of the history of the area between the Luga and Neva Rivers (1974: 117), this ancient Balto-Finnic turf had been settled in the sixth century by Old Karelian tribes, from whom the Ingrian people had later emerged. The aboriginal Finno-Ugric tribes in the region then consisted of Votes and Ingrians who were converted to Greek Orthodoxy, along with neighboring Slavs, as the Novgorodians conquered them in the tenth century and annexed them to the Republic of Novgorod. It is of great importance to socio-linguistically differentiate the terms involved. Unfortunately, the 'Ingrian' label is used interchangeably with 'Izhorian' by many non-Finns, non-Russians and basically by anyone not specializing in Balto-Finnic or Slavic history of Uralic minorities. More unfortunate still, the western Uralic sub-branch of Balto- or Baltic-Finnic oftentimes wrongly suggests to the layperson that these language family members are in some way related to the Indo-Europeanized Baltic languages, i.e. Latvian and Lithuanian. Nevertheless there is a significant difference

between an Ingrian and an Ingrian-Finn. In the Finnish language, 'inkeroinen' signifies the former, who are considered the indigenous and ultimately Orthodox inhabitants while 'inkerilainen' denotes the latter who represent the Lutheran inhabitants descending from 17th century Finnish migrants[2]. Another term describing the area is Ingermanland and its inhabitants as Ingermanlanders (cf. 2.0.1), whose religious preference was Lutheran. For the purpose of this study an Ingermanlander is equivalent to an 'inkerilainen', or Ingrian-Finn. The Russians call Ingria 'Izhora' or 'Ižora' and a speaker 'Izhorian', 'Izhorski' or 'Izhortsi', which must be known before conducting research in Russian chronicles and archives.

2.0.3 Wartime possessions

The Ingrian territory had changed hands several times over the centuries until the Treaty of Stobolva in 1617, which played a major role in transforming the region's linguistic demographics. Ingria subsequently belonged to Sweden, which flooded the area with Finnish peasants and introduced the Lutheran Church. Although other Finnish immigrants settled on the shores of Ingria, it was primarily Finns speaking the Savakko dialect from southeastern Savo as well as those from the Äyrämöis dialect region of southern Karelia who shaped the Ingrian-Finnish dialect into what it is today and who changed the face of education and religious practice in and around the St. Petersburg vicinity.[3] (see appendix B) It is the eastern Balto-Finnic dialect mixture of the original Ingrians and the vernaculars of Finnish immigrants between the 17th and 20th centuries who inhabited the land between the Narva and the Neva Rivers that will be the focus of this study. A more detailed examination of the linguistic similarities between the

[2] Pressure from Swedish proselytizers pushed many Izhorians, the Russian term for indigenous Ingrians of Orthodox faith, to leave Ingria and settle in more Orthodox-friendly regions closer to Moscow, namely the Tver region.

[3] Ingrian proper is comprised of four dialect zones, i.e. Hevaa, Yli-laukka, Kurkkola and Soikkola.

Ingrian-Izhorian religious distinctions, as they pertain to dialectal lexifiers, will be addressed in Chapter 5.

It is unavoidable to observe linguistic change in this region without considering the innovations and consequences associated with socio-linguistic contact. Once again, a passive and obedient Ingria has provided the soil upon which numerous cultural, religious and linguistic changes have occurred, sometimes passively with the fleeing of its citizens. There was brief hope of joining Finland after World War I, when that country won its independence from Russia.[4] The Soviet Union, fearful of those 'Finnish-related' people situated so close to Leningrad, had deported most of the Ingrian population, closing their schools and churches in the process. The evacuation continued through World War II when the Germans occupied the Leningrad area, which included Ingria, and enabled the remaining inhabitants to flee to Finland. The majority thereof had to be returned immediately after the war per Soviet demand, since Finland was considered to be on the losing side of the war along with the Germans. The Ingrians were not permitted to return to their homeland, but rather were sent to Central Asia and Siberia. (see appendix C) Historical linguist Rein Taagepera succinctly summarizes their plight:

> Those evacuated by the Soviets were not allowed to return. Those evacuated by the Germans and partly resettled in Finland were tracked down by the victorious Soviets and sent to slave labor camps. Survivors were prohibited from returning to their former homes. Ingria became an almost entirely Russian-inhabited territory. (78)

2.1 Finno-Ugric placement

The Balto-Finnic languages comprise the westernmost branch of the Finno-Ugric language family, consisting of twenty-seven family members and approximately

[4] The new nation was embroiled in its own bloody civil war—the reds against the whites—and had no interest in acquiring nearby Ingria at that time.

22,280,564 million speakers[5] ranging from Finnish, Lapp and Hungarian in Europe to Udmurt, Nenets and Selkup in Central and Northern Asia. (appendix D) The Eastern dialects of Finnish and the minor languages comprising the Balto-Finnic subgroup include Ingrian, Karelian, Ludic, Veps, Votic and Livonian. (see appendix E) During the golden age of comparative Finno-Ugric linguistics—the1800s and early 1900s—the knowledge of minor Finnic languages was a requisite part of Finnish or Estonian philology. Such knowledge nowadays serves mainly as a source of historical background information in search of Finno-Ugric roots, with possible applications to contemporary studies in contact linguistics or anthropo-linguistic behavior, as historical circum-Baltic connections are sought.

2.1.1 Linguistic characteristics

Prior to the Middle Ages, the Ingrians had already distinguished themselves from neighboring Karelians, Votes and Estonians by not only cultural differences, but also by linguistic ones:

> In den ingrischen Dialekten sind verschiedene altertümliche Charakteristika erhalten geblieben, die im Karelischen nicht mehr aufbewahrt sind. (Haarmann 116)
>
> In the Ingrian dialects various historical characteristics have remained intact, which in Karelian are no longer preserved. (translation mine)

This geographically widespread language family shares certain identifying lexical features--primarily a scant selection of core cognates--but few lexical items other than internationalisms. The following is a summary of linguistic features Ingrian shares with its matrix language: Conservative sound system, primarily phonetic orthography, no grammatically expressed gender, lacks the verb ‘to have’, lacks a grammatically expressed future tense, agglutinates with complex

[5] This statistic is the result of mechanically adding the population tallies of Finno-Ugrian family members on Tapani Salminen’s website at the University of Helsinki. All figures are presumed approximate.

but consistent regularity in its morphophonology, uses inflectional suffixes (characteristically truncated in speech), an extended case system, vowel harmony and systemic gemination. These phonological characteristics, which were observed via taped interviews of Ingrian speech at the Center for Finnish Language Studies in Helsinki, include some key identifying features:

A) Ingrian and Ingrian-Finnish do not palatize their consonants. This is a feature in Russian which Karelian has adopted into its inventory of phonetic description.

B1) Ingrian diphthongizes long vowels in initial-syllabic position [iä < ää] (piälle versus Standard Finnish päälle 'on top') and [ua < aa] (uavistan versus Finnish aavistan 'I have a feeling...')[6]

B2) Occasionally, Ingrian may retain the integrity of the second of two Finnish vowels by avoiding diphthongization monosyllabically (too versus tuo 'that'; vöö versus vyö 'belt'; saa and sää instead of Karelian soa and seä 's/he/it gets' and 'weather' respectively).

C1) Dental, bilabial and velar consonant voicing often occurs when the unstressed final vowel /i/ is dropped in word final position, e.g. lapsillez : lapsillesi 'your child'; paremb : parempi 'better'; haug : hauki 'pike'

D) In Ingrian, the inclusion of word-medial fricative voicing when the final i disappears in the spoken language frequently occurs: kezäks : kesäksi 'for the summer'.

[6] Some Ingrian dialects take liberty in adding to or subtracting from the phonologic vowel unit(s) by either alternating vocalic mechanisms as illustrated above or by inserting glides for further diphthongal stress: [iä > ä] with an additional glide /j/ at the morpheme boundary, e.g. Ing. miäjen versus Finn. mäen 'hill, genitive'.

Close contact over the centuries undoubtedly results in shared phonological features with older Karleian relatives, as partially illustrated by Heikki Leskinen in his article "Inkerin Kielimuodot". For clarity, consonant representation shall adhere to the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) system of notation whenever possible. None of the primary data for the Ingrian dialects has been consistent in transcription, most probably due to the varying, non-linguistic based purposes over the decades for storytelling and lament documentation in folklore studies.[7] As opposed to the aural examples (A-D) on the previous page from taped interviews, the following dialectal features, also detected in Karelian, have been observed in written transcriptions:

a) Finn. [tk, sk, st] > Ing. [d, z, ss] in word medial position respectively, e.g. itkiä : iden 'to cry', leski : lezen 'widow', kastaa : kassan 'to wet or baptize'

b) elision of medial nasals in the first and second personal and possessive pronouns, e.g. mina > miä 'I', sinä > siä 'you' and minun > miun 'mine', sinun > siun 'yours'[8]

c) word initial [ä] transforms to a more centralized [e] in negative imperatives, e.g. Finn. älä > Ing. elä (don't) singular and Finn. älköön > Ing. elkää(n) 'do not' plural

It can be proposed that three generations of Finnish and Estonian linguists have contributed greatly to documenting the major and minor Finnic languages, particularly in

[7] Additional features of the aforementioned dialects include four further differences: consonant gemination, lack of dental consonant gliding, shortening of long [a] and [ä], and the preservation of long half vowels. For further phonologic analyses of convergent and divergent features, please consult E.A Tunkelo's work titled, "Inkeroismurteiston Asemasta" in Suomi 106:2, Finnish Literature Society, 1952.

phonology and phonetics at the expense of, or at least more so than, other areas in linguistics. This study will focus on lexical phenomena, which has been largely underrepresented. Nevertheless, recognizable names in the field of Ingrian-related linguistics have been chronologically divided into three groups of researchers, which aid the reader in categorizing the time, place, attitude and politics of the era.

2.1.2 Eras of Finno-Ugricists

No treatise involving Ingrian should fail to mention the first linguist to describe Ingrian in a scholarly fashion, setting the stage for future placement in the Balto-Finnic family for academic consideration and research. It was Volmari Porkka who broke ground with his work titled Über den ingrischen Dialekt mit Berücksichtigung der übrigen finnisch-ingermanländischen Dialekte 'On the Ingrian dialect with consideration of other Finnic-Ingrian dialects' (1885). The text is fundamentally weighted with phonological description, which seems to have set the tone for the next hundred years of future research in minor Finnic languages. Soon afterward, the first era of linguists with similar interests appeared, listed below along with one of their more influential works related to the topic of this study. The purpose here is not bibliographic but rather to mention the short list of prominent authors and research in chronological perspective. In this study, an 'era' represents the generation in which a linguist had accomplished his most significant work(s), confirmed by the following eras or generations of researchers who had then begun utilizing and expanding upon those earlier theories and examinations of Ingrian dialects by those before him, adding his own contribution to the small field of Finno-Ugric linguistics.

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[8] One may also find the spellings in Karelian as mie 'I' and sie 'you', in which the diphthong is more centralized.

Era I
- Lauri Kettunen's *Inkerin murteista ja niiden suhteista muihin murteisiimme: Valaisua itäsuomalaisten murteiden syntyyn* 'Ingrian dialects and their relationship to our other dialects: Illustrating the birth of eastern Finnish dialects' (1930)
- Julius Mägiste's *Ingeri murded* 'The dialects of Ingria' (1934)
- Antti Sovijärvi's *Foneettis-äänehistoriallinen tutkimus Soikkolan inkeroismurteesta* 'Historical phonetic-phonologic research of the Soikkola in the Ingrian dialect' (1944)
- Eemil Tunkelo's '*Inkeroismurteiston asemasta: Suomen kielen ja karjalan murteita silmällä pitäen äänehistorian kannalt tarkastellut*` 'The relationship of the Ingrian dialects to the Finnish and Karelian dialects' (1952)
- Veikko Ruoppila's *Äyrämöismurteiden äänehistoria* 'Phonologic history of the Äyrämöis dialect' (1955)
- Pertti Virtaranta's *Näytteitä Inkerin murteista 1. ja 2.* 'Samples of Ingrian dialects 1. and 2.' (1953 and 1955)

Era II
- Arvo Laanest's *Ižorskie dialekty* 'Ingrian dialects' (1966)
- Rubin Nirvi's *Inkeroismurteiden sanakirja* 'Dictionary of Ingrian dialects' (1971)
- Paul Alvre's *Ingerisoome Kurgola murde fonoloogilise süsteemi kujunemine* 'Phonological system of naming in the Ingrian-Finnish Kurkola dialect' (1976)
- Paul Ariste's *Karjalaisten ja eestiläisten (inkeriläisten) väliset kielelliset yhteydet* 'Linguistic similarities between Karelian and Estonian (Ingrian)' (1977)

Era III
- Manja Lehto's *Ingrian Finnish: Dialect preservation and change* (1996)
- Muusa and Ilkka Savijärvi's *Länsi-Inkerin kieltä ja kohtaloita* 'The language and fate of western Ingria' (1996)
- Ossi Kokko's (with Helka Riionheimo) *Yksilöllinen variaatio hiipuvassa kielessä – Viron ja Inkerinman inkerinsuomalaisten idiolektit profiilivertailussa* 'Individual variation in dying languages – A comparative profile of Estonian and Ingria's Ingrian-Finnish idiolects' (1999)

It should be noted that from 1932 to 1937 Soviet linguists had been publishing about Ingrian.[9] Most of these works, however, were didactic in nature as the majority was produced for classroom teaching in the heritage language prior to Josef Stalin's pre-WWII political and

[9] For the sake of inclusiveness, significant Soviet authors in the 1930s were V.I. Junus for grammar books and readers, D.I Jefimov and N.A. Iljin for grammars only, V.G. Erdeli for geography, N.S. Popova for arithmetic, and V.A. Tetjurev for natural science texts.

academic purges. Moreover, ideological material was directly translated from Russian and was highly prescriptive in nature, which will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter.

2.2 Phonological description

In researching the topic, one soon realizes that morphological and syntactic treatises have been far fewer in publication than those on descriptive and comparative phonology or historical sound changes. For the sake of completeness, however, briefly identifying and summarizing phonemic possibilities of Finnic vowel characteristics is helpful, with a subsequently more detailed lexical treatise in Chapter 4. Since Finnic vowels are consistent in quality and phonologically highly predictable, the tables below will depict the Finnish vowel system phonemically, which consistently mirrors the phonetic value of each letter. The phoneme inventory for Ingrian-Finnish vowels appears as follows:

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	/i/ /y/*˚		/u/*
MID-HIGH	/e/ /ö/*		/o/*
MID-LOW	/ä/		
LOW			/a/

*rounded

˚/y/ can be found in the literature also represented as /ü/

The following is a concise description of the Finnic vowels, in IPA equivalents followed by their English language approximations in lexical context:

a	/a/	pod
e	/ɛ/	bet
i	/i/	ski
o	/o/	open
u	/u/	lupus, initial syllable pronunciation
y	/y/	pew, maintaining a highly rounded lip position to finish the vowel
ö	/ø/	herb
ä	/æ/	at

Diphthongs characteristic of the Finnic dialects reveal the sonorous gliding vowel combinations charted below:

FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
	/ai/	/au/
/ei/	/ie/**	/eu/
/oi/	/iu/	/ou/
/ui/		/uo/**
/yi/ or /üi/	/yä/ or /üä/	
/äi/	/äy/ or /äü/	
/öi/, /öy/	/yö/**	

[**] denotes historically doubled mid vowels in standard Finnish [ee] > /ie/, [oo] > /uo/ and [öö] > /yö/, which occur phonetically via 1) inflectional reduplication [sano:] 's/he says', 2) consonant deletion [te:n] 'I do' from the root *teke-* ; [süän] 'heart' from *sydän*, or 3) foreign word sequences [je:p:i] 'jeep'. These underlying diphthong derivations are highly prevalent in Ingrian-Finnish.

All other vowels occurring in sequence not appearing in the diphthong chart above are treated as syllabic boundaries, i.e. *suo* 'swamp' is monosyllabic and *kiu-as* 'sauna stove' is disyllabic, while *mak-e-a* 'sweet' and *saip-pu-a* 'soap' are trisyllabic. Thus, vowel sequencing can be observed in Ingrian as either double vowels or diphthongs in which the segments belong to the same syllable or as vowel combinations VVV and VVVV, in which segments may cross morpheme boundaries, e.g. *touvopano+aika* 'springtime fieldwork' and *rikkoo+aita* 'broken fence'.

A typical Uralic feature directly affecting the phonological contour of the Finnic dialects is vowel harmony, or constraint on the co-occurrence of vowel sounds within the lexical domain. The relevant rule dictates that a word can contain only a certain type of vowel: back ([+grave]) or front ([-grave]). For Ingrian-Finnish, harmonization is based on the contrasting vowel pairs /u, y/, /o, ö/ and /a, ä/. The realization of each pair depends on the previous harmonizing vowel. Only the front vowels /i/ and /e/ are indifferent (neutral) and therefore do not participate in vowel

harmonization. Therefore, a lexeme is unable to contain vowels from both group /u, o, a/ and group /y, ö , ä/, although /i, e/ may appear either alone or together with front or back vowels and are neutral in relation to internal harmony, e.g., *näri* 'jay (bird)', *sami* 'male rabbit' and *näre* 'seedling', *samate* 'the same'. "Internal harmony operates in a linear manner in that the first harmony vowel of the morpheme restricts the subsequent choices." (Sulkala 378) In other words, if the stem contains at least one back harmonizing vowel /u, o, a/ then the entire lexematic unit is back harmonizing, otherwise it will be classified as front harmonizing. All vowels belonging to suffixival morphemes are either grave or non-grave and round or unround depending on the nature of the stem morpheme, as the following informal rule for the purpose of this study illustrates:

[[a], [o], [u]] → [[ä], [ö], [y/ü]] / [[ä], [ö], [y/ü]] C_0___

Ingrian dialect examples of harmonics in prepositional suffixation and noun declination suffixation are respectively: The inessive case of *pötikkö* 'keg' in Sellit olliit *pötikössä.* 'Those kind were in the keg.' and 3rd person singular *pyryvä* 'to swirl around' in Lum *pyryvää.* 'The snow is swirling around.' whereby the third person singular morpheme [ä] harmonizes with the front vowels of the verbal stem [y,ä].

Intrinsically with stem-controlled harmony, the vowel(s) of each case suffix must agree with the vowel(s) of the word stem and therefore, cross-morphematic vowel harmony also operates linearly with each constituent element being determined by the last non-neutral vowel of the root or stem. This works well in theory for standard Finnish, but oftentimes the dialects delete the final vowel of a suffixival morpheme. Such clipping leaves the trained ear to assume with every good intention that the harmony is present: *rullas* + inessive case = (Finnish *rullassa*) 'in the wheel'; *isääst* + elative case = (Finnish *isästä*) 'from father'; *meil* + adessive case =

(Finnish *meillä*) ‘we have’; *kesäl* + allative case = (Finnish *kesälle*) ‘to summer’ or ‘by summertime’. These samplings were taken from a small corpus project by Manja Lehto[10], who had transcriptions grammatically coded or tagged for parsing. Only in context can one determine if the interlocutor means *kesällä* ‘in the summer’ or *kesälle* ‘by or until summer’ or even *kesältä* ‘from summer’ (qualitative). Another instance of ambiguity occurs in observing such transcriptions as *hevosi.* The interpretation could read as either *hevosi-en* (genitive plural) ‘of horses’, *hevonsi-na* (essive plural) ‘as horses’, *hevosi-a* (partitive plural) ‘some of the horses’, *hevosi-in* (illative plural) ‘into the horses’ or *hevosi-n* (instrumental plural) ‘with horses’.

2.2.1 Vowel and consonantal tendencies

The following is an example of verbal endings harmonizing with the stem to which they are affixed. Young native speakers internalize these alternations as they internalize case endings.

Table 1: Verbal ending harmonization

	dūmavat[11]	‘they consider’	tökkäävät	‘they nudge’
	dūmataan	‘somebody considers’	tökätään	‘somebody nudges’
	dūmava	‘considering’	tökkäävä	‘nudging’
	dūmattava	‘to be considered’	tökättävä	‘to be nudged’
pap[12]	dūmanut	‘has/have considered’	tökannyt	‘nudged’
ppp[13]	dūmattu	‘had considered’	tökatty	‘nudged’
	dūmakoon	‘let him/her consider’	tökätköön	‘let her/him nudge’
	dūmattakoon	‘let somebody consider’	tökättäköön	‘let somebody nudge’
	dūmatakaame	‘let us consider’	tökätkääme	‘let us nudge’
	dūmatakaa	‘consider’ plural	tökätkää	‘nudge’ plural
	dūmatakoot	‘let them consider’	tökätkööt	‘let them nudge’
	dūmatako	‘don’t consider’	tökätkö	‘don’t nudge’
	dūmattako	‘don’t consider’ plural	tökättäkö	‘don’t nudge’ plural
	dūmata	first infinitive	tökätä	first infinitive

[10] I take full responsibility for all grammatical translations.

[11] In R.E. Nirvi’s Inkeroismurteiden sanakirja, lengthened back vowels are indicated by a bar over the vowel. This verb is a loanword from the Russian думать ’to think’, in which primary stress is carried word initially and may be the cause of over emphasizing the first syllable in Ingrian-Finnish.

[12] Past active participle

[13] Pluperfect particple

dūmatamaan	third infinitive	tökäämään	third infinitive
dūmataja	'the considerer'	tökkääjä	'nudger'

The phoneme inventory for Ingrian-Finnish consonants is listed below:

	BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	/p/ /b/	/t/ /d/		/k/ /g/	
NASALS	/m/	/n/		/ŋ/	
TRILLS		/r/			
FRICATIVES	/v/	/s/ /z/			/h/
LATERALS		/l/			
APPROXIMATE			/j/		

Word initial consonant clustering is not typically a feature of the Finnic dialects unless loanword interference results in the adoption entirely or in part of the foreign morpheme: *klinikka* 'clinic', *tschai* 'tea'.

Gemination is a principal feature of the Finnic languages. (cf. 2.2.3) In Helena Sulkala's description of consonant gemination in standard Finnish (371), she states that the process in Finnish occurs throughout the phonemic inventory except for /v, j, d, h/. However, the evidence for Ingrian-Finnish found during this study proves three of those four consonants geminate:

1) *kauvva* 'for a long time'
2) *aijjoitta* 'to fence in/around'
3) *kehhiä* 'to encircle'

The cause for each geminate example varies derivationally. The term for 'very', *hyvvin*, (in Finnish *hyvin*) is a straightforward example of an already present consonant 'v' geminating in the dialect. Perhaps a type of epenthetic, in which a consonant is inserted between two vowels, is what the dialectal environment prefers: 1) *kauvva* is derived from standard Finnish as *kauan* 'long' or *kauas* 'far away' and is transformed by clipping the final consonant as the bilabial approximate progresses into a geminated word-medial labial voiced fricative to intersect the VV+V morpheme boundary—a duplicated epenthesis. As for 2) *aijjoitta*, which stems from

standard Finnish *aidata* ‘to enclose by fence’, the gemination apparently originates from a consonant. Again, a straightforward example of an already existing consonant in the matrix language for ‘j’ would be *äijjä* ‘grandfather’ from *äijä* ‘old man’ in standard Finnish. And the verb 3) *kehhiä* stems unmistakably from the Finnish noun *kehä* ‘ring’.

Other than vowel harmony, consonant gradation remains a regular but not always predictable morphophonological process in Ingrian-Finnish. The left-hand column depicts the strong or long grade and the other represents the weak or short grade, as in standard Finnish:

kk	>	k
pp	>	p
tt	>	t
ss	>	s
ll	>	l
mp	>	mm
nt	>	nn
lt	>	ll
p	>	v
t	>	d
k	>	-

One can also find in Ingrian dialects:

st	>	ss	*istua* ‘to sit’	>	*issud* ‘you sit’ singular
l	>	ll	pala ‘a piece’	>	pallaz ‘your piece’

The cause of unpredictability is undoubtedly related to rampant variation in pronunciation of the decaying idiolects. Sometimes the rules of gradation will apply, other times an augmentation of the rules prevails, i.e. *kampala* ‘flounder’ (fish) appears in the singular partitive as *kambalā*, in the plural partitive as *kambaloja* and in the nominative as *kamppal*, as observed in R.E. Nirvi’s dictionary of Ingrian dialects.

2.2.2 Family features: agglutination

The most prevalent syntactic characteristic across the Finno-Ugric board remains the process of agglutination. An agglutinative language is inherently one that tacks on grammatical

markers to a base, succinctly minimizing syntactic space—customarily resulting in lengthy strings of morphemes to create some of the longest words known to man. The beauty of being an agglutinative language or dialect is the ease in identifying morphological markings for inflectional categories. Agglutination is defined by the Random House Unabridged Dictionary, 2nd edition is as follows:

> A process of word formation in which morphemes, each having one relatively constant shape, are combined without fusion or morphophonemic change, and in which each grammatical category is typically represented by a single morpheme in the resulting word, esp. such a process involving the addition of one or more affixes to a base.

The entry definition continues with an example from Turkish, but one from Ingrian-Finnish would be more appropriate here: talo- substantive 'house', -i- plural marker '-es', -ssa- inessive case 'in', -si possessive marker 'your' > taloissasi 'in your houses'. Prepositions have also not been immune to gradual simplification and agglutination in Ingrian as a process in efficiently forming a new denotation. For instance, the Standard Finnish prepositions *kanssa* 'with' and *saakka* 'up to' have been assimilated into headwords as partial postpositions in the Ingrian dialects, resulting in new forms such as *venneen* + *ka* 'with the boat' and *metsää* + *saa* 'up to the forest'.

2.2.3 Suffixation and case system

The second most prevalent Uralic feature is morphosyntactic in nature. Grammatical features oftentimes reflect three types of suffixational markers, namely one set of case endings (singular and plural inclusive) and two sets of personal suffixes. "The personal suffixes, in particular, can be regarded as defining features of the Finno-Ugric language family…they are transparent enough to be recognized as products of agglutination processes of personal

pronouns." (Janhunen 1982) Uralists still argue the extent to which loanwords and other linguistic elements from Indo-European were integrated across the Finno-Ugric family board. This remains a separate but worthwhile discussion, however, not pertinent for the purpose of this study.[14] Russian loanword influence will be addressed in Chapter 4.

The characteristics below in 2.2.3-2.2.6, according to University of Joensuu professor Ilkka Savijärvi (2000: 163), depict specific ways Ingrian-Finnish is more closely related to its historical neighbors[15], i.e. the Votes, Estonians and indigenous Izhorians of Western Ingria, to where Lutheran Finns had immigrated centuries ago. Prime phonological features characterizing the dialect specifically are vowel elongation and consonant lenition. This is in sharp contrast to the clipping of word-final vowels illustrated earlier, which occurs in colloquial Finnish for reasons of economy, without voicing the exposed final consonant. To posit a gradual simplification of the entire phonological and morphological system in the Finnic languages would not be an overzealous claim. As is easily observable in colloquial, dialect and learner speech, the trend toward reduction and compression is increasing but not without an increase in prosodic and extra-linguistic cues to counterbalance the loss of phonemes or morphemes.[16]

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[14] It is interesting to note Tapani Salminen's discussion regarding the words 'bee' and 'honey' (393).

[15] For a more specific, historical understanding of the spoken language in Western Ingria , one may wish to investigate the influence of Votic as a probable substrate.

[16] Kari Nahkola in Virittäjä 2/1999 highlights the formation process of Finnish slang words as a three-step process comprising 1) clipping, in which a new root is established that is semantically identifiable with the original by deleting the traditional suffixes or the second element of a compound word, 2) modification, by which consonants are added to the newly formed root in the form of a geminated consonant (usually k) or the consonant ts-cluster and 3) derivation, consisting of a new, semantically productive slang suffix -kk- bearing no semantic content. Example: olohuone 'livingroom' = ol+kk+ari 'livingroom', whereby 'ol-' is the Finnish base cognate for 'olo' existence, 'olla' to be, and 'oleskella' to live or reside.

2.2.4 Gemination

In order to fully illustrate the subtle dialectal differences regarding gemination, the Finnish cognate is given first, followed by the Ingrian version. Heikki Leskinen, who provided the foundation for the previous discussion in 2.2.1 on phonological similarities between Ingrian and Karelian, offers a detailed discussion on the types of environmental factors favorable for gemination to occur. Specifically for Ingrian, this would occur when the second syllable consists of either a reduced vowel or diphthong, causing the medial consonant to double, e.g. menee : männö 'he goes', rahha : rahaa 'money', and hyviä : hüvvi 'good' (plural partitive).[17] Tri-syllabic examples depict consonant gemination in the juncture between the first two syllables, having a type of prosodic lilting effect, e.g. omena : ommeena 'apple', terävä : terrävä 'sharp', matala : mattaala 'short'. It seems in the second syllable, that some vowel lengthening is also taking place.

2.2.5 Plosive behavior

Finnic indigenous lexemes lack voiced plosives with the exception of /d/ that developed from the voiced dental fricative /ð/ and is typically found word-medially as a result of consonant gradation. Loanwords in which the voiced stops /b, d, g/ do occur are often pronounced voiceless and are never aspirated. All Finnic dialects have treated /d/ differently in word-medial position and Finnish linguists discovered the dilemma of selecting an orthographic transcription for a phoneme that every dialect pronounced in its own way, be it a flap consonant, a glide, another voiceless stop or an approximant. They chose [D] to cover the wide range of representation, however, for the Ingrian dialects examined in this study from sound recordings at

[17] Cited here as Finnish-Ingrian, voiceless plosives [p,t,k] and sibilant [s] followed by long vowels or diphthongs also geminate.

the Finnish Literary Society (Helsinki), the conclusion is: [t] show as /T/ without aspiration and [d, g, s] show as /D,G, S/ without or with less voicing.

In contradistinction to similarities in the previous section regarding consonant behavior, differentiating phonological characteristics of Ingrian speech, aided by insight into reasons for alternation in plosive orthography, highlight the following fundamental features (Laanest 1982: 136):

1a) The voiceless plosives [p,t,k] in intervocalic position become the voiced [B,D,G], e.g. siGa (Finnish : sika) 'pig'; paDa (Finnish : pata) 'kettle'.

1b) The above phenomenon also tends to replace the geminated intervocalic voiceless plosives, as illustrated with aGaD (Finnish : akkat) 'old ladies' and kaDoD (Finnish : kattot) 'rooftops'.

1c) The medial voiced plosive G is assimilated and D replaces the Finnish /t/ in the plural form, e.g. from the above siGa to siaD 'pigs' (Finnish: 'sika' to 'siat') and from joGi to joeD 'rivers' (Finnish : 'joki' to joet').

2) The voiceless plosives [p,t,k] as well as the voiceless sibilant s are reduced and somewhat voiced after diphthongal syllables, e.g. poiGa > poikka 'son, boy' or leiBa > leippa 'bread'.

3a) A medial consonant in trisyllabic words can also be geminated if the first two syllables are open, e.g. matala > mattala 'low' or omena > ommena 'apple'.[18]

3b) A further transformation in such forms may occur with apocope, e.g. ikävä > ikkäv 'boring'.

[18]Note that this example from Laanest (1982) does not place a diacritic over the second syllable of mattala, as did Leskinen in his article, examples of which can be found on page 26 of this study. Again, variation in phonetic representation is rampant.

2.2.6 Negation

How negation is treated in the Balto-Finnic dialects is also unique. Similar to the matrix language, Finnish, the phi-features of person and number are marked on negation, i.e. negation is expressed as an auxiliary verb conjugated for person, number as well as mood and condition. Therefore, inflection appears on the negative element in negation clauses and not on the verb. The inflected negation paradigm reads as follows:

(siä) et 'you are not' (tö) ette 'you all are not'

(hää) ei 'he/she/it is not' (hö) eivät 'they are not'

Being a null subject language, Finnish and its nearest relatives have the option of eliminating pronouns due to the relatively rich system of agreement inflections.

For example, in Ingrian-Finnish and Karelian:

eipäs = ei (negation) + päs (modal particle) > nor even

eikäs = ei (negation) + käs (modal particle) > and neither

eihän = ei (negation) + hän (modal particle) > not even

Thus, the agreement inflections on negation serve to identify that which is deleted. Any of the lexemes in the above paradigm can be inserted as the negative subject:

Emmekäs mekään unohda: Emme 'not we' + käs 'either'

me 'we' + kään 'either' (with alternate cliticization *–än*)

unohda 'to forget' (second infinitival form, appearing after negation particles) 'Nor do we forget either.' or 'Neither do we forget.'

Very concise grammatical expressions can be found in the Finnic languages, in which conjugated negations cliticize onto conditionals and generate phonological accommodation at the morpheme juncture:

jollen: jos ‘if’ + en ‘I am not’ or ‘I do not’ > if I am not / don’t …

ettet: että ‘that’ + et ‘you are not’ or ‘you do not’ > (so) that you aren’t / don’t…

2.2.7 Ingrian-Finnish characteristics

The Narvusi Lutheran dialect, the religious influence of which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 6, seems closest to truly representing the Savo and Äyrämoiset settlers in western Ingria. The area is referred to as the Ala-Laukka, Unter-Luga or Lower Luga due to its geographical position relative to the Luga river. Laanest (1982) makes the following distinctions between the Ingrian dialects of this region and those which are spoken in the rest of Ingria (48):

1) The voiceless plosives do not become voiced or occlude in any instance, but rather remain as they do in the matrix language.
2) No gemination occurs in tri-syllabic words, similar to the matrix language.
3) h disappears after n and r (a deviation from the matrix language), e.g. vana (Finnish : vanha) ‘old’ and karu (Finnish : karhu) ‘bear’.
4) The vowel-consonant pairing of ir is articulated instead of er.
5) oi-diphthong disappears in the nominative’s second syllable and in the third person singular imperfect tense, e.g. kukkoi < kukko ‘rooster’ and antoi < anto ‘gave’.
6) The locative case endings -ssa/-lla barely remain intact, whereas elsewhere in Ingrian they have been completely eliminated, e.g. linnassa > linnaZ ‘in the town’ and merella > merel ‘on the sea’.
7) Finally, a comitative case not overtly present in the matrix language, is used with the

ending -(n)ka /-(n)kä, e.g. poja(n)ka ‘with the son/boy’ and veitse(n)ka ‘with the knife’.[19]

2.3 Dialect or language?

The argument below for dialect-only consideration for Ingrian-Finnish is based on research as a foreigner, whose English mother tongue relates to neither Lutheran Ingrian nor Orthodox Izhorian, but who finds each one mutually comprehensible. The speech, as well as written or transcribed text of this linguistic community, can be extremely well understood by someone with a fairly good command of at least spoken Finnish as well as of colloquial Russian, since numerous nouns, conjunctions, interjections, etc. can be discerned as either direct or indirect Slavic translations. Being familiar with the intonation patterns of both Finnish and Russian is extremely beneficial. Chapter 4 will address the evidence of and concern about Russian loanword infiltration. However, if one is familiar with rapidly spoken Finnish, especially with that of older residents along the Eastern border of Karelia, the Ingrian element is easily identifiable. Consider the similarities in the examples below from the Pohjois-Inkerin murresanakirja (North Ingrian Dialect Dictionary):

Finnish – oli	Ingrian – ol’	English – was
paljon	paljo’	much
katsotiin	katsot’t’ii	had been looking
silmissa	silmìs	in the eyes
kädessä	kiäjès	in the hand
tavella	tavèl	in winter
ulkona	ulkòn	outside

[19] The comitative case semantically differs from the instrumental in a further restricted sense to indicate ‘along with X and/or Y’. The case is not used as extensively as it once was, being replaced by the term in genitive case followed by a post-positional preposition Finn. *veitsen kanssa* ‘with a/the knife’.

2.3.1 Translation sampling

A more comprehensive illustration would be to examine an Ingrian text. The following is an in-house transcription by the Finnish Language Research Center's Juhani Pallonen and Eeva Yli-Luukko of recorded Ingrian speech from the town of Hietämäki, which has never before been translated into English:

> Ja iŋkerii, iŋkerlaisii siel-ol′, kaikkijaa, koltkymet seurakunDaa, ymBär, kahem puolem Pietarii. Toisel puol Pietarii ol′…mie en niita seurakunDii nimmii ennää muista. Ni, se ol′ niit hajallaaŋ Gaik. Ja papit kaik-ol′l′iit teält Suomèst. (28)

The English translation by a non-native Finnish speaker, would be understood as such:

> And Ingria, there were Ingrians, all in all thirty parishes around half of St. Petersburg. The other half of St. Petersburg was…I don't remember the names of those parishes anymore. They were all so scattered. And the pastors from here were all from Finland.

The English translation by a native Finnish speaker unfamiliar with Ingrian, submitted by Eeva Kuulasmaa from Jyväskylä, in central Finland:

> And Inkeri, Inkeri people, there were alltogether about thirty parishes, around, on the two sides of St. Petersburg. There were those on the other side of St. Petersburg, I do not any more remember the names of the parishes. So, they were so scattered. All of them. And priests, all were from here, from Finland.

The point illustrated above is that for all practical purposes, Ingrian remains mutually intelligible with Finnish. A linguist surveying commonalities of related tongues in Ural and Altaic Languages (Vappula 1) provides a logical argument connecting a more remotely related Hungarian to Finnish by stating: "Languages that make up a family must show productive-predictive correspondences. The shape of a given word in one language should be predictable from the shape of the corresponding word, or cognate, in another language. Thus Hungarian -d

at the end of stems, as in ad, ‘he gives’, is known to correspond to the Finnish consonant sequence -nt- in the interior of words, as in Finnish anta-, ‘give’.”

2.3.2 Transcription challenges

A point of considerable frustration is the inconsistency of phonetic transcription from generation to generation of Finnish linguists. Since most of the lesser Finnic languages and dialects were recorded for purposes other than linguistic analysis, namely for the fields of folklore and mythology, there was seldom a prescribed method of transcription. The sample of Ingrian speech taken from the only known online source at the time of this writing (see appendix F) was collected as part of a joint research project between the Universities of Bergen and Joensuu in 1997 and was transcribed in a stream-of-conscious style as the researcher heard it being produced. Neither a broad nor a narrow transcription for further linguistic use was considered. Unfortunately, this is more the rule than the exception.

When no notation guide is provided, the only source of reference one can trust is the International Phonetic Alphabet. The IPA also includes guidelines for diacritics, to which the following quandary refers: The suprasegmental breve [˘] used by Leskinen (225) in the example o$_{r}$˘rāva > orava ‘squirrel’ over the first liquid /r/ would signify, according to IPA standards, an extra-short duration of the phoneme. This cannot be the case if the following consonant is identical. If the dialect is known to geminate the consonant and then a transcriber shortens it, wouldn’t the result be an ambiguous reduction of a generally lengthened unit? The liquid alveolar may very well be a bit tricky to explain, however the same phenomenon occurs in other environments, e.g. with velar plosives makkīa > makea ‘sweet’. Observe the bar over the /i/ and

earlier /a/, which IPA diacritics do not officially post. We are left to assume that the vowel length is somehow affected, most probably by duration.[20]

When travel and fieldwork research became easier in the 1990s with the fall of the USSR, many recordings of elderly Ingrians and Ingrian-Finns were conducted by the Finnish Literary Society. Regrettably, the majority of them have been archived and left untranscribed. The few that have been committed to paper lack proper phonologic and phonetic notation and since the transcriber seldom knows both Russian and Finnish (or the dialect in question), the infusion of lexical and morphological variations are consequently overlooked.

2.3.3 Summary of the debate for Ingrian

In support of Finno-Ugricists who classify Ingrian as a dialect and not a separate language, this study recognizes the strengths of mutual intelligibility. Sub-dialects include variation by region or by village, only a few of which have been recorded by the Finnish Language Institute, and reveal a definite Russian language influence (cf. Chapter 4). Otherwise, one may argue that a dialect can indeed be considered a language if it is the only language that a person speaks. However in Ingria, the very reason the community is dying is because the idiolect of persons under seventy-five years of age has crossed that bilingual bridge long ago toward monolingualism of the metropolitan culture. The twenty-first century speech community in Ingria is entirely Russian-language oriented; the rate of endangerment having been accelerated by economics, pragmatics and speaker attitude (cf. Chapter 7).

[20] For the remainder of this study, all vowels transcribed with the bar will considered doubled in phonemic length and shall be written as such.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONSEQUENCE OF SOVIET POLICIES ON INGRIAN CULTURE

3.0 Early Russian dominance

Indisputable is the fact that language is an entity historically employed by political groups to implement and retain power. During the Late Middle Ages (1350-1500) Ingria came under the rule of Novgorod and beginning in 1478, became subjects of the Muscovites and were, for the most part, converted to Orthodoxy. A most significant event occurred in 1617 (Treaty of Stobolva) in which Swedish ownership introduced Lutheranism and encouraged Finnish-speaking lutheranized peasants to emigrate to Ingria.[21] "In the seventeenth century, the towns of Sweden and Finland were much more dangerous than the countryside." (Ylikangas, Karonen and Lehti 113) This could have been a contributing factor to the number of Finnish emigrants leaving to settle farmland in Ingria under Swedish rule. It is primarily the Ingrian and Ingrian-Finnic speech communities that will be examined here in light of Russo-ethnocentrism and the ultimate endangerment of a language or dialect.

Peter the Great already decided to break ground for his new, western capital city and by 1703, the first stone had been laid—directly in the heart of Balto-Finnic Ingria. Conscripted Finnic peasants helped build and support the new city, supplying its growing Russian numbers with food and labor. By 1721, with the Treaty of Nystad (*Finn.* Uusikaupunki), the Russian Empire had complete control of the area. Peasants were enslaved in Russia until 1861 and

thereafter, remained at the lowest levels of an agrarian class system. Some, however, managed to rise to the level of 'kulak', which was the highest attainable economic position of independent farmer. This level of relative success of ethnic Finns in the Leningrad region would later prove fateful during Stalin's great purges—covered in more depth below.

The language of the Ingrian-Finnish peasant, in spite of the lack of education, access and prestige, remained intact well into the 19th century. According to Aili Nenola, "Votes, Izhors and Ingrian-Finns still lived for the most part in their own villages or in multi-ethnic villages apart from Russian peasants. This enabled them to maintain their own language and own traditions…" (57) The term 'multi-ethnic' most likely indicates here that they must have surrounded themselves with other closely related Finnic ethnicities (Estonians, Karelians, Vepsians and already assimilated, indigenous Ingrians) rather than with any other possible ethnicity, including Russian, because they remained capable of sustaining their linguistic and cultural identity.

The time in which Finland no longer belonged to Sweden, but rather to Russia (1809-1917), proved beneficial for the minority Finnic cousins situated in Czarist Russia. Finland was granted autonomy as a Grand Duchy and the Finnish languages were granted majority language status with the right to conduct business and educational affairs in the mother tongue. In 1863, a language manifesto was issued by Czar Alexander II allowing the use of Finnish in courts and politics. Why the generous allowances toward linguistic emancipation? Russia wanted Finland to distance itself with Sweden, whose language was evidently encroaching upon Finnish speech

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[21] Finland had also been under Swedish rule until 1809, after which Imperial Russia had annexed the country (and the Åland islands). This lasted until 1917, when Finland gained independence for the first time, amidst civil red/white unrest on the heels of the Bolshevik Revolution and the birth of Communism. This is important to acknowledge because Ingria's history and subordination has more or less paralleled that of Finland up to 1917.

via numerous loanwords and calques in the upper spheres of education, business, politics and society, as well as in everyday life.

Near the border in Ingria, however, closer ties were fostered to Finland via proximity to Lutheran parishes (see appendix K), Finnish-speaking schools and publications, e.g. the newspapers *Pietarin Sanomat* and a calendar series titled *Pietarin suomalainen kalenteri* appeared in the years 1870 and 1871 respectively.[22] According to Kolga's The Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire, although the last decades of that century marked an early period of russification in Ingria, attempts to rally a spirit of national identity was led by parishes and by those educated in Finnish. "Even more favourable opportunities for cultural activities, supported by the Finnish mother country, were gained after the revolution in 1905." (145) Other publications soon appeared—*Neva* in 1915, *Inkeri* in 1917 (Ingria), *Narvan Sanomat* (The Narva Times) in 1919, *Inkerin Sanomat* (The Ingrian Times) in 1921 and *Vapaa Karjala ja Inkeri* (A Free Karelia and Ingria) in 1932.

Eventually the period of emancipation ended as many Finno-Uralic languages strengthened in vitality with a high rate of literacy early on, culminating in resistance to foreign influence and cultural determination by the czarist government. Russia then deemed it necessary to overturn its earlier, more liberal language policy and in 1900 issued an edict for exclusive Russian use in local administrative arenas. To the poor, minority populations, whose literacy rates were exceedingly low, it was naturally a disadvantage to have the Russian language forced upon them in order to function outside the home. This is the first instance of a 'wax and wane' minority language policy. The second wave occurred after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

[22] *Pietari* is the Finnish translation of St. Petersburg.

3.0.1 The Soviet-Russian factor

An obscure article was written forty years ago in German on the rise and fall of the Ingrian-Finns. It reveals how the Bolsheviks mistrusted the conservative Ingrians after WWI because of not only the profound religious influence in their daily lives, but also because of a deep-rooted hatred of anyone or anything Russian. (Inkinen 697) A small regiment of Ingrian farmers banded together in 1919 with the help of Estonian arms to fight against the new Bolshevik rule with hopes of eventually 'rejoining' their Finnish brethren. This opposition received no support from the young Finnish nation and thus, was quickly crushed by the Bolsheviks. The Peace Treaty of Dorpat in 1920 officially left Ingria (and East Karelia) in the hands of the Soviets.[23] The author makes a poignant observation that the Ingrians suffered more during the two decades between the world wars than during the two centuries under czarist rule. (Inkinen 696)

The Ingrian dialects, along with Karelian and other minor Uralic languages, were temporarily given a green light in the early years of Bolshevism under Lenin. Russian linguist Selickaja writes, "Immediately after the October Revolution the Soviet government had to deal with an important problem of winning the backward nationalities of Russia to the building of Socialism and a new culture." (305) It is probable that winning over the peasantry had to be accomplished in order to prevent language conflicts, which by and large are symptomatic of social conflicts, be they economic, ideological or cultural in nature. A large number of Ingrians were illiterate, as were most agrarian languages of Czarist and early Soviet Russia, and many had

[23] "Doch entgegen diesem Versprechen hat die finnische Bevölkerung Ingermanlands eine Vierteljahrhundert der Verfolgungen und Deportationen durchmachen müssen, eine Periode der Schreckensherrschaft, die um das Jahr 1929 zu einer systematischen Volksausrottung ausartete." (Inkinen 698-99) In spite of this promise [Dorpat Treaty], the Finnic population of Ingria had to undergo a quarter century of persecutions and deportations—a period of a reign of terror that turned into systematic mass extermination around 1929. (translation mine)

already been at least partially compelled to use spoken Russian in order to manage outside the local speech community.

Nevertheless a period of *korenizatsiya*, or nativization[24], ensued during which officials fluent in indigenous languages could be assigned to positions of high administration in the ethnic republics, and mother-tongue schooling was made available in all non-Russian speaking regions. This was part of the nation-building plan Vladimir Lenin had envisioned in order to temporarily foster national consciousness and to lessen the stigma of Russian chauvinism. "Convinced that repression would only fuel nationalist and separatist tendencies and confident that improvements in the economic base would eventually lead to the erosion of nationalism and national distinctions, Lenin urged his comrades to avoid appearances of Great Russian interference in the non-Russian republics" (Suny 307) It appeared there was a greater plan of unilingualism for all Soviet nations by forcing language shift toward Russian with complete mother-tongue displacement. "New ideology had to be introduced to the minorities in their own languages. When that goal was achieved, the mission of the minority languages was concluded." (Viikberg 177-78) Seen only as an implementation of linguicide, Soviet language policy accomplished near extinction for the following Uralic languages, in addition to numerous paleo-asiatic speech communities according to UNESCO calculations in Kolga, et al: Votic, Ingrian, various Sami dialects, Forest Enets, Tundra Enets, Central Selkup, Southern Selkup and Eastern Mansi.

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[24] The time of *korenizatsia* allowed smaller ethnicities the right to govern themselves locally, i.e. by region, with their own village advisors, schools, newspapers theaters, etc. By 1930, Ingria became one such minority governing region with 60 village advisors, 286 Ingrian-Finnic based grammar schools, 2 vocational schools and a publishing house. However good this all was, one could not speak of a 'complete inner freedom' and national life because the communists led with the aim of keeping control on everything and influencing the development of nationalistic affairs. (Mysaev 399)

Southern Mansi became extinct since the 1950s, while *Kamas, Western Mansi* and *Southern Khanty* have been extinct since the 1989 Soviet census.

As suggested earlier, Uralic language minorities received an initial boost after the fall of Czarist Russia, which brought them into the political forefront. Josef Stalin inherited the necessary pieces to construct a new national entity and at first embraced the minorities as a necessary step in an all-encompassing effort to unite the 160 different ethnicities and 127 different languages (tallied in 1970) across twelve time zones. "The introduction of written languages and of publications in national languages was an essential factor in the development of national identities." (Simon 47)

The Soviet government venerated the 'creation' of the Izhorian language (the transliterated Russian word for 'Ingrian' from Cyrillic) at the beginning of the 1920s and 1930s, as one of many important factors in the development of Soviet culture in that region, although Professor Vilius Junus is actually credited for 'inventing' the written language in 1932 at the University of Leningrad.[25] His formula combined several dialects into a prescriptive grammar of the language that all Ingrian speakers could comprehend. School primers, an arithmetic book and readers (sometimes directly translated from Russian) with a definite, Soviet world-view were published, and hope for linguistic legitimacy and respect was established--until 1937, when Stalin's xenophobia eventually overcame the recommended 'minority identity' nurturing phase of Lenin's earlier doctrine. In some respects, the *korenizatsiya* of the 1920s-30s gave false hope to the minor Uralic languages. "…Leninist policy of ethnolinguistic self-determination has been scrapped…once Communism reaches its ultimate goal, there would be one, and only one, common language." (Ornstein 130; 134) The russification and denationalizing phase of Soviet

[25] Other Ingrian language pedagogical writers include S. M. Brailobskaya and M.A. Rjibnikova.

rule was no longer on the drawing table, but rather was being put into action. In 1937 schools, books and newspapers in Ingrian and other language minorities were regarded as threats to Soviet interests and were immediately 'dissolved'. Stalin demanded the closure of all non-Russian schools (and churches), thus halting the teaching and promoting of minority languages.

Any language in the USSR was to be written only in Cyrillic, whether it was of Slavic descent and suitable for that alphabet or not. Works produced in this atmosphere could not truly reflect or describe the speech community's language (neither spoken nor written). Such culturally distinctive academic or non-academic publications, even in Cyrillic, would have been considered in Soviet terms, a threat comparable to official endorsement of the pertaining heritage language, which was unacceptable as xenophobic mandates were absorbed into Soviet language policy. "The very fact of the changeover to Cyrillic signified a subordination of all languages to the primacy of Russian, and an orientation towards a general Russification of the population of the Soviet union." (Kibrik 261) Additionally, lexical standardization and language modernization programs were implemented, as was the decree of when and where certain languages and terms would be functionally appropriate. Ingrian, as with other minority languages, was obliged to follow a uniform pattern in Soviet lexical coinage, adhering strictly to what may be called an early version of political correctness, with which writers and educators are extremely familiar today.[26]

[26] Jacob Ornstein summarizes the linguistic measures that the Soviets were willing to enforce after fifty years of multilingualism, including "Creation of a common lexical stock for the languages of the U.S.S.R.", since official multilingualism was discovered difficult to administer at the time. (However, one may look to the multilingual efforts of the European Union today for a workable model.) "The further development of the literary languages requires increased attention to the standardization of scientific-technical and sociopolitical terminology. It is necessary to undertake the preparation of a lexicon of sociopolitical and scientific terms." (139)

"Language policy is a form of disciplinary power," states James W. Tollefson in his book titled Language Planning, Language Inequality "…the state uses language policy to discipline and control its workers by establishing language-based limitations on education, employment and political participation." (207-8) This signifies for Ingrian dialect speakers a restriction to specific societal domains and a marginalized societal status in which few options are available, as dictated by the linguistic majority. It seems no effort was made to legitimize Ingrian-Finnic groups and to address the language issues inherent in multi-ethnic societies, comparable to the socio-linguistic demise of other non-immigrant minority nationalities, e.g. the Native American Indians and their struggle with English language intrusion spanning the past few centuries over ethnic territories from which Anglo-Americans easily dissociated themselves. (cf. 7.6) Tollefson observes that the human experience is often left out of language making policy: "…language policy is inseparable from the relationships of power that divide societies. Policies are made by, and reflect the interests of, those who dominate the state policy-making apparatus." (203) Early twentieth-century perspectives on linguistic minority assimilation in the United States are remarkable, although it is the immigrant (not native) speech communities referred to here. Earlier generations refused to be dissimilar from mainstream America and strived for cultural-linguistic assimilation. This possibly could have been the situation in the industrializing Soviet nation, however, its linguistic minorities had no choice in overtly integrating, since language policies were strictly enforced.

3.0.2 Language policy in the midst of colonialism

Ingrians had suffered under Soviet collectivism and forced relocation as victims of internal colonialism, which had as little consideration for language planning as did external revolutionary imperialism, or the spreading of communist dogma to the nearest neighbors and

beyond. The internal targets were peasants and ethnic minorities while external targets were fragile Baltic and Eastern European speech communities. Language policy appeared to be an afterthought to political mandate whereby the displacement of families and communities was of far less importance than the goals of the Soviet state. Whether tortured, executed or exiled to distant concentration camps or Siberian penal colonies during Stalin's purges, most ethnic minority speakers managed to survive, albeit in drastically fewer numbers. Ingrian speech communities were abruptly deprived of their schools, churches, publications, social venues, etc. "Such overnight changes can be explained neither by any logic of language development nor by any linguistic theories. It was linguacide, result of the persistent policy of repression." (Viikberg 177)

While the Ingrian language and dialect varieties had not entirely been banned, they were denied officialization. Decades of subsequent russification were carried out not only for economic and political domination but also most devastatingly for linguistic hegemony by diluting minority ethnic regions with Russian-speaking nationals. Consequently, russifying the population had left behind an unparalleled menagerie of languages near decimation. "Changing one's primary language is a crucial preliminary stage in the process of changing one's national identity. As a rule, there is no national assimilation without linguistic assimilation." (Simon 320) Part of the deculturation process during the Soviet era was the policy of establishing boarding schools for minority language children with minimal family visitation. This served not only to fracture generational ties and linguistic traditions, but also to sever any practice of and connection with the mother tongue.

Roman Szporluk in his discussion on the dilemmas of Russian nationalism cites Russian ethnicity as not being situated in the same category as all other ethnicities in the USSR, but

rather existing above them. He elaborates on the generality and specificity of language as a distinguishing feature of the 'universality' of Sovietism. "This approach holds that the unity of the USSR is based on the non-Russians' submergence in—not their integration as equals with—Russia." (275) Overstated in the propaganda is linguistic equality and understated is that Russian is the most equal. Realistically, the belief that Russian language expresses broad international, imperialist thought and non-Russian languages denote specific subnational thinking appears to have spanned decades of language policy implementation until the glasnost era, which allowed conclusively for rights to media publishing and broadcasting, to run local government and to educate students in the minority languages.

When discussing varying styles of colonization and the linguistic consequences, one can readily identify three types: A) the religious approach to colonization, e.g. Europeans in North America and the spread of English; Islam in North Africa and the spread of Arabic, B) the exploitive approach, e.g. Europeans in Central and South America advancing the economic spread of Spanish, English and French creoles, and C) the settlement approach, e.g. English and Afrikaans in Central and Southern Africa respectively. Soviet colonization could roughly be depicted as a combination of all three elements, i.e. an ideological doctrine of non-religion or atheism, exploitation of labor and raw materials, and forced resettlements with accompanying linguistic conflict. If one subscribes to Alvin Gouldner's position in his 1978 work titled Stalinism: A study in internal colonialism that the USSR had a deliberate strategy of economic exploitation based on a victorious group of men who forced their social institution of unequal exchange on a defeated peasantry, then one is able to speak of internal colonialism and can deduce the linguistic chaos in it. The expansion of Russian language use naturally paralleled territorial expansion, but the language did not flourish in the way that as English has.

A poignant fact is that Soviet (and Czarist) Russia never had to go far to promote its dominant colonial style. Her Slavic neighbors were subject to escalating encroachment and linguistic integration with central government just around the corner, made easier by the negligible psychological, cultural distance between the conquered and the conqueror. In the case of other colonizers who ruled from afar, oftentimes an ocean away, upholding any type of centralized language policy had to seem daunting or near impossible. Salikoko Mufwene, in his 1998 article titled *The ecology of language,* observes that, "Settlement colonies have generally endangered the ancestral languages of the colonized, whereas exploitation colonies have not." (140) In other words, if ethnic Russians refuse to assimilate indigenous peoples (Baltic Finns) into their colonial culture and to involve them fully in the same global or national economic system, the native ancestral languages will survive--presumably to some degree and for some undetermined length of time.

3.1 Educational strides via loanwords

After socio-linguistic restructuring initiated after the Bolshevik Revolution, Josef Stalin claimed in a 1929 speech to have "…revived a number of new nations [from Czarist oppression] that had previously been completely unknown or not very well known." (Simon 136) It was an extraordinary effort to attain one hundred percent literacy across the new nation, and committees were established to create writing systems for the majority of indigenous languages, including Ingrian.[27] If this had to be accomplished via mother-tongue usage, it was worthwhile as a political gesture to merge the non-Russian populations into the new Soviet system. (Grenoble 193) It was costly to send linguists to remote corners of the country in order to facilitate the creation and provisioning of newly established literary languages with dictionaries, prescriptive

[27] "Delayed partly by World War II and the difficult post-war era, the eradication of illiteracy among all peoples was finished only in 1959." (Simon 49)

spelling books, grammars and various teaching material. Four national *raions*, or administrative districts serving minority educational needs, et al., of Finnic speakers, existed in Leningrad to oversee the policy of ethnic 'flourishing'—however, only to flourish socio-culturally, not economically or politically. In these four districts were established a total of twenty-three Ingrian primary schools, according to Gerhard Simon[28], author of Nationalism and Policy Toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union, who credits the high level of national consolidation among Finnish villages in Ingermanland as being an exception to the rule for minorities. (Simon 59-60)

The Ingrian dialects benefited primarily from four elementary texts: Two readers and a grammar book by V. J. Junus (a-c, respectively) and an arithmetic book by N. S. Popova. The disadvantage of being provided with such pedagogical resources from the central government is that every text is imbued with communist, political propaganda.

Consider the first reader (a), in which short stories and poems for second-year students are titled, *Oktjabrin Revolutsija jatkuu* 'The October Revolution Continues' and *Punaisee Armijaa* 'The Red Army' (1933:24-25). The dogma of Lenin and Stalin were taught as modest bio sketches, culminating in the final paragraph with emotive slogans in the Ingrian dialect, e.g. *Eläköö kommunisma!* 'Long live communism!' (1933: 23) Other titles included: *Punaflootta* 'The red fleet', *Punnain lippu* 'The red flag' and *Meijan viholaist ja meijan ystävät* 'Our enemies and our friends'. (1933: 28; 68; 69)

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[28] Simon further comments on Finnic presence in the Leningrad region: "From a cultural and economic perspective, the Finns and Estonians in Ingermandland were superior to the Russians and had an adequate number of schools and a well developed literary tradition." (59)

The reader intended for fourth-year students (b) contained biographic excerpts of those bettering the plight of the proletariat including one of a 'red' Finn, Juhani Aho, who fought for the communists during Finland's civil war in 1918. (1934: 47)

The grammar book (c) begins with a phonetic description of the alphabet, employing blatant Soviet terminology as pronunciation guides: e.g. **Aa** as in *kolhoza* 'collective farm', **Bb** as in *brigada* 'brigade', etc. The use of highly charged ideologisms and Russian calques continues throughout the text, appearing in grammar explanations, e.g. to teach the adessive case[29]: ***Puna-armiaal*** *ono uus sotatehnikka*. (original bold-face) 'The red army has a new war technique." (1936: 77) and ***Päivääl*** *oli meijen kolhozaas miitinga.* 'During the day our kolkhoz had a meeting. (1936: 78)

Even the arithmetic textbook contains jargon designed to convert and compel by exploring such topics in its problem-solving sections on production calculations (How many days does it take at the Stalin-named factory to churn out X automobiles? 66), on diagram reading (Show on the diagram how much the kolkhoz workers had earned fifteen years after the October Revolution. 68), on measurements (Figure how many kilometers of tramlines were laid after the October Revolution in Leningrad. 64) and naturally, to compute monetary issues (How many rubles does the cooperative receive in a year after the collective farmer takes his share? 63).

The blatant use of ideology in language planning and the educating of minority speech communities cannot be denied. It was a deliberate and conscious effort to Russify the indigenous languages and dialects via an immense infusion of Soviet lexemes, acronyms and phraseology. Socio-linguist A. B. Anderson from Canada discusses how forced assimilation can

be viewed as a negative component of policy toward language minorities, leading in due course to a more aggressive approach by the State to rid itself of 'troublesome' speech communities via deportation or genocidal actions. In describing oppressive language policies in general between the two world wars, Anderson states, "The minority is not permitted to maintain any cultural distinctiveness apart from the majority, therefore no allowance is made for use of a minority language in schools." (128) In Ingria, a Russian language curriculum prevailed, however, in spite of the lack of competence in the language outside urbanized, industrial areas during the early Soviet years. In rural, 'ethnic' schools the heritage language at one time was taught as a subject, however, the native tongue was slowly replaced by and referred to as a foreign language.

> "In case [students] have indigenous language classes only at primary school, they seldom reach a satisfactory level of competence in it and not using it in their everyday life, gradually forget all they have learned… thus, if a child does not learn his ethnic language in the family he seldom has a chance to catch up with it at school reaching a proper level of linguistic competence and never becomes really bilingual." (Kazakevitch 9)

This is as valid an observance in minority language situations today as it was over seventy years ago. However, currently in Russia the non-minority speaking student is obliged to attend local culture classes to learn about the history, culture and tradition by which they are surrounded. Here in the United States, courses in African-American Studies or Latino Literature parallel this intercultural initiative in education, but typically not until the student reaches college level and oftentimes then, it remains an elective.

An example of intermittently blossoming linguistic identity is Estonia's independence from 1918 to 1940, when it was able to sovereignly establish its language in governmental, administrative, literary and academic arenas. The country fought Russian language integration

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[29] As a locative case ending (represented in some form of -lla/-llä in Balto-Finnic languages and dialects), adessive can refer to being near or on the surface of something but also has several other uses, including the idiomatic expression 'to have', which literally means 'at X there is'.

with protests for decades, but eventually became inundated with Russian immigrants and officials during occupation, who enforced Soviet language policy from the very first year of primary school. “By the late 1970s, Russification was perceived as a real threat to both linguistic and cultural identity; fears were further fueled by official policies that attempted to augment the role of Russian.” (Grenoble 99) Ilmar Tomusk, in his article *Language legislation and ethnolinguistic situation in present-day Estonia,* highlights the different periods of Russification in that country under the fifty years of Soviet rule. The functional use of Estonian grew narrower, disappearing in use for all governmental business and management. Furthermore, it was driven out of all science and technological venues and it lost its role as a factor of social differentiation, as it was indispensable to know Russian in order to get to the higher levels of the social structure. (37-38)

It can be inferred that Finno-Uralic languages, whether of the autonomous Soviet republics or not (Ingrian and Ingrian-Finnish), were undergoing the same type of transformation toward impracticality and non-existence. This can only lead to accelerated deterioration of the cultural identity, in which language assumes a crucial function and oftentimes, the mother tongue may be the foremost manifestation of that identity. (cf. Chapter 7) The concentration on Russian language learning in primary and secondary schools was at the expense of indigenous and other foreign language learning.

3.2 Census calculations and minority language policy

Russian censuses are sporadically administered and dubiously incongruent. A nation with half its population composed of more than 160 nationalities (2002 census), each with varying internal structures, characteristics and goals, must have a functional, reliable system for scrupulous and unprejudiced representation. “For many languages and ethnic groups reliable

statistics are missing, and one must be guided by the approximations of specialists". (Kibrik 258) Researchers often encounter contradictory statistics or missing figures when trying to determine Ingrian population and migration. Each census was at the mercy of not only the census-taker, but also of the era in which the census was created and administered. Many feared revealing their non-Russian origin and, if their Russian language skills proved strong enough, they even lied about their Balto-Finnic mother tongue. "The forced deportations of the Stalinist era had a number of consequences for the ethnolinguistic map of the Soviet Union, and ultimately added to the ethnic tensions of the late Soviet era." (Grenoble 199) The Ingrian dialects were in the greatest danger of assimilating and vanishing due to proximity and influence of western ideology near Leningrad. Physical removal of the citizenry during the time of the Great Purges decimated smaller linguistic communities, like Ingria, into an irreversible fate of slowly wrought ethnocide. After WWII, when the official, 2nd edition of The Great Soviet Encyclopedia appeared, headwords were missing for Ingria and Ingermanlandia. History was thus being rewritten. Even when the 1959 Soviet census was held (the 'thawing' period after Stalin's death in 1953), the Ingrians were ignored. Although ethnic groups and languages numbering as little as a few hundred were tallied, Ingrians ceased to be mentioned as a separate entity. "In this period [1950s-1970s] the idea of a unified Soviet culture came to the fore, and lesser languages were treated with disregard—and now and then a policy aimed at their elimination was instituted." (Kibrik 261)

Especially since 1956, when refugees were allowed to return home to Ingrian villages (see appendix L), there had been outright attempts to hides one's nationality on his or her own native soil. It seems life in the border regions of the Soviet Empire had trained linguistic minorities to differ as little as possible from those [Russians] around them and to be viably

inconspicuous. Many parents feared teaching the mother tongue to their children and in light of this, Finno-Ugricist Rein Taagepera confirms, "…the lack of native-language schooling and ethnic prejudice in everyday life reduced the percentage of those who wished to declare their native language their main one to census-takers." (79) Therefore, the researcher must use caution when consulting Russian and/or Soviet statistics regarding minority language and ethnicity.

According to the 1989 Soviet census, Ingrian was the third most endangered of the Finno-Ugric languages, with only Livonian and Enetse more so, having a remaining 226 and 209 speakers respectively. (Künnap 2000) Consider the following Russian-Soviet census statistics regarding Ingrian population:

Table 2: Conflicting population figures

1848: 76,069 (Kolga et al)	76,000 (Taagepera)	
Mid-19th century: 18,000 (Savijarvi)		
1862: 18,000 (Haarman)		
1865 72,273 (Kolga, et al; parish registers)		
1897: 21,700 (Haarman)	130,413 (Kolga, et al; parish registers)	
1919: 132,000 (Taagepera) + 10,000 in Leningrad		
1928: Start of private farm liquidation and forced collectivization		
1929-31: deportation of 18,000 by Soviet authorities (Taagepera)		
1926: 16,130 (Haarman)	114,831 (Kolga et al; census tabulations of Russian-Finns)	
1936: All remaining people in the four border parishes were deported and replaced by Russians. (Taagepera; Gelb; Inkinen)		
1937: Closure of all churches and Finnic language schools, publications and broadcasts		
1939: Soviets ceased to consider Ingrians separately. (Kolga et al) Ingrian-Finn national district was abolished. (Taagepera)		
1959: 1,100 (Haarman)	1,062 (Künnap)	23,193 (Kolga et al)
1970: 781 (Künnap)	800 (Savijärvi)	
1979: 748 (Künnap)	16,239 (Kolga et al)	
1989: 820 (Künnap)		
1998: 20,000 Ingrian Finns in Old Ingria (Savijärvi)		
1998: 200 Ingrians "No speakers of Ingrian born after the Second World War are known to exist." (Savijärvi 271)		
2002: 34,000 Finns; 400 Ingrians (Goskomstat)		

A major problem with the above figures is that some censuses counted all Balto-Finnic speakers of the minority languages as Finnish speakers. The censuses may arbitrarily represent St. Petersburg/Leningrad as an urban Mecca for anyone of Balto-Finnic lineage, thus prompting the questions: Do statistics reflect just Ingrians or do they include Ingrian-Finns? Moreover, does the documented Finnish population for the Leningrad oblast include Ingrian-, Votic-, Ludic- or Karelian-Finns in addition to Finnish nationals? "In those areas in which political or socio-economic factors are clearly to the disadvantage of the minority, censuses can only serve to show a tendency and not the exact determination of linguistic group affiliation." (Nelde 38) Even more misleading is that fact that Ingrian-Finns were referred to as Leningrad Finns by the Soviets. One may also find the indistinguishable census categorization of 'Russian-Finns' to depict anyone of Finnic lineage. For linguists, the situation is cloudier still since field studies may indicate either slightly higher or lower statistics for a specific linguistic community, as researcher Heikki Pärdi has pointed out in his 1988 article concerning the indigenous people of Ingermanland. (287) The Russian 1994 micro-census contained the nomenclature 'Finno-Ingermanlandians', which finally embraced an ethnic epithet with which Ingrians could identify, albeit according to a geographic orientation. Still, no demarcation of related Vepsian, Ludic or Votic was available for census recognition. The 2002 Russian census ultimately omitted the short-tenured classification 'Finno-Ingermanlandians' and stood by 'Izortsi' (pop. 400) and 'Finns' (pop. 34,000), as revealed in Vol. 4 of the census compiled by the State Committee on Statistics or *Goskomstat*. Thus, linguistic groups were reclassified either according to similarity or to region. Other factions were entirely renamed. "…this is symbolic of the State's power to determine a group's identity—as well as any rights or privileges that accompanied that identity as a "nation"." (Grenoble 165)

For centuries it is has been difficult to determine which of Ingria's geo-political borders were considered. Even socio-linguists have differed on dialect border delineation and population shift. Historically, churches and parishes have been recognized as guardians of a town's recordkeeping. However, regarding peasant record-keeping in Russia: "All figures based on parish records need to be treated with caution."[30] (Moon 23) Later population increases could be the reflection of better recording practices. Nevertheless, a shortage of reliable published data, linguistic or otherwise, on Russia's peasantry prior to the late 1800s remains.

Highly questionable is the increase of Ingrian-speaking populations in 1989 and again in 2002. This could possibly be due to the timely fall of communism and the psychological pressure not to declare one's ethnic composite. Minorities could have felt freer to identify themselves correctly for this census. One must bear in mind that the open declaration of an identity, however, does not reflect the numbers of viable speakers of that group. Due to openness without reprimand, some may have felt confident enough to re-declare themselves as heritage Ingrians or Ingrian-Finns, when in fact they have never relearned the native language of their childhood or simply felt an affinity to older generational roots. There exists a human inclination to identify 'native language' with the language of one's nationality, even if the idiolect is not fluent. For instance, the appeal to acquire Standard Finnish can be compelling: "Finland's attractiveness may cause some fully Russian youths to declare themselves Karelians or Finns on the strength of a Karelian grandmother or a school Finnish course." (Taagepera 401) Further discussion on identity issues appears in the final chapter.

"Education in the native language was hampered by the fact that it was often Russian officials who decided what a person's native language was." (Grenoble 165) It was and remains imperative that language speaker statistics are accurately represented in order to allocate the

[30] Until the 1850s, the parish clergy were lax in reporting births, especially of girls.

necessary funds for pedagogical needs in those native languages. Therefore, group size does matter in relation to the advantages and disadvantages afforded that linguistic minority. Important specifically to socio-linguists is the correct formulation of census questions on 1) native language command and affiliation, as well as 2) fluency or non-fluency in Russian and/or 3) the regional language of habitation. In spite of better technology to create and process census information, the Russian government was reluctant to include questions that would underestimate the number of citizens who freely command the native language(s) claimed on the 2002 census. (Grenoble 165)

After many revisions, census compilers agreed to formulate questions to distinguish language fluency so it would be possible to examine multilingualism in Russia's diverse society. The final census version directly pertaining to the respondents' language included the following three questions (numbered 11-13 on the actual census): a) State your native language. b) Do you freely command Russian? c) State another language which you freely command. The recent Russian census in 2002 was wrought with inadequate funding, little governmental support, inexperienced census administrators and worst of all, reluctance by the general population to participate. As a result, census analyzers allowed for only two languages to be identified. In polyglot Russia, it is not uncommon for citizens to know multiple languages and claim membership to multiple identities. How could a true representation of ethno-linguistic and cultural affiliation of such a large and diverse nation be revealed? "The situation is muddled by problems in the identification of language versus dialect, and by the fact that the census tradition both in the FSU [Former Soviet Union] and Russia today refers to ethnic groups as opposed to languages." (Grenoble and Whaley 46) Thus, non-membership in an established ethnic group

would produce a lack of categorical language representation and distort the actual portrayal of speakers.

3.3 Ethno-linguistic protection

Goskomstat reports 1.5 million people declared no nationality. Citizens could have been encouraged to fully participate in the ethno-linguistic portion of the census, with support of Article 26.1 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, which protects the right of individuals to proclaim their own ethnic identity.[31] Also, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic Religious and Linguistic Minorities 1992 offered more support (Resolution 47/135):

> Article 4
>
> 3. States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or have instruction in their mother tongue.
> 4. States should, where appropriate, take measures in the field of education, in order to encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of the minorities existing within their territory…

A question soliciting native language identification is tricky. Census takers assume the native language is the language in which the participant is most fluent. Conversely, anthropologists, linguists, and sociologists know that this is not always the circumstance. "Since 1920, when native language was defined as the language used at home, census results have shown that Russian-speaking Karelians are fluent in Karelian even though this is not actually the case." (Stepanov 11) Apparently Russian-born Karelians and indeed other minorities, speaking only or mostly Russian, are identifying themselves with the heritage language and skewing

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[31] It was necessary to adopt consistent approaches to previous census questioning on languages for statistical comparison and to standardize those questions according to United Nations recommendations, thus conforming with censuses of other industrial countries to the extent that central government budget constraints would allow.

actual results aimed at determining which language(s) reflect the true cultural-identity of a region, the preferred language(s) used in varying modes of communication and moreover, the variegated degrees of bilingualism throughout local and regional populations.

3.4 Toponymic conversion as a policy of language enforcement

Immediately after deportation of minority speech communities in the late 1930s, measures were taken to eradicate all traces of the targeted culture. Legislation was passed to rename villages, roads and topographic markers bearing any resemblance to Finnic origin. The goal in transforming maps by altering geographic names without local approval was most likely a glorification of the present regime and a political measure exalting ethnic Russian supremacy. This policy of altering maps exemplifies yet another case of the former USSR rewriting history, since historical truths are connoted through cartography, the implications of which have become more accurate with increasing technology in production. In citing the linguistic atrocities of the Crimean regional committee against the indigenous Tatar population during World War II, a distinguished Russian author is quoted as saying, "This business of changing the old, local place names testifies to the absence of the most elementary culture and to contempt for the people and the country". (Nekrich 35) Below is a sampling of villages or towns in Ingria, that have overtly experienced a modification as discovered in the leading Finnish encyclopedic source Otavan Isotietosanakirja 1961-65, in parish listings of the Ingrian Evangelican Lutheran Church and in various publications and reproductions of maps in German, Finnish and Russian. No one source completely dealt with all toponyms. The selection below highlights what can be called overt, or lexico-semantic, changes in loan creation followed by non-overt change realized in lexico-phonologic accommodation via the loan process of orthographic and grammatical adoption into Russian.

Table 3a: Overt examples of toponym modification

Original Finnic name	Russian version	Transliteration
(a) Järvisaari	Шапки	Shapki
(b) Tyrö	Мартышкино	Martyishkino
(c) Valkeakirkko	Молосковицы	Moloskovitsyi

Items (a-c) are loan creations, which are characterized as freely created native terms describing a foreign item or concept. (Jorgensen 15) However, the premise that Ingrian terminology comprises the 'foreign' unit with which Russian must synthesize, particularly in renaming its own villages on indigenous territory, is an onerous perception to admit. (a) *Järvi* 'lake' + *saari* 'island' does not equate to *Shapki*, which closely translates to 'headlines'. (b) *Tyrö* has no direct signifier in Balto-Finnish, but it certainly does not mean 'marmoset' or small monkey, as the new Russian name suggests. (c) The individual components of the compound *Valkea* 'white' + *kirkko* 'church' were disregarded and an entirely new city title with no direct signifier was created.

Table 3b: Modification examples of direct translation:

Original Finnic name	Russian version	Transliteration
(d) Haapakangas	Осиновая Роща	Osinovaya Roshsa
(e) Venjoki	Славянка	Slavyanka

The above items are examples of fundamental loan translation. (d) *Haapa* 'aspen' + *kangas* 'moor, heath' closely equates to *Osinovaya* 'aspen' and *Roshsa* 'grove'. (e) *Ven* + at the onset could be construed as stemming from the word *vene* 'boat', chiefly because its compound partner is *joki* 'river'. After closer examination (and unearthing a misspelling of the town as Ven*a*joki), the clipped morpheme of the first component is found to actually represent the word

denoting ‘Slavic woman’ *venakko*. In this case, administrators chose the direct translation seen above, which denotes ‘Russian woman’.

Table 3c: Non-overt examples of toponym Russification

Original Finnic name	Russian version	Transliteration
(f) Kattila-Soikkola	Котлы-Сойкино	Kotlyi-Soyikino
(g) Kaprio	Копорье	Koporye
(h) Keltto	Колтуши	Koltushi
(i) Vuole-Miikkulainen	Вуолы-Никуясы	Vuolyi-Inkuyacyi

Items (f-h) illustrate phonologic conversion into a feasibly pronounceable Slavic adaptation. Intonational patterns of Russian vary from the initial syllabic stress of Finnic languages and dialects, to which it does not accommodate. (g-i) show stress on the penultimate syllable. (i) exhibits a type of overt-covert translation blend in which the first constituent is phonologically compliant while the second reveals a dissimilar loan creation, as witnessed in (a-c). The collective meaning of the (i) compound represents two adjacent church parishes established in the early 1700s, the second of which was completely destroyed in 1935 in the campaign to empty Ingria’s northern border regions of any Finnic peoples (inclusive of Leningrad and along Karelia’s southern isthmus). Presumably a prerequisite for erasing the native term altogether and replacing it with a selection from the conquering culture is the swift, ethno-linguistic decimation of the region.

Bridges, avenues, squares, parks, boulevards, rivers, hills, villages, districts and even cemeteries were subject to renaming, oftentimes as a memorial gesture honoring a deceased Russian. The illustrations in this study are limited to cities: St. Petersburg is the first example of Russia’s preoccupation with relabeling and rededication in the 1900s. The city was renamed

Petrograd from 1914-1924, in order to undo or eradicate the Western European influence reflected in the name of its founder, Peter the Great. After the death of V. I. Lenin (1870-1924), the name was changed to pay homage to the statesman of whom the new regime was so proud. Once Communism ended in that country, the city reverted to its original appellation of St. Petersburg in 1991. Many towns and parishes were subject to permanent name change under the new government: The Karelo-Ingrian village of *Haapala* was renamed *Leninskoe* after the famous statesman, the Ingrian town of *Saarimoisio* was renamed *Pushkin* after the famous author (then later to Tzarskoe Selo) and *Kaarosta* (after brief recognition as *Oranienbaum*) remains with the name of *Lomonosov*, after the famous scientist. The conquering group created permanent reminders of which linguistic ethnicity *rules* and which ones *are ruled*.
In this instance, language indeed equates to power, which can be swiftly endorsed with repainted signs and reprinted maps.

Topoynms are evidence of the region's ethno-linguistic past. Therefore, investigating the unique native names primarily supplements historical reference, i.e. no more, or very few, autochthons may be found in these settlements after the ethnic cleansing measures of the previous century. (Mysaev 33-34) A non-Russian roadmap would hardly be a navigable tool today.

3.5 Conclusion

Does language policy and planning proffer complete control on language use in the speech community? Legislation can enact measures that are appealing and symbolic psycho-linguistically, but they alone cannot resolve all ethnic and national differences, especially if such legislation is not systemically supported or enforced. Language decisions involving mother tongue or Russian use are now made locally as to which language will be taught in primary and

secondary schools and in what capacity (language of instruction or second language acquisition), which language shall prevail in governmental functions, which in business and commerce, etc. "The fact that eleven Republics passed language laws in such a short period of time is itself indicative of the widespread public belief in the need to counteract the effects of Soviet Russification. Language was seen to lie at the heart of identity, and reinstating the rights of the titular languages was viewed as a critical step toward reestablishing ethnic identity." (Grenoble 206) Unfortunately, it is too late for Ingrian peoples to reap any of these benefits from being recognized. The language shift has been too great for the smaller numbered speech communities, augmented by the hardships befallen them during Stalin's reign. A mere century ago, ethnic Ingrian children knew only their heritage language as their mother tongue. By 1990, in which a complete language and population shift had occurred, the opposite was true and ethnic Ingrian children were proficient only in Russian.

Ideally the native Finnic minorities, on whose social infrastructure the Russian language had been superimposed, should have a legislative voice in language-planning decisions, although directives targeted at official usage may still lie with the dominant speech group in coining neologisms, slogan phraseology, foreign word inclusion/exclusion or in legislating Cyrillic versus Romanized alphabetization. "The real question about the national-language idea is therefore whether language can be politically instrumentalized without becoming a means of suppression and making it ever more difficult for different language groups to live together peacefully." (Coulmas 12)

Although Russian remains today a viable lingua franca, especially for indigenous Uralic language speakers in the more remote northern and central parts of Asia, it appears linguistic pan-Russification can be evaluated on a comparable level to that of World Englishes through

which a multiplicity of ethnic identities is communicating. Since English has come to provide a more global platform for business, politics and technologic interactions, it is becoming increasingly favored by those seeking to acquire a second language. However, fostering bilingualism in Russian would seem to offer Finnic-based speech communities a solution to younger-member language issues while maintaining linguistic allegiance to their heritage language.[32] Linguist Rein Taagepara alludes to aggressive Russification measures in his native country of Estonia, which left indigenous speakers psychologically off-guard and negatively predisposed to anything Russian. Therefore, if standing in opposition to the spread of World English is an important issue, then "…Russian nationalists might find it in their interest to support indigenous languages as a hedge against the encroachment of English." (397)

Very much like the European Union, a multinational state's inescapable proclivity, in order to progress with respect to cultural-linguistic rights, ought to embrace a self-directed language policy for ethnically distinct indigenous minorities. The former autonomous republics (ASSRs) now have sovereign responsibility for their educational policy, inherently denoting 'language policy', operating with a linguistic diversity that was earlier simply not tolerated, let alone encouraged. Unfortunately, poly-ethnic Russia is not yet completely democratized and the support of language rights as human rights remain on the periphery of legislative consideration for the most nominally marginalized linguistic minorities like Ingrian, which were never granted autonomy. "The people with good command of the lingua franca will hold the knowledge and power in society." (Mantila 63)

[32] A lingua franca does not and should not imply the replacement of any language or dialect.

CHAPTER 4

LOANWORDS AND INTERNATIONALISMS

Kopeekast ne ruplat kasvaat. --Rubles do not grow from kopecks.
(Old Ingrian proverb from the Lempaala region.)

4.0 Historical perspective

Pre- and *post-Petrine* are era divisions primarily applied to the chronological referencing of apostolic doctrine of Peter, or of the Epistles bearing his name. German linguist and Ingrian-dialect specialist Harald Haarmann appropriated this nomenclature to the classification of foreign words in Czarist Russia, i.e. to those occurring prior to the reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725) and to those occurring afterward, and arranged them according to function and presumed usage by speakers in each era. (1984b: 62-64) Early- to mid-eighteenth century partitioning of loanwords by linguists often reflects the paths or 'Wanderwege' of direct and indirect borrowing in step with the country's shifting geo-political make-up.[33] "Die Verbreitung der Lehnwörter zeigt, dass eine der Stellen intensivster ostseefinnisch-slawischer Kontakte Südostestland war." (Laanest 339) The dissemination of loanwords reveals that one of the regions of the most intensive Balto-Finnic-Slavic contact was southeastern Estonia. (translation mine) Ingria was indeed the often unrecognized cultural-linguistic bridge, as early cartographic evidence coupled with recent circum-Baltic language research would indicate. Due basically to geographic location, the Ingrian dialectal composite indisputably contained elements borrowed

[33] Peter the Great is known to have held pro-Western views on politics, culture, and the military, which naturally affected the Russian language with terminology borrowed from various European languages.

from all directions: from Estonian relatives to the West, from Finnish relatives to the North, and from Slavic neighbors to the East and South. (cf. appendix A)

Due to Lutheran conversions in the 17th century of the local population mix (primarily Votes and Ingrians), Orthodox counterparts fled to inner Russia, namely, to the Tver region southwest of Moscow, where the Ingrian dialect may still be found among the elderly. It is probable that a good portion of the Ingrian-Finns remaining have ancient Votic and/or Vespian roots. In the continuum of these closely related linguistic identities it is difficult to determine the substrate or possibly adstrate influence. However, it is the Russian influence as the superstratum that is the focus of this chapter. Although Russia dominated Finland in Czarist times (1809-1918) and Estonia in Communist times (1940-91), these more prominent family members and their long-established literary histories founded in Latin orthography were immune to massive importation of Russian lexemes. Due to their cultural tradition and foundation in folklore, Ingrian laments and proverbs will not be initially examined.[34]

4.1 Orthographic hurdle

Orthographies can be viewed as barriers to linguistic infiltration, as may be the case with the relatively fewer instances of Slavic loanwords in the Romanized alphabets of Latvia and Lithuania, countries annexed under the Communist regime.[35] When working with languages of different orthographies, it is imperative that the model described on the following pages be slightly altered, since it was originally formulated for Latin-based orthographic application.

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[34] If early folklore researchers detected a Russian linguistic influence, they discarded the occurrence as an untrue or inauthentic account, as most peasants were very suspicious toward foreigners, fearful of the spread of disease or heretical religious beliefs. (Alho 64)

[35] The fact that Catholicism has been the primary religion for both these nations is important, as it facilitated in maintaining allegiance to the Roman alphabet and in slowing the excessive adoption of Slavic loans. Further discussion on religio-linguistic concerns are addressed in the following chapter.

Cyrillic graphemes are not typically part of Ingrian's dialectal inventory unless as altered phonological units. Additionally, diacritics and suprasegmentals are often subjectively employed by transcribers to compensate for orthographic modification into Finnic, ranging from post-alveolar fricative and uvular characters to lengthened vocalic markings. Some may record [л] for an Ingrian speaker's pronunciation of a palatized liquid lateral /ʎ/ in, for example, *лapši* (viz. Finn. lapsi) 'child' (Nirvi 249) or word-medially in *алga* (viz. Finn. alka) 'beginning' (Nirvi 12) and word finally in *vihmaл* (viz. Finn. vihmalla) 'by drizzling rain' (Virtaranta 1955: 45), while others who transcribe for non-linguistic purposes have been found to simply use /l/. One may also find the velarized manner of pronunciation [ɬ] emphasized in transcription: ołid (viz. Finn. olit) 'you were' singular. (Nirvi 269)

4.2 Universal classification

Loanword networks are prevalent at all levels of linguistic investigation, forming unique types of lexical bonds between Russian and the various Balto-Finnic languages. This study reveals that Russian loanwords, particularly those also known to be internationalisms, have filled an absence for something yet unnamed in the borrowing Finnic language or dialect. A. M. Rot discusses loan translation and loan transfer in the Finno-Ugric languages as the result of a dynamic contact mechanism--accommodation coupled with adaptation--grounded in linguistic interference (276-78), but seems to have difficulty in explaining any type of universal classification for the types of linguistic contact. Three taxonomies are offered: a) structural-semantic loan translation, b) semantic loan transfer and c) loan transfer hybrid and abbreviation (Rot 283).

Other than the broad spectrum of inter- and extra-linguistic elements or of internal and external types of Slavic contact, what begs further investigation to create a more comprehensive

system of classification is a thorough etymological assessment inclusive of current language use, supported by historical and recent migration pattern studies. Peter Jorgensen and Barbara Ferré undertook this task in their article on category overlapping, "Kategoriale Überlappungen im sprachlichen Entlehnungsprozess", by fostering the notion of finer semantic divisions and linguistic categorization and demonstrating the interpermeability of two languages in contact and motion. Although their research, inspired by Einar Haugen's The Ecology of Language, concerns English loans into the recipient German language, this portion of the study aims at determining which components of their model can be applied to the two unrelated linguistic entities of Russian and Ingrian (and ultimately to other minor Uralic languages) to aid in understanding which types of lexico-semantic associations vis-à-vis internationalisms are most pervasive in a dying language. Since Ingrian has already been classified as moribund (Мусаев, 2001; Таргиайнен, 2001; Wurm, 1999; Salminen, 1993) it is well-suited for such a study into loan relationships between terminal and non-terminal languages.

The existence of four primary loanword categories is generally accepted, and the Jorgensen-Ferré study adds four classifications that share features of these four non-hybrid groupings. (15) The model is translated and presented below in such a way as to familiarize the reader visually with the closeness of each classification to its preceding and subsequent neighboring categorization:

1. foreign word – a word taken from the donor language in its original form and meaning.
2. semantic loan – a foreign meaning is attached to an existing native term.
3. loan translation – a direct translation of the foreign word into the native language.
4. loan creation – a freely created native term to describe the foreign item or concept.

Non-hybrids

1. foreign word
   1.5 pseudo semantic loan – adoption of a foreign word with new semantics assigned.

2. semantic loan
   2.5 loan translation with semantic shift – a direct translation from the donor language to an existing native word, resulting in the assignment of an additional meaning.

3. loan translation
   3.5 loan transfer or loan rendition – a native word comprised of half direct (foreign) translation and half free (native) translation.

4. loan creation
   4.5 pseudo loan creation – native language creation of a word that seems as if it could exist in the donor language, although it does not.

4.2.1 Exploring loan categories

Historical and comparative linguistics expert at UCLA, Raimo Antilla, reminds his readers, "Foreign words are recent or technical loans that still somehow stick out while [loanwords] are regular acclimatized loans…The line is impossible to draw and the result is by necessity arbitrary." (95) Since transference of the Cyrillic alphabet is involved in the adoption process, the classification of 'loan word' is preferable here to category #1 'foreign word'. Category #3 'loan translations' most accurately describes many internationalisms cited in this study, however, four Ingrian terms listed in 4.10.2 appear belonging more precisely to category #2.5 'loan translations with semantic shift' with Russian having assumed the role of host language for much earlier borrowings: *makasiini* 'store' (via French), *manaska* 'nun' or 'to live alone' (via Greek), *vaaprikka* 'factory' (via French and German) and *pibliotteeka* 'library' (Greek and German). Original Ingrian terms are found in lexicographic sources to be *kauppa*,

nunna, *tehtas*, and perhaps *kirjasto* respectively.[36] At times a term may not be considered a direct translation from the donor language but rather an indirect transformation with possibly a new (not necessarily additional) meaning assigned. For instance, the Finnish loan *nunna*, understood to be a monastic or solitary female, has apparently undergone a semantic shift by the Baltic Finns. The term *nunna* appears in Ingrian but not without having been semantically transformed or shifted to further indicate 'knowledge': "Ko on ihmine jo tähä ikkää piäst, ni sil on enema nunnaa piäs." (Ollikainen 223) If a person is already past a certain age, they have more knowledge in their head." (translation mine) Since this transformation had taken place, it seemed the Ingrian dialects were in need of another term for 'nun' and had turned to the Russian language as supplier, thus *manaska*.

The first hybrid listed in the sampling of hybrid-internationalisms below reveals semantic extension in Ingrian dialects, as Russian nominatives are amended to either broaden or narrow the denotation in Ingrian. The ensuing translation of the hybrid is 'glossy or shiny boots'. The other two remain basic hybrid loans.

Table 4: Hybrid-internationalisms

Russian-Ingrian hybrid	Russian internationalism	English gloss
lakerofka + suappaatkii	lakirovka	'lacquered boots'
tyyläis + gruppia	gruppa	'stylish groups'
frukti + puu + sorttiloja	frukti; sorti	'sorts of fruit trees'

[36] Neither Ollikainen's nor Nirvi's dictionary contained a listing for 'library' in Ingrian as the source language. Only the latter publication revealed the term clearly as the Russian loan *pibliotteekka*. (Nirvi 405)

4.3 Trend in neologisms and life expectancy of a borrowing

The Ingrian language/dialect(s) can be considered conservative in that new words are seldom added to its inventory. Minority speakers tend to modify that which already exists in the dominant language to suit their own morpho-phonotactic rules, as evidenced in the adoption of Russian internationalisms described in this chapter. Speakers may choose to maintain, reevaluate or delete incoming linguistic elements, according to need and suitability. An Ingrian example would be choosing for 'paper' either the Finnic derivative *pappēri* (Nirvi 383) or the Russian counterpart, *bymaga* (Haarman, 1984: 69). Both versions can be found in the dialects and the Standard Finnish equivalent is *paperi*.

Haugen's reference to neologisms bears witness to the inaccuracy of predictability and extent of influence as "…the use of loanwords may far exceed the actual cultural novelties introduced by one group to another." (1969: 11) Cultural ideas and political movements also spawn loans suitable to the era in which a recipient language adopts them and may subsequently fade away. Pertinent to this study is determining whether a loanword is genuinely a part of the Finnic dialect or merely a ghost- or leech-word. The former is a term familiar to practicing lexicographers as one that remains fashionable for a short period of time without much lexico-cultural staying power or influence, while the latter describes one that traditionally appears year after year in reference and academic texts without any evidence of real-time usage. It is difficult to determine if leech words no longer exist in a language when the majority of scholarly articles, interviews and documentation is outdated, and one must reevaluate the steadfastness of the word (or possible phrase) based on the lexical evidence from the materials available. Such Ingrian-based terms bordering on archaisms include nouns describing rural family life and verbs describing tasks no longer performed with tools no longer used or made, e.g. *kelskat* 'postal

carriage', *pokreppa* 'very cold room for ice blocks', *kuosti* 'wages for a priest in the form of produce', *kontka* 'horse-pulled tram', *kosla* 'the carriage driver's seat', *poltniekka* or *polttina* '50 kopek piece' or *rivenniekka* '10 kopek piece'. As stated earlier, the time a loan spends in its recipient language must certainly depend on the extent of its cultural influence—be it positive or negative. Such a period is highly subjective and difficult to determine. Other sociological factors controlling the duration of a foreign or borrowed neologism into permanent use or disuse may be the speech preferences and patterns of those doing the implementing, e.g. gender and/or age-based variability. (cf. Chambers 250-53)

"Languages can sustain structural incursions and remain robust, but the taking in of alien inflections and function words is often a step leading to language attrition and language death." (Myers-Scotton 289) The inevitable give-and-take of linguistic elements between two principally dynamic languages is probably not a threat to the survivability of either one. But rather, such structural modifications could be detrimental to frail language communities in which the dominating language does more giving than taking. Bilingual speech is not only characterized by morphophonemic or lexical evidence from two distinct languages, but more accurately by sustained, systemic use of structural L2 elements in the minority speech community. Since the kindred languages of Balto-Finnic have been heavily contaminated by Russian over the centuries, it is no surprise that most idiolects have become bilingualised in recent decades or perhaps marginally monolingualised and that the degree of speaker competence persistently increases in the aggressive tongue and decreases in the passive, native tongue.

Contact dynamics with a language or dialect that is decaying both socially and structurally differ from contact dynamics between two powerful, influential and therefore non-

threatened languages, e.g. Spanish and American English, in which loans are traded throughout the linguistic paradigm by both sides. Massive changes in the Ingrian dialectal inventory of lexemes have occurred in just a single post-war generation. "The Soviets have tried to monkey around with the minority languages by inserting Russian terms for new concepts that arose during modernization and Sovietization. But since there was no corresponding insertion of other nations' words into Russian, the whole approach smacked of czarist-type Russification rather than of a genuine coming-together of the languages." (Taagepera 107)

4.4 Daily function of Russianisms

Russian lexical influence on Balto-Finnic languages has prevailed since the Middle Ages, paralleling the ebb and flow of political boundaries and language policies implemented well into the twentieth century, culminating after generations of exposure to a level of 'high bilingualism' for some, while for other ethnic groups it led to a complete assimilation and Russian monolingualism. "Massive use—a precursor to true borrowing—of L2 forms without regard for semantic field no longer enriches but stands as proof of the growing dependence of L1 speakers on L2 for their daily needs." (Pugh 37) It is important to note that the process of acculturation, according to Rod Ellis in his seminal work *The Study of Second Language Acquisition* (232), reflects the adoption of the dominant lifestyle and values by the minority speakers while maintaining a type of duality for their own use. Ingrians and Ingrian-Finns had not actually acculturated themselves into Russian existence but rather, more precisely, had assimilated themselves by giving up their own lifestyle and values. Several reasons explaining why assimilation prevailed in the region of Ingria are discussed in the final chapter in which linguistic identity is addressed.

4.5 Rural survivability

Possible historical barriers against loanword infiltration may include the lack of essential literacy in that the majority peasant and agrarian citizenry could not read or write. The primary written media available external to daily home life and work were at church. Later, Soviet-system schools throughout the etho-culturally diverse country introduced Russian ideology via an indoctrinating language policy until official independence of the underlying autonomies was proclaimed in 1991. In addition to being a non-literary language, Ingrian had neither the vast numbers to promote its cultural significance nor a system to regulate the spread of Russianisms throughout its linguistic paradigms. Any reading of the dialects will quickly divulge various lexical Slavic influences in the way of interjections, conjunctions, adverbs and negation, as depicted here with Russian: *Ingrian* equivalents: и : *i* 'and', или : *ili* 'or', вот : *vot* 'well, there', ни : *ni* 'not', не : *ne* 'no', например : *naprimer* 'for instance', может быть : *mostpuit* 'maybe', хотя : *hot* 'although' and Дурак! : Durak! 'crazy one'.

Ingrian speakers were neither linguistically prepared nor skillfully equipped for modernization of the language in the fields of technology, industry, science, etc. and readily permitted Russian terminology to assume the role of 'neologism donor' at the most practical levels for continued societal livelihood and advancement during the twentieth century. The linguistic community had no pool from which to draw these most recent demands on the language. What one believed might be temporarily amalgamated creations of Russian-Finnic, became permanent lexemes embedded in the language or dialect by ongoing use. For instance, the headwords внук : *vunukka* 'grandchild' and чай : *tsai* 'tea' are high-frequency loans, found also in numerous hybrid scenarios in which all related compounds, declensions and/or conjugations exist.

Research into the rate of language survivability as it relates to demographics has been well documented (Haugen, 1969; Pugh, 1999) and the consensus is that the likelihood of languages surviving with minimal loanword interference is greater in the countryside than in urban areas, due to dominant hegemonic language influence in the former. The likelihood of linguistic retention is understood to be greater in a closer knit sociological system, illustrated by the clannishness of minority speaking agrarian regions "…in which kinship, religion, and common linguistic backgrounds have contributed to raise barriers between [the minority speakers] and the outsiders." (Haugen 1969; 292) On the other hand, one may argue in favor of an urban setting for minority linguistic continuity due to the presence of ethnic 'enclaves' and the larger number of speakers purportedly participating in the intra-communal network. The type and duration of cohesion remains questionable in maintaining linguistic viability, due to the influx-outflux ratio of minority speakers, copious metropolitan influences and greater opportunity for mobility.

4.6 Transference

The Finnic dialects preserved outside the St Petersburg metropolitan area are those of the Eastern Balto-Finnic family branch. (appendix D) Although the two linguistic domains of Finnic and surrounding Slavic are unrelated, it does not appear to diminish the level and frequency of transference or to prevent infiltration in acquisition. It is tempting to refer to Russianisms in the lesser Finnic languages as evidence of interference, which carries a negative connotation of transfer equating to errors occurring in the recipient language due to prolonged language contact and influence. (Crystal 189) However, such evidence, as seen from the minority language viewpoint, may not necessarily be considered negative, but rather fluid and indispensable within the discourse dynamics of the speech community. Tolerance and acceptance of dominant L2

errors (or even cognizance thereof) undoubtedly remains speaker-specific, as contact situations and transference opportunities greatly differ.

There is one universal at play affecting the various types of language acquisition, namely, the borrowing transfer phenomenon--a recognizable result of any language contact or language learning situation. Adjusting, conforming, and adopting are dynamic processes of borrowing transfer (BT) not taken for granted by language typologists. BT occurs not only word-specific, but in syntax as code-switching. (cf. 4.6.1) All lexical, morpho-phonological and syntactic evidence can be deemed necessary in predicting the path of survivability or fatality for the minor language or dialect accountable for the borrowing. Guadalupe Valdés suggests that BT occurs when L2 influences the L1 and after the word has been borrowed (112). The examples she provides are part of a larger illustration on variations of semantic extension, and can be employed to illustrate the differences between borrowing transfer at the morphologic and syntactic levels:

a) BT of gender application (definite article and gender suffixation) to the English loan in Spanish syntax:
Se está liqueando <u>el rufo</u>. Instead of *el techo* for 'the roof'.
'The roof is leaking.'

b) BT of phonological accomodation (vowel alteration AND infinitive verbal suffixation) to the English loan:
Tengo que <u>taipear</u> esto para la clase. 'I'll have to type this for the class.'
Instead of the verb 'to type' *escribir a máquina*.

Valdés' examples involve the use of anglicisms by Spanish speakers, yet it is not infeasible that English learners of Spanish might also commit the same interlanguage errors. Both instances could be marked by the term 'Spanglish', occurring more explicitly at the sentential level. However, when Standard American English speakers (who are not necessarily learning Spanish)

embellish their speech with Hispanic-sounding morphemes or frequently heard words, it would not be a true case of BT, but rather the use of 'Junk Spanish':

a) No problemo. The source here is not Spanish; instead, this is the result of -o suffixing. The Spanish word meaning ``problem'' is *problema*, not *problemo*. Furthermore, there is no Spanish formula No X; one must say *No hay X*. By adding *-o*, this expression is made ``lighter'', more humorous. ``No problemo'' is ubiquitous.

b) That's mucho fantastico! See you mañana.

Internationalisms can also be regarded as a by-product of transference, remaining fundamentally intact throughout the borrowing progression by the moribund languages and dialects. Ingrian-Russianisms, those of which can also be classified as internationalisms, generally have undergone the process of BT, due to A) overt grammatical transmission, e.g. when Finnic dialects strip an imported Russian noun of its gender, and to B) extreme phonological accommodation into the recipient language, e.g. when Finnic dialects delete palatization or simplify diphthongs. Evidence of this is witnessed in the process of demorphologization, as seen occurring in L1, which is also described by Stefan Pugh as, "…the adoption of a Russian word (intact with Russian morpheme[s]) as a particle, severing its connections with the original morphological class in the source language." (27) Ingrian dialect examples occurring in the data, along with their Russian signifiers, include конец : *konjets* 'end', в конце : *v kontse* 'at the end'; *konssa* 'when' or simply *kons*. The prepositional phrase of the source language in this case has been borrowed into the Ingrian dialects as an adverb.

4.6.1 Code-switching, bilingualism and the time element

"In our time, loan words are adopted at a notably faster rate, there are more loan words and they never have time to get adjusted to the [Finnish] phonological and morphological systems." (Mantila 60) The oldest layers of loans in Uralic languages were rooted over several

millennia and were gradually adapted to the inflectional and derivational systems of the agglutinative Finno-Ugric languages. Russian is an Indo-European language and completely unrelated to the Uralic family and its sub-branches. This difference entails the addressing and accommodation of inflectional problems when a Russian loan is acquired rapidly. The Russian language and its sphere of influence was the single binding element of all Uralic nationalities under Czarist, Communist and now Federation rule, and is most observable at the lexical level. Each prevailing era of Russian donor status has had barely anything in common with its ethnic minorities except for the shared dominant language. However, the entire linguistic system of some speech groups was affected over time more than others, as was the case with Ingrian-Finnish. Savijärvi (1998:276) observes the reversal of postpositional constructions, common to Eastern Finnish dialects: *sodan jälkeen* 'after the war' with the prepositional structure of Ingrian-Finnish: *jälkee soan* 'after the war' as a direct Russian syntactic influence at the surface level.[37] Moreover, speedy acquisition may also be the cause in promoting structural incompatibility to the morphophonetic structure of the Ingrian or Ingrian-Finnish. If the influx of Russianisms since 1917 has been too great and too fast to assimilate completely into native patterns, as Stefan Pugh suggests (32), it could be argued that any evidence of it is simply illustrating the productive process of provisional code switching amid assimilatory phenomena at the morphologic level. Since code switching is generally referred to as the alternation of two languages by a speaker at the lexical, phrasal, clausal or sentential level, morphologic evidence should fit in well with this notion of provisionality, as illustrated through the paradigmatic samples below in Ingrian:

[37] According to David Crystal's Dictionary of Language and Languages, words of structurally synthetic languages, like Russian, (also described by some linguists as fusional or inflectional languages) typically containing more than one morpheme have no one-to-one correspondence between those morphemes and the linear structure of the word. (399)

Morphological evidence sampling: Ing. *praznikka* or *prazniekka*[38] < Ing. *praznikkoja* 'holidays' plural partitive (from Russ. праздник = *prazdnik*, 'holiday')[39]

Lexical sampling of Russian-inspired loans: Ing. *Nenä on ko samovaari*. 'Your nose is like a samovar.'[40] (from Russ. самовар = samovar, 'tea urn')

Phrasal sampling, or the insertion of Russian-inspired phrases: Ing. *Meil svojevo lessu derevenskovo savsem mala oli*. 'We were quite poor at finding the forest near the village.' (Laanest 1982: 105)

Sentential sampling, by which the entire utterance is Russian-inspired: *Vot, ja pishu parjat pomnju*. 'Well, I write better than I remember.' (cf. appendix G)

4.7 Short-term pan-bilingualism of Finnic minorities

In discussing universal Russian-Finnic bilingualism, Stefan Pugh addresses the element of time necessary for socio-demographic influence, which provides the ease of linguistic transfer from a speaker's Russian L2 (second language) form to their Finnic L1 (first language) form: "Prolonged and intense language contact, resulting in long-term bilingualism and practically universal use of Russian in everyday life, has subsequently led to the assimilation and use of many elements of the socially dominant Russian language by the non-literary Baltic Finnic languages." (Pugh 17) The speech communities of Ingrian and Veps, for instance, had had

[38] The voiced sibilant /z/ may also be found palatized in this word.
[39] Most Russian nouns use the genitive case to express partitive meaning. Mostly collective or non-countable Russian nouns still employ the special partitive case endings of -a/-e to indicate 'some'.
[40] An insult from the Lempaala region.

centuries to acquire complete bilingualism and have now approached what may be deemed as an irreversible period of over-acquisition, by which the Uralic composite L1 is rapidly being replaced by the Slavic L2, possibly reverting to monolingual status.

> Im Wepsischen, Karelischen, Ingrischen und Wotischen sowie in den finnischen Dialekten auf dem Territorium der Sowjetunion, deren Sprecher heutzutage beinahe alle zweisprachig sind, ist die Menge neuer Lehnwörter praktisch unermesslich, denn die zweisprachigen Personen können in ihrer Rede in der Muttersprache tatsächlich jedes beliebige russische Wort verwenden, ohne dass der Gesprächspartner Verständisschwierigkeiten hätte.
>
> A. Laanest, 1982

> (In Veps, Karelian, Ingrian and Votic, as well as in the Finnish dialects located within the Soviet Union, whose speakers nowadays are nearly all bilingual, the number of loanwords is practically immeasurable. Bilinguals are able to utilize basically any Russian word when speaking their mother tongue without the interlocutor having any difficultly understanding.)
>
> Translation mine

4.7.1 Prestige-based bilingualism

It cannot be convincingly argued that Baltic Finns adopted Russian words for prestige. Most theories adhere to the idea that the dominant language represents the more prestigious culture and theirs is the social standard to which minority speakers set their goals, and therefore many linguists have understood the dynamic borrowing process between dominant and subordinate languages and dialects as a scale measuring prestige. (cf. Wiik 1997; Hawkins 1994; Muehleisen 2003) In the case of oppressed ethnic minorities, for whom 'language' remained perhaps the most identifying characteristic, prestige was likely not the most influential factor in paradigmatic loan acquisition. Russian was certainly not looked upon by Ingrian dialect speakers as Western Europeans and others have viewed French, for example, from which loans have journeyed into the fields of culinary practice, communications, the military, etc. Syntactic

and morphologic evidence of Slavic loans infiltrated on a need-basis for many, more so than one of status or high regard.

The final chapter in this study addresses the identity struggle between what some refer to as 'Russian'-Finns and their heritage status. Particularly in the Soviet era, the central social order and all it represented was feared, embodying nothing hopeful or worldly for linguistic minorities to grasp—only that part of the dominant language endured, which was functionally necessary in the earlier Soviet and current Russian-based economies. Furthermore, Russianisms and hybrid loans in standard Finnish were typically used in a derogatory manner, illustrating the regional loathing of the neighboring 'big brother'.[41] Derogatory or belittling patterns of Russian lexical semantic shifting into the Ingrian dialects will be addressed in section 6.4.0, in which identity issues via conscientious linguistic expression of the borrowed Slavic word will be examined.

4.7.2 Views on language shift and prestige

Although few Finno-Ugricists subscribe to Kalevi Wiik's glottogonic argument that most of Europe may have spoken a proto Finno-Ugric language before the appearance of Indo-European languages, the controversial new approach opposes the mainstream historical linguistic platform. He states in his article *The world's oldest language?*: "I do not see influences between the languages of northern Europe as uni-directional, or Indo-European-centered and ask only how Indo-European languages have influenced Finno-Ugrian ones. I also ask how and when Finno-Ugrian languages have influenced Indo-European ones." Wiik can be lauded for innovative thought by offering an explanation to a plausibly unsolvable mystery in the field, as

[41] Finland's political language has consistently remained neutral and respectful toward Russia, a realization of Finland's geo-political-international trade stance between East and West. It is the language of the people in the countryside, heard for nearly three decades, and not that of the parliament house in Helsinki, which the author is addressing.

well as for challenging any prevailing ethnocentric theories. His belief in the Finno-Ugric substrate throughout the region leans on the notion of language shift, however, and in his article two years earlier on Finnish roots and loanword research, he settled on the following hypothesis: "Loanwords generally move only from a language with a higher prestige into the one of a lower prestige, not the other way around." (1997: 100) Apparently the quality of contact in fluctuating geographic proximity and sociolinguistic relativity were not taken wholly into account in that earlier article.

Counter to mainstream belief, the notion of endorsing Wiik's hypothesis could possibly be construed as an Indo-European language being less prestigious than a non-Indo-European one, as exemplified by the sentiment that some Finns today feel socially and economically superior to their Russian neighbors (but not ever to their Swedish ones), which was not always the case historically. No explanation is offered for the usage or avoidance of Russian loans by Finns, who can freely choose to express themselves, but from 1809-1917 for socio-political reasons, may as a whole have chosen otherwise. For the lesser Balto-Finnic languages like Ingrian, the cultural-linguistic sphere indeed necessitates systemic Russian use, even at home, given that school-age family members are for all practical purposes Russian monolinguals. The Finnish matrix language can be viewed as more impenetrable to loanword incursions than the outlying daughter languages. Every Finno-Ugric family member has Russia as one of its bordering neighbors and those borders are unlikely to change in the future. Undeniably language contact still exists, encountering greater intensities and variations of influence than it had with mobile tribes millennia ago.[42]

[42] Further readings beyond the scope of this paper concerning Uralic areal linguistics include works by Esa Itkonen and Eberhardt Winkler.

If one subscribes to linguist Ilkka Savijärvi's position that Ingrian is not a Finnic dialect, but a bonafide language filled with multi-layering and mutual mixing, then how can one deny the fact that those linguistic entities are wholly mutually intelligible to the Finnish speaker (and non-native Finnish speakers), save for a lexically or morphologically Slavic embellishment? Savijärvi states, "The Baltic-Finnic languages spoken in Ingria are both genetically and geographically so close to each other that also morphological interference is common, which is not the case with languages that have different structures." (1998: 269) Indo-European Russian, genealogically and typologically separate from its Uralic neighbors, also possesses a completely different structure from Finnic Ingrian. Yet over the course of time, contact across political and ethnic borders resulted in a variety of linguistic osmosis processes that generated unique Russo-hybridizations, as evidenced by Finnic suffixes found attached to Russian cognates, e.g. Russ. черновик (chernovik) = Ing. *tšernovikka* 'rough draft', in which the final velar plosive is geminated and a harmonizing vowel is attached, creating an open-ended syllable in order to prepare the final morpheme for grammatical suffixation. Also, the Finnic emphatic particle suffix '-pa' can be found being appended to the Russian lexeme *вот* 'there' to form the Ingrian utterance *Votpa!* 'Well there!' Finnicizing a word also entails simplifying consonant clusters initialized by fricatives, which are a defining characteristic of the Russian language, e.g. черта (cherta) > Ing. *tsertta* 'line' or шпилька (shpilka) > Ing. *spilkka* 'shoelace'.

4.8 Analyzing phonetic accommodation in Russian loanwords

In tabulating the collective results of adopted Russian loans, phonological patterns can be identified and prioritized to such a degree as to suggest which of these patterns have contributed most significantly to the death of the Ingrian dialects. The anchoring of Russian conjunctions, interjections and particles in the Ingrian dialects are prevalent in all media and due most

prominently to the massive contact situation and dynamic linguistic interchange. In light of lexical necessity, as was alluded to earlier in 4.2, Pugh states: "Semantic shifts necessitate the borrowing of new forms from Russian in order to restore systemic equilibrium" (33) Debatable is verifying which linguistic system benefits most from this equilibrium—that of the dominant ethnic group or that of the minority? Consider the following signs of partial relexification:[43]

1. Delineating syllabic boundaries.

Russ: *-nka* > Ing: *-ntka*, e.g. Russ. *lochanka* 'wash bucket' > Ing. *lahantka* 'three-legged washtub'. In Russian, a voiceless plosive [nk] marks a phonetic boundary 'n + k'. This sequence sounds strange to Finnish dialect speakers, who involuntarily place another consonant of like quality and manner therein to delineate the syllabic boundary on their own phonologic terms.

2. Initial and medial consonant cluster simplification.

Russ: *kl-* > Ing: *l-*, e.g. Russ. *kleënka* 'washcloth' > Ing. *lejontka* 'id.' Consonant clusters in general are not characteristic of traditional Balto-Finnic languages and avoidance at all possible phonologic cost is expected. Also consider [sp] > [p], as in Russ: *spasibo* 'thanks' > Ing. *passipo* 'id.'[44] Word-medially, the fricatives x and ш in Russian will transform in Ingrian to a simpler, unpalatized –hh- and –ss- respectively: Russ. *plokha* > Ing. *ploohho* 'bad' and Russ. (k)*harasho* > Ing. *harassoo* 'good'.

3. Finnic verbalization.

[43] Supportive examples, when not mine, are taken from A. Plöger's list compiled in her article, *Russische Lehnwörter im Südostfinnischen Dialekt*. All translations remain my responsibility.

[44] Although a connection appears to exist between the transformations of Ing. *spilkka* and Ing. *passipo*, the former conveys depalato-alveolarization of the initial consonant (into an alveolar fricative/bilabial plosive cluster) whereas the latter conveys a complete absence of the initial voiceless fricative (into a single bilabial plosive consonant).

Russ: *-at* > Ing: *-aida*, e.g. Russ. *chlebat* 'to eat with a spoon' > Ing. *leppaida* 'id.' In order for Ingrian dialect speakers to conjugate their new adoptions, the appropriate Finnic verbal suffix must be appended.

In looking at the loan transfer, Ing. *torkuvoida* 'to make small business deals' from Russ. *torgovat* 'to trade or deal' in which the Russian infinitival-verbal suffix *-vat* is substituted by the Finnic verbal suffix *–voida*, one witnesses the ease with which loans can be Finnicized, after the necessary phonologic alterations have been made to the borrowed word, i.e. the Slavic [g] > Finnic [k]. Other substitutional Finnic verbal endings include: [-ua, -ta, –aa, and –da] as well as their harmonic twins: [-yä, -tä, –ää and –dä], e.g. Russ. *pisat* 'to write' > Ing., et al: piissaroida, piissaroittaa, piisata 'id.' [45]

Structural assimilation permeates much deeper with the adaptation of Russian word-formational elements as they are reformed into their Finnic counterparts. Examples include:

1a) productive suffixation (-niekka) Ing. *kohveiniekkaa* : Russ. *kofenik* 'coffee pot',

1b) productive suffixation (-nikka) Ing. *paamednikka* 'war memorial' : Russ. *pamjatnik* 'monument', and

2a) deverbalization of Russ. *pojdu* 'I will go' to Ing. *paitoo* 'a summons'

2b) deverbalization followed by reverbalization of Russ. *znaju* 'I know' to Ing. *naju* 'understanding, knowledge' and further transferred via the Finnic infinitival ending *–ta* to form the Ing. infinitive *najuta* 'to understand'.

[45] In conjugational suffixes, one finds for example the infinitive verb 'to sign' Russ. *podpisat'* or the 3rd person singular 's/he signs' *podpisat* as Ing. *potpissu* (first person singular).

4.9 Internationalisms

Reminiscent of the English Today editor Tom McArthur's 1998 work on world Englishes (1998: 48-49), the term 'translinguistic' is employed as a defining concept of global linguistic similarities and usage; words originate in one language and are taken over or moved to another. They transcend language and belong to the human race, evidenced at social, cultural and technical levels. This makes the majority language, in his case English, less central. The word is universalized but the concept has changed, introducing a greater socio-linguistic element into its application. A translinguistic word can therefore be deemed as one that is no longer the property of any nation or ethno-linguistic group, but rather the property of its users regardless of speaker membership and identity.

MacArthur discusses International Scientific Vocabulary (ISV) and International Specialized Vocabulary (also ISV) as being unitarian, cosmopolitan, and no longer solely restricted to English[46]:

> "They are in reality 'translinguistic': they operate (with appropriate phonological and orthographic adaptations) in many languages that serve as mediums for education, culture, science, and technology…In effect, such words have no ultimate canonical forms: their embodiments in any language are all equally valid as citation forms."
>
> (MacArthur 1998a)

In support of categorizing both sets of ISV words as being truly international, i.e. transcending individual languages, one could further pose that ISV words and their extended loan translations may possibly be the most universal category of lexical items known to all mankind. This study goes further by including terms other than those used in science and technology by considering the internationalisms found in the Ingrian dialects and observing the high degree of lexical continuity despite orthographic, phonologic and frequent semantic differences. Although it may

appear that loans meander into a language directly through a neighboring donor language, the latter, being ethnocentrically dominant, may only be a carrier and distributor of the loan in question. Minority Finnic languages are seldom in a position to exert lexical influence. One Balto-Finnic loanword researcher describes those languages in light of English exposure and acquisition:

> "Ihre Sprecher leben eher am Rande des heutigen Weltgeschehens, sie haben keine direkte Verbinding zum gesprochenen Englisch. Nur über das Russische—in der Praxis vermutlich über das gesprochene Russische—können englische Entlehnungen in diese Sprachen eindringen." (Pulkkinen 164)
>
> Their speakers live rather more on the periphery of today's world events; they have no direct connection to spoken English. Only through Russian—in practice probably through spoken Russian—can English loans penetrate these languages. (translation mine)

4.9.1 Evidence of English loanwords

An illustration of a loan's journey and terminus in the Ingrian dialects is the adoption of loans from English that were first embraced by Russian before transmission to Ingrian. Cognizance of a borrowed term's history is worthwhile; however, a detailed etymological discussion on each occurrence is beyond the scope of this paper. Evidence of English loans found in the Ingrian dialects reveals the lifespan of the adopted word. Harald Haarmann (HH) had cited nine English loans in his 1984 publication Soziolinguistisch-lexikologische Studien zu den ingrisch-russischen Sprachkontakten and Paavo Pulkkinen (PP) identified in 1989 an additional four for a total of thirteen. Having checked these terms against the two existing dictionaries below, the results raise questions of whether the term presently exists or whether it has become a ghost- or leech-word, as described on the following page.

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[46]Tom MacArthur offers the example of 'reality' in English ,'realitas' in Latin, 'réalité' in French and 'realidad' in Spanish, which can be considered pragmatically as the same word. (1998b; 48).

Table 5: Sample of English loan representation in Ingrian reference works

HH (‘84)	English	Nirvi’s dictionary (‘71)	Ollikainen’s dictionary (‘03)
kater*	n/a	0	0
kerosin	kerosene	0	kirassi
pidžak	pea jacket	0	0
porter	porter	portteri	0
rels	rails (train)	relssa or ressi	relssi
rumb	rum	0	0
spirt	spirit	0	0
turneps	turnips	turnepsi	turnus
vokzal*	n/a	0	0
PP (’89)			
jaala	yawl (boat)	0	0
kluba	club	klupa	klupi
paptisti	Baptist	paptisti	paptisti
punssi	punch (drink)	punssi	0

*Asterisked terms indicate uncertainty pertaining to their proposed English origin.

Haarmann included the following two in the Ingrian tallies of English loans: ‘peajacket’ and ‘yawl’ can be considered archaic. A clothing term, as the former illustrates, may be described as a ghost-word (occurring for a brief period or as a fad) and the latter as a leech-word, (but a vital term at one time in the maritime vocabulary of the language, which continues to appear lexicographically). It was debatable whether to utilize the 2003 dictionary when both Haarmann’s and Pulkkinen’s work on loanwords emerged in the 1980s. They would only have had the 1971 dictionary with which to work, as well as any other field and/or written data up to the mid- to late-1980s. However, the latest dictionary proved successful in locating one of Haarmann’s English loans ‘kerosene’ and in offering a spelling variety for ‘rails’, ‘turnips’ and ‘club’. Other loans found in Ingrian are similar in appearance to common English words and quite dissimilar to their Standard Finnish equivalents. In these instances, Russian can explicitly be viewed as the host language from which Ingrian has acquired its English loans.

Table 6: Russian as host language for English loans found in Ingrian dialects

English donor	Russian host	Ingrian recipient	Finnish Equivalent
apparatus	аппарат	apparaatti	koje
cipher	цифра	tshifra	salakirjoitus
class	класс	klaassa	luokka
conductor	кондуктор	konduktööri	johdin; johtaja
drama	драма	tramma	näytelmä
surname	фамилия	familia	sukunimi
form	форма	forma	muoto
proclamation	прокламация	proklamatsioja	julistus
stamp	штамп	stamppa	leimä

The article titled *The Perestroika of Russian: From Marx to Marketing* addressed loanword influence from various sources, highlighting English as a relatively late newcomer. "While the 19th century borrowings from French came mostly from the intelligentsia and were transmitted through the aristocracy, these English borrowings from the '60s and '70s came through and to much lower-placed strata." (Visson 56) The author is referring to anglicisms from protest and drug subcultures, which eventually moved on to sports and then into standard colloquial speech. The loanword chains or networks continued to expand with borrowings from business, finance, tourism and most importantly, technology. "One reason this new technical vocabulary has so quickly been absorbed into Russian is because of the language's ability to add prefixes and suffixes around a root and to make various forms of nouns…" (Visson 56). The Finnic languages are also highly productive in absorbing new vocabulary, once phonological adaptation has taken place.

4.10 Methodology

Cross-referencing terminology is essential in detecting the semantic variances in a loanword as it traveled from one language or dialect to another. Oftentimes it was prudent to immediately consult a Russian monolingual dictionary, especially for pre-industrial and peasant-agrarian terms. Highly technical vocabulary typical of the science and computer age has not

been looked at in detail, chiefly due to the timely state of the dialects' deterioration and the lack of such technical language by rural, monolingual speakers. Seldom can one find any lexical tokens related to high-tech employment of the late twentieth century and beyond, since the majority of Ingrian speakers have been identified as filling jobs in the service industry and as having already undergone complete assimilation into the dominant linguistic community. It is the home, the farm, the church and the village life of a much earlier era surrounding St. Petersburg that created the core from which the majority of indigenous vocabulary stems. The supposition here is that once the vital realms of existence can no longer be expressed or illustrated utilizing the mother tongue, the influence of the predatory language and thus the culture it represents is too great and the resulting infiltration remains irreversible. Whether willingly having done so or not, younger Ingrians have embraced the Russo-Slavic mode of dialogue and existence. If the appellation by ethnolinguists of moribund status for such languages and dialects were incorrect, we would readily be able to find samples of Ingrian text with perhaps a sprinkling of Russianisms to accommodate the lack of onomasiologic referencing of modern concepts or processes and of designating contemporary or new objects functional in current society. The case of Ingrian frankly stands as a window to the pre-industrial era of a linguistic entity just prior to extinction, as it began forfeiting indigenous lexemes and expressions for those of the dominant language via loanword substitution and accommodation throughout all levels of the linguistic paradigm.

4.10.1 Examination of primary sources

Source words for this chapter originate from the following: Inkeroismurteiden sanakirja 'Ingrian Dialect Dictionary' 1971 (IMSK), Angela Plöger's lexicography project on Finnish dialects 1977 (AP), Harald Haarmann's treatise on Ingrian-Russian linguistic contact 1984 (HH),

texts from the publication Inkeriläisten Viesti 'Ingrian Messenger' 1959-1979[47] (no abbreviation) and the works of: N.E. Nirvi (NI), Veikko Ruoppila (VR), Veera Ollikainen (VO) and Vilnius Junus (JU). Table 7 is comprised from the abovementioned sources for the purpose of this study with the first or most prolific occurrence being abbreviated and indicated parenthetically after each token. When a variance appears, the alternate source and its variant are also indicated.

Plöger's word list from *Russische Lehnwörter im südostfinnischen Dialekt* was divided into two groups: loans experiencing some type of semantic shift and loans experiencing morphophonological processes alone. From these lists, as well as from all other source materials, terms considered internationalisms were extracted and tested to appear in at least four language families for qualification. I had to alter the Russian vowel orthography in Plöger's material in order to reflect IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) standards, which more closely mirror Finnic vowel adjustments of loanwords, i.e. the sound of the Russian [j] will be recorded as the palatal approximant /j/--not ['jú]--and used to represent the onset glide /ʲu/ for the Russian letter [ю]: Russ. юлить > Ing. *julittaa* 'to paddle behind a boat with one oar in a propeller-like motion'. Russian [y] will be represented as it sounds in Russian--a back, rounded vowel /u/--not [ы]--since it conflicts with Finnish [y], which directly corresponds to the front, rounded IPA vowel /y/. In general, /ʲa/ represents the Russian [я]: Russ. ясный > Ing. *jasnoi* 'clear', and /ʲo/ represents the Russian [ё]: Russ. ёлка > Ing. *jolkka* 'fir or Christmas tree'.

Among the consonants, the uvular-velar /x/ in Russian will not be depicted as Plöger's ambiguous [ch], but rather [xh] to indicate the velarization of the fricative. Moreover, the fricatives [š, č, ž] will appear as /sh, ch, zh/ respectively. Apostrophes indicating palatization

[47] *Inkeriläisten Viesti* is still in publication, but apparently older contributors who wrote in the dialect have died and nothing more can substantially be found written in the heritage language in recent

and stress markings will be left out for sake of simplicity and because they are not utilized in Finnish. As a general rule all loans into Balto-Finnic exhibit primary syllabic stress, with secondary and tertiary stress assigned in sequence as the word lengthens or in crossing a lexematic boundary. Initial syllabic stress, indicative of Balto-Finnic dialects, is relinquished in some of the borrowings as phonologic tendencies lean toward word medial diphthongization, e.g. Ing. hot + *niek* + ka 'greedy', or toward the third syllable (of a four-syllable loan) in which a geminated consonant closes the syllable, crosses the morpheme boundary and appends the final open syllable, e.g. Ing. pe + re + *met* + ta 'any tool for catching fish'.

Harald Haarmann's work, richer in diacritic ornamentation, has been simplified in such a way as to express vowel length or phonetic cluster membership in their truest forms, i.e. straightforward transcription without cryptic symbolization. This is especially helpful in cross-linguistic comparative studies within the Uralic family, the members of which also possess a wide range of systematic Russian influence. Uniform codification eases the work for future linguistic study, particularly by scholars from other non-Finno-Uralic countries and from other interdisciplinary fields, who seek uncomplicated formatting and thus, clearer-cut comprehension whenever possible. Therefore, what appears as [ō] or [ē] shall be noted as [oo] and [ee], according to strict IPA pronunciation of long, back, rounded vowel /o/ and front, mid-vowel /e/ respectively. Gemination is a fundamental characteristic of the Finnic languages and to alter a vowel or consonant length by arbitrary diacritic usage among linguists may give the appearance of providing additional phonetic information, but not necessarily offering a more accurate phonemic representation.

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years.

Table 7: Compilation of internationalisms occurring in Ingrian dialects

Ingrian-Finnic	Russian host	International gloss
aalpommi	albom	album
adressi (HH)	adres	address
dokumentti	dokument	document
eksploatacia (JU)	ekspluatirovanije	exploitation
flootta (HH)	flot	fleet
frontta (JU)	front	front
instituutis	institute	institute
karahteri (HH)	xarakter	character
kasinos	kazina	casinos
kaatorgooi (JU)	kategorija	category
kamraatit	kamradji	comrades
kanava[48] (VR)	kanal	canal
kazetti (HH), kasetti (VR)	gazeta	gazette, newspaper
kirassi[49] (VO)	kirasin	kerosin
kleeveri (NI); kleiveri (VO)	klever	clover
klitseriini (VO)	glitzerin	glycerin
klupi; kluuba (VO)	klub	club
kohvi; kohv (VO)	kofje	coffee
komanteeri (JU)	komandeer	commander
komandoittaa (NI)	komanderovat	to command
kommunisti	kommunist	communist
kompassi (VO)	kompas	compass
konjakki (NI)	konjak	cognac
kontrapaatti; kontrapanta (VO)	kontrabanda	contraband
korma (VR)	korm	fodder, from ‘corn’
kruppa (NI)	gruppa	group
lininkka	klinika	clinic
maasteri (NI)	master	master
makasiini; makasei (VO)	magazin	magazine ‘store’
manaska	monaška	monk (from monastery)
maneeri (VR)	maner	manner, way
markariin (VO)	margarin	margarine
markariitka	margaritka	marguerite or daisy
masiina (HH)	mashina	machine
matteeri (HH)	material	material
muskeli (HH)	mushtsi	muscle
nerva (HH)	nerv	nerve
ofitseri (JU)	ofitseer	officer

[48] The Ingrian term signifies more accurately ‘ditch’ or ‘trench’, thus semantically shifting the loan to describe a smaller version.

[49] *Kirassi* could possibly be understood in Balto-Finnic as ‘petroleum’, which is a more refined oil product than kerosin.

paarina	barynja	baron/baroness
umero	nomer	number
pajari (AP)	bojarin	boyar*
palanssi (HH)	balans	balance
paneli(VR)	panel	panel
pasportti	passport	passport
penssi; penzi (HH)	pensija	pension
pibliotteekka (NI)	biblioteka	biblioteque ‘library’
porstu (VR)	portsija	portion
portviina (VO)	portvein	port wine
potta (VR)	bot	boat
produhti (NI)	product	product
proletariaati (JU)	proletariat	proletariat*
prottookkooli (HH)	protokol	protocol
radio	radio	radio
rentti (HH)	renta	rent
revolytsionerit (JU)	revoljutsionerij	revolutionaries
samovaari, samaavara (NI)	samovar	samovar*
shlupka (NI)	shljupka	sloop
skiletti (HH)	skelet	skeleton
soppa	sup	soup
sorttu (HH)	sort	sort
spijjooni (HH)	shpionka	Spion ‘spy’
strumentti (VO)	instrument	instrument
studentit (JU)	studenti	students
surnali (HH)	zshurnal	journal ‘newspaper’
taatsa (VR)	dacha	datcha*
teliffoona (HH)	telefon	telephone
tiligramma (HH)	telegramma	telegram
trahtori (NI); traktor	traktor	tractor
tsai; saju (VO)	chai	chai*
tsementti (NI)	tsement	cement
tussiina (NI)	djuzhina	dozen
vaaprikka (AP); faabrikka (HH)	fabrika	fabrik ‘factory’
vigurkka (NI)	figurka	figurine
vorttopiano	foropjano	fortepiano

*These loans have established themselves in the English language as direct transfers from Russian.

Certain high-frequency tokens, e.g. *radio*, *pasportti* and *tsai*, have appeared in various Finnic declinations in nearly all spoken and written materials I have encountered. Ing. *tsai* ‘tea’ can also be seen or heard as *saiju*, the corresponding loan to the Russian nominative in its

partitive case. Occasionally one finds saiju*u* --the Finnic partitive appended to the Russian loan already in partitive form! Additionally, saiju*t* has been found to reflect the Finnic plural appended to the partitive Russian noun and the agentive Russian suffix *–nik* has been found borrowed into Ingrian and combined with the root to form *sainiekka* 'teapot'. (cf. 4.8) This word creation is unique to the Ingrian idiolect, in which some prefer its use to that of the calque *samovaari* from Russ. *samovar*.

4.10.2 Chronologically distinguished internationalisms

In Haarmann's work on the semantic grouping of Russian loans according to areas of use or pragmatic relation (1984b: 67-69), he concludes that the wide strewing of Russian loanwords in certain Ingrian spheres of daily life signified that a multiplicity of acculturative influences were at play, since language contact was primarily inter-group versus intra-group.[50] (1984a: 69) A diverse assortment of Russian loans appears in the following semantic sets: tools and utensils, fishing, agriculture, animal husbandry, transportation, service industry, kitchen and household items, body parts, family relations, personal effects, textiles, carpentry, wild and domestic animals, plants, vegetables and grains, clothing and footwear.

Long accepted, established loans are not only characteristic of temporal descriptions (cf. months and weekdays below) but also of body parts, familial relations, and vocabulary necessary for daily and seasonal livelihood. Arvo Laanest investigated the influence of early Slavic contact on Balto-Finns in the naming of tools and products from agriculture and dairy farming, fishing

[50] The only grouping not considered in this study is that of personal names, which Haarmann deemed was necessary to include in order to strengthen his numbers on Russian loanword influence. It can be argued that personal names, as opposed to proper place names, are highly subjective in choice and composition. For instance, if a child is named 'Michelle' outside of France, it does not necessarily indicate the parents are Francophiles, nor that they seek to identify with a more prestigious or refined society. Many Russian names are themselves older, international loans or are widely used by other Slavic speaking cultures; Иван, Павел, Пётр, Лазарь and Михаил are all the Biblical names of John, Paul, Peter, Lazarus and Michael respectively.

and hunting, construction, textiles and clothing, transportation, business, housekeeping, and socio-religious realms. An examination of colors has for some reason been overlooked in Finno-Slavic loanword research although colors, too, represent a culturally specific category. Earlier borrowings of older, 'internationalized' loans have been collected here to illustrate subtle phonologic distinctions of well-established borrowings into a minority Finnic dialect.

Table 8: Ingrian borrowings of established Germanic terms via Russian

Ingrian dialect recipient	Russian host	English gloss
kosti	gost	'guest'
kuperni	gubernija	'government'
nuutta	knut	'whip'
nopka	knopka	'button'
pertsu	perets	'pepper'
pluuka	plug	'plow'
pappi	pop	'priest' vz. 'pope'
puutrata	pudrit	'to powder'
raami; rampkat	rama; ramka	'frame'
tivaani	divan	'divan' vz. 'sofa'
volkka	volk	'wolf'

Haarald Haarmaan has analyzed in his article appearing in *Soviet Finno-Ugric Studies* an important aspect of many civilizations, namely the onomastics involved in naming days of the week and months of the year, specifically here for Ingrian-Finnish:

MONTHS: Ingrian dialects	Russian (Romanized) equivalent
1. janvari	janvar
2. fevrali or fevralikuu*	fevral
3. martti	mart
4. apreli or kevätkuu*	aprel
5. mai	maij
6. juuni	ijun
7. juuli	ijul
8. augusti or augustikuu*	avgust
9. senttabri	sentjabr
10. oktabri	oktjabr
11. nojaabri	nojabr
12. tekkaabri	dekabr

* The composite ending *–kuu* equates in Standard Finnish to ‘month’ or ‘moon’ and *kevät* in #4 equates to ‘Spring’ in Standard Finnish, forming the above compound found only in Ingrian.

By referencing the loan categorization model translated in section 4.3 and employing the necessary phonological Finnic features, one can classify the months into systems of transference, e.g. loan creation = (4) kevätkuu; direct loan word transmission = (5) mai; translation blend = (2) fevralikuu, (8) augustikuu; vocalic and/or consonantal gemination variants in transmission = (3) martti, (6) juuni, (7) juuli, (9) sentaabri, (11) nojaabri, (12) tekkaabri; suffixival vowel ‘-i’ appears in all months to accommodate future agglutination, except for (5) mai. Therefore the only strands of Finnish influence are the suffixival ‘-i’ additive and the variances found occurring with the months ‘February’, ‘April’ and ‘August’. The remaining months are clearly influenced by their counterparts in the Russian language.

4.11 Accommodation of the loaned week days

Reasons for naming weekdays were either derived from historical pagan symbolism as the ancient Teutonic tribes did (Tiu, Wodan, Donar, Frija), from planetary gods such as Mercury ‘Wednesday’ (e.g. French *mercredi*; Romanian *Mercuri*; Welsh *Mercher*), or from straightforwardly counting down the week as the Slavs developed, who like the Greeks, preferred numbering systems. (“Chronicles of Chronology: The power of seven,” *The Economist*) Onomasiological structure for English is represented primarily by the former, while Russian exemplifies the latter. The Ingrian dialects adhere to the straightforward structure of numbering the weekdays, but in some instances, show Slavic influence directly: ‘Wednesday’ Ing. *sereda* < Russ. *sreda* = middle of the week and in ‘Friday’ Ing. *päädetsa*, *päätsä* < Russ. *pjatnitsa* = fifth week day. ‘Monday’, ‘Tuesday’ and ‘Thursday’ remain semantically numerical, however truer to Finnic form:

enzimässargi = ‘first’ (Finn. ensimäinen) + ‘weekday’ (Finn. arki)

toissarki or *toisspäivä* = second (Finn. toinen) + ‘weekday’ or ‘day’ (Finn. päivä)

neljääspäivä = ‘fourth’ (Finn. neljäs) + ‘day’ (Finn. päivä).

The weekend is quite interesting in that Saturday is either Ing. *suuvotta* < Russ. *sybbota* ‘Sabbath’ if one were Orthodox or Ing. *lauvvantaki* < Finn. *lauantai* if one were Lutheran. ‘Sunday’, for which the Orthodox Ingrians say *pühä* ‘holiday’ and the Lutherans say *suntaki* or *suntak* is the only pagan reference in the week and most probably reflects the German-Finnish-Swedish religious contact that had left their linguistic mark: Ger. *Sonntag*, Finn. *suununtai* and Sw. *söndag*.

4.12 Russianizing Ingrian vocabulary with phonology

Introspection serves as a necessary tool in etymologically and semantically exploring a word, as well as in constituting an acceptable translation. Linguists knowledgeable in, for example, a language in each major branch of the Indo-European tree can certainly make assumptions on linguistic interaction, variation, and change that occur as those languages and dialects change over time. One can expect certain Russian or Finnic lexemes to behave in context, fitting native patterns. As Heikki Leskinen notes in his article “Inkerin kieilimuodot” ‘Ingria’s language forms’ (229), a sure sign in determining something detected in Ingrian as having been borrowed from Russian is the occurrence of word-initial clustering. The present study finds occurrences of two and even three initial consonant clusters being imported into Ingrian dialects, e.g. Ing. *draastui* ‘greetings’ from Russ. здравствуй (zdravstvyi); Ing. *strahvi* ‘penalty’ from Russ. штраф (shtraf).

Other processes, such as distant assimilation, may be at play to mask assimilatory phenomena, e.g. Ing. *rietsin+putroo* = Finn. *riisi+puuro*, or the compound ‘rice porridge’. The second substantive component appears at first to characterize a Russian lexeme with the word-

medial consonant cluster [tr], preceded by the back closed vowel [u]. Vowel lengthening [oo] may also be indicative of syllabic stress, which would adhere well to Russian rules of prosody. Insertion of a second alveolar plosive [t] in the first element of the compound word is also suspect. Also, in analyzing the possessive Ingrian phrase *miu kotnim* 'the name of my village', one might consider at first glance the consonant cluster 'tn' to occur mostly in non-Finnic words and resemble more a Slavic masculine dative declension. However, the entire phrase exhibits both consonantal and vocalic reduction, and is completely Finnic in origin: *Miu* refers to *minun* 'my' and *kotnim* is a compound of *koti* 'home' and *nimi* 'name'. The substantive possessive suffix *–ni* has also been deleted.

The importation of Russian phonologic features may also hide in loans which appear phonetically Finnic either via the result of assimilatory processes, clipping, or earlier loanword infiltration from a third source language:

a) The word 'laappa' appears to have all the characteristics of being Finnic in origin: Both the vowel 'a' is geminated, as is the following plosive 'p'. Also, the word ends in an open syllable, which one would conclude gives way to effortless suffixation. Veikko Ruoppila cites the term as being Russian 'лапа' and defined as 'anchor fluke'. (107)

b) Occurrences of 'ni' equate either to the Russian negation particle ни or to the clipped Finnic adverb *niin* 'so'? Both are transcribed as 'ni' and must be considered contextually.

c) From the English spelling of 'aeroplane' appears in Ingrian as 'jeroplaani', and in dialectal Russian as 'ероплан' (yeroplan). The official term in Russian is 'самолёт' (samalyot).

4.12.1 Context matters

Contextual consideration logically aids in the process of loan word analysis and ultimately, in comprehension. The following problems illustrate the frustration in loan word research and interpretation. Both Haarmann's and Plöger's texts dealt with farm animal and rural life terms, from which loan words had been collected and analyzed, e.g. the Ingrian term *kakkuna* is derived via word-initial cluster simplification and syllabic vowel suffixation from the Russian word скакун (skakun*)* to mean 'a fast horse or racer', according to Smirnitsky's Russian-English Dictionary, 14th Edition. The German definition, however, was interpreted by Plöger for Ing. *kakkuna* as 'Sektierer', which according to Wahrig deutsches Wörterbuch 1986 edition is defined as, "Angehöriger einer Sekte; polit. Eigenbrötler "(1169) or 'member of a sect; political eccentric' (translation mine). Nonetheless some conflicting translations may occur, of which the secondary researcher must be aware. Again, solid knowledge of the donor language supports intuitive checking of the data and affords the researcher a stronger analytic tool.

In adding primary data to the list of loanwords and internationalisms, it was necessary to determine the lemma- or headword form of the term by peeling away the grammatical Finnic markers and reconstructing what would be considered the dictionary entry or correct grammatical usage in research texts. This is adequately illustrated with examples from the Ingrian dialects whereby an imported Russian loan is Finnicized phonologically and followed by an appropriate grammatical suffix: *tsainoi* + *s* 'during tea' (from the inessive ending –ssa/ssä) or *stantsa* + *l* 'at the station' (from the adessive ending –lla/llä).

4.13 Borrowed negation features

Russian speakers have the unique opportunity of expressing multiple negation via flexible word order, as grammatical categories can be shifted around according to speaker

preference, e.g. Ya *ni*kogda *ni*komu *ni*chevo *ni* o chem *ni* skazhu! 'I will never say anything to anybody about anything!' As non-related-language contact persists along the Gulf of Finland, evidence of lexical acceptance from the superstratum by the lesser known Balto-Finnic languages has seemed to emerge rather freely in negation, e.g. ни кто > Ing. *nikto* 'no one', ни > Ing. *ni* 'no' and 'ни вот' > Ing. nivot 'not there'. Ilkka Savijärvi, mentioned earlier for his work on Russian cognate influence in the lesser Balto-Finnic languages, also illustrates the multiple syntactic positions in which the loan particle ни/ni can be found in the same sentence, namely before pronouns and adverbs, but more recently before subjects and verbs of both finite and infinite forms. (2001: 115-19)

In the Balto-Finnic dialects negation is a free, inflectional morpheme showing agreement morphology. It inherits its verbal features through a different process than Indo-European languages and is part of an inflectional paradigm of a negation verb carrying the features of number and person. Since negation is universal to human speech, and simplification of it can be treated as a culture-specific phenomenon for postulating intra-linguistic syntactic ordering within the Finno-Ugric family, it can be said that once the dominant language's negation features govern, linguistic decay is already systemic and language loss is imminent for the indigenous culture.

4.14 Conclusion

Continued scholarly observation is vital in documenting, preserving and understanding the place of minority dialects within the Finnish family of languages. Correct assumptions do not always lead to accurate predictions concerning the direction that languages, viz. speakers, ultimately take. Tom McArthur succinctly reminds us that, "Languages don't die. People die." (lecture 2002) The situation between the Ingrian dialects and Russian cannot be equated to that

between, say, French and German or Turkish and Greek. None of these languages face extinction any time soon and the effects of various borrowing processes on both sides of their border(s) will continually be available for extended study as long as the demand for these languages never wanes. Loanword study is of particular significance to a language or dialect whose speakers are disappearing. It is hoped that the above results may contribute to parallel studies measuring the involvement of Russian linguistic elements in other Finno-Ugric and non-Finno-Ugric languages.

CHAPTER 5

ETHNOCENTRIC INFLUENCES IN LEXICOGRAPHY

5.0 Introduction

As many post-Soviet era Uralic languages and dialects struggle to survive, the need for legitimacy weighs heavily in convincing individuals that maintenance is worthwhile. From a pragmatic viewpoint, Ingrian can be considered too languorous for any true revitalization efforts to succeed, as are Livonian, Vepsian, Ludian, Votian and Karelian surrounding the Gulf of Finland basin, and the Ume Saami in Lapland. Continuing in the same direction will eventually be Khanty, Komi Zyrian, Ezrya Mordvin and Hill (Western) Mari of Central Asia, and Kamas, Slekup and Nenets of Siberia. In this chapter the role of the dictionary will be examined as a legitimizing tool in post-Soviet lexicography for minority speech communities.

5.1 Legitimization

Legitimizing a nonstandard language variety partially entails its elevation to a higher literary or academic status. This can be achieved both internal and external to the speech group via creative writing and publishing, followed by marketing and lobbying for language or dialect recognition.[51] Successful examples include the establishment of African-American language and literature programs in colleges and universities throughout the U.S., generating such works in linguistics and lexicography as Lisa J. Green's *African American English: A Linguistic Introduction,* Joey Lee Dillard's *Lexicon of Black English*, and *The African Heritage of*

[51] The assumption here is that the language or dialect is alive and well, and that speakers have a desire to propagate their attitude toward maintenance and beyond.

American English by Joseph E. Holloway and Winifred K. Vass. Similarly, creating a meaningful stage for social and academic expression of varied Latino-American studies in speech, translation, contemporary Hispanic literature, second language acquisition, etc., has been undertaken by sociolinguists like Ilan Stavans, who recognizes the interplay of bilingualism and biculturalism by legitimizing the enormity of evidence in his text *Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language*. Also aiding in nonstandard language elevation is the promotion and support of programs such as the University of Cincinnati's Studies in Latin American, Chicano, and U.S. Latino Theatre or the annual conferences on Latina/o Critical Legal Theory, which the University of Denver's School of Law sponsors. Eventually the language and its speakers are able to gain economic strength and access to the political arena, the definitive benefits of which include a greater community input of the minority's language initiatives and parameters.

Nevertheless it is widely understood that the dictionary ultimately lends fundamental credence to a linguistic entity, whether standard or non-standard. As authoritative reference texts, dictionaries fulfill the role of language promotion and legitimacy. Not having a common source of reference, a speech community may fall prey to influence from a predatory language or dialect, e.g. the current threat of Votic (a Balto-Finnic language first mentioned in historical, Slavonic chronicles of the eleventh century) dying out and being replaced by Russian. According to The Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire, only 62 Votes remain in 1989. "Votes have never had a written language, or a schooling or literature of their own. In the 1930s, the Votes were the only minority in northwestern Russia for whom no written language was created. The aspirations in the 1920s of the Votic intellectual, Dimitri Tsvetkov, in Estonia, were also unsuccessful." (Kolga, et al. 2001) Through a spirited effort as recent as 1990, the first Votic dictionary was published in Tallinn, far too late for the speech community to benefit. Its

purpose serves simply as an official recording of the past, from which historical linguists or socio-typologists may gain. One such linguist specializing in Votic phonology, Petri Lauerma, writes that Russianisms indisputably affect the reference work compilation of a non-related minority language in which culturally dominant and extensively preferred L2 loanwords are systemically unavoidable:

> Aivan kaikkia vatjalaisissa teksteissä tavattavia harmoniaa rikkovia venäläisiä muotoja en kuitenkann käsittele, sillä osa näistä ei ole tulosta lainautumisesta vaan koodinvaihdosta, siirtymästä venäjään, joskin lainautumisen ja koodinvaihdon raja jää usein tulkinnanvaraiseksi, etenkin silloin, kun siirtymä kielestä toiseen on ainoastaan yhden sanan mittainen. (194)
>
> Extreme harmonic violations of Russian forms in many Votic texts are not considered because a part of them are not the result of borrowing but of code switching to Russian. Even if the border between borrowing and code switching remains often at the discretion of translation, mainly when changing from one language to another, it is merely the length of one word.[52] (translation mine)

5.2 Lexicography as socio-cultural tool

Sydney I. Landau, noted lexicographer and former Editorial Director of the North American Branch of Cambridge University Press, has published a comprehensive treatment of dictionary compilation and use entitled Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography. A discussion of the dictionary as a reflection of social values is included in both his first and second editions (1984 and 2001, respectively) yet the topic is handled markedly different in each instance. He illustrates accusations of bias, particularly in older, unrevised dictionaries, citing for comparison the 1952, 1962, 1968 and 1988 editions of the Thorndike-Barnhart Beginning Dictionary as being 'apt to reflect the cultural backgrounds and habits of the editors, especially when these are concordant with the dominant ethos and prejudices of the period." (2001: 421) As

[52] A more detailed discussion on Russian loanwords and code-switching in the Ingrian-speaking region of St. Petersburg is covered in the previous chapter.

far as cultural attitudes and prejudices of a past era are concerned, Landau fails to take into consideration what can be referred to as 'regime' dictionaries—such as those of the former Soviet Union, published with the intent to narrowly direct and propagandize information, authoritatively disguised as a tool for learning and substantiating.

In the first edition, Landau's treatment of social values and the dictionary are limited to a discussion disproving the length of definitions as having anything to do with denying the poor and undereducated access to knowledge. His candid discussion on upper-class bias unintentionally reveals the way in which lexicographers fall prey to social stigmata of responsibility and resort to subjective comments, e.g. "Upper-class usage and values are much more evident in British dictionaries than in American." (1984: 304) and, "No one is in league to distort meaning to keep the poor and uneducated oppressed." (1984: 303) In a similar spirit Landau stands by the non-ethnocentric premise seventeen years later: "To the extent that corpora are based chiefly on written texts, they will chiefly reflect the values and attitudes of the educated, privileged classes of society." (2001: 424)

Corpus collections since the mid-1990s consist of numerous collections of spoken data, parsed and tagged electronically with optional databases appended to each sampling for background and sociological source referencing.[53] Therefore, the boundaries for absolute categorization are virtually non-existent today, as many more genres of written and spoken evidence are stored and become available, especially for 'subordinate' languages. Landau has

[53] Examples of spoken corpora include: *The American Spoken Corpus* of circa 2 million words, *The Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew* of circa 5 million words, and *The Corpus of Spoken Frisian* of circa 10 million words. Clearly some minority languages are challenging the status quo regarding a more comprehensive linguistic representation, due not only to technological advances in storage and access but also to generous governmental/academic funding. The United States has generally not invested much in corpus studies since the first computerized English corpus of written text, the *Brown Corpus* of approximately 1 million words by W. Nelson Francis and Henry Kučera at Brown University in the 1960s.

ostensibly realigned his original deliberations on inequity and distortion, as many lexicographers feel obliged to do in the age of political correctness. The areas of discussion concerning not only social values but also legal considerations had been upgraded from the "A miscellany" chapter in the earlier edition to a chapter in its own right in the second: "Legal and ethical issues in lexicography," thus emphasizing the growing importance of such issues and the repercussions of sloppy lexicographic practices.

While Landau's second edition is well moderated toward contemporary concerns, he overlooks the early gestative period of lexicography that interests those in the field working on documenting the rarer, less 'advertised' languages remaining in the world. It is the freshness of newly recorded and transcribed texts that provide the foundation for lexicographers to develop a variety of reference works in dialectology and nonstandard language documentation. Unlike English-only or English-*Language X*-English dictionaries, those produced from rigorous fieldwork in some remote corner of the globe are probably not labored over as eventual 'articles for sale'. Landau oftentimes stresses the fact that the dictionary is a marketable item today. Ultimately, it is restricted by usage according to social dicta and commanded to brevity at the expense of quality over quantity regarding word count or number of entries. Overlooked in both editions is the notion that dictionaries can be produced for archival purposes alone. The age of digital storage takes the cumbersomeness out of financing the production of research-only dictionaries, e.g. for dead or moribund languages.

In disagreement to Landau's comment on the previous page concerning written corpora reflecting the values and attitudes of the upper class, it is written corpora that comprise the inner workings of new dictionaries for non-literary languages as well, which are far from holding any

privileged status in society.[54] 'Non-literary persons' does not signify 'non-literate persons', the latter for whom historical written corpora do exist albeit in the context of transcribed speech or songs. A non-literary language or dialect, as Ingrian-Finnish, may have a determinate wealth of written representation in the form of news articles, light poetry, emigrant stories or editorials in church papers, but not a rich cultural heritage logged for future citation withdrawal. Landau does not take into consideration that some linguistic communities are predominantly one-class societies and that it is possible to obtain a representative cross-section from sources prevailing outside the privileged sector of language and literature. The following quote refers to the cultivation of output, but by whom? Is it the compiler who in earlier days of lexicography invented the definitions or who nowadays chooses which electronic corpus definitions to employ? "Although contemporary dictionaries generally disavow any intention to improve or correct anyone's speech, they are nonetheless powerful forces for the preservation and dissemination of a distinctly cultivated form of expression." (1984: 303) Is it truly the role of the dictionary to improve or correct a person's speech? Furthermore, is introspection the proper way to preserve and disseminate specific language or dialect characteristics? The threatened speech community must earnestly ask these questions of its speakers if any true maintenance can be achieved. If in the case of Ingrian-Finnish, with very little academic representation, the lexicographic endeavors are not prescriptive enough, then the dictionary is consigned to a type of legacy work and fails as a managing testimonial for true revival. Whether compiled for pedagogy or posterity, a minority language glossary or dictionary will add irrefutably to the cultural assets of the speech community by distinguishing itself uniquely and more exclusively

[54] Some languages of the world may never exhibit lexical evidence of a register reflecting an upper echelon of their society or tribe, which cannot be determined from dictionary or corpus studies. Intonation, gestures or some other prosodic features might be employed to accomplish socio-cultural or –economic differentiation.

than the surrounding hegemonic texts of the majority language.[55] Regardless of the inequalities of regional varieties of Balto-Finnish exhibited under ethnocentric practices in lexicography[56], specifically by the central Russian publishers, field work continues through the eyes of the culture boasting of the richest recorded history combined with current socio-economic superiority. "In a diachronic sense, ethnocentrism consists in the assumption that the history of the language should seek to explain the dominant linguistic categories of the present. In a synchronic sense, it consists in the assumption that the language of others is to be explained in terms of one's own." (Benson 207)

5.3 The birth of two Ingrian dictionaries

Promotion is perceived as a central linguistic attitude in the eyes of most speakers who are concerned about the status of their speech community. It is also an emotional endeavor on behalf of those outside the speech community to rally sentiment on the inside—meaning those who have some sort of stake in the survivability of the language or dialect, e.g. journalists, politicians, and particularly linguists all have reasons for investing in the speech community, which will be discussed at length in the final chapter. However, aiding in promotion was a movement by Finnish and Estonian linguists to document the minor Balto-Finnic languages during the second half of the 20th century. Aili Nenola's Ingrian lament collection on marriage (273-542), conscription (543-588), dirges (101-172) and a miscellany of farewells, rites of passage, birth, an unhappy life, orphans, evil sons-in-law, for young people taken to Germany,

[55] For instance, Reinhard Hartmann singles out three leaders in European lexicography, although twelve others with significant contributions exist. He cites the British, French and German as being paramount because they have established traditions, offer university courses in lexicography, present at conferences, publish more frequently, etc. (2000; 2) Therefore, the lesser languages face continual competition for representation and authority.

[56] Benson cites headword selection, labeling, definition, and the selection and construction of illustrative examples as evidence of unjust treatment in English language dictionary compilation. (207)

etc. (589-693) were recorded and transcribed while the remaining eldest speakers were still alive. This does not suffice for consideration as a literary language, albeit secular and vernacular periodicals appeared and cyclically reappeared over the decades. However, the two published dictionaries have proven to be the guiding light for internal and external legitimacy. For the purpose of this study, internal legitimacy is defined as a personal reference to how the speech community views itself and the language that represents them, while external legitimacy refers to the elevated status of the language and its speakers in the eyes of other closely related dialects and languages, as well as in the eyes of neighboring, non-related speech communities.

The first dictionary was published in 1971 during Brezhnev's presidency and the second did not appear until a generation later in 2003, thirteen years after the fall of the Soviet empire. The former is titled, Inkeroismurteiden sanakirja 'Dictionary of Ingrian Dialects' by Ruben Nirvi and serves primarily as a bilingual dictionary between Finnish and the Ingrian dialects. (see appendix I) The latter text, titled Pohjois-Inkerin murresanakirja 'North-Ingrian dialect dictionary' by Veera Ollikainen, is intended specifically as a translation dictionary for Russian-speaking users. (see appendix J) The dictionaries will henceforth be referred to in this study as IMSK and PIMS, respectively.

Both texts are significantly more than field dictionaries, which are typical first attempts at extracting the 'language' from 'speech' for a minor language or dialect with minimal or no written history. No extensive written corpora exist. For Ingrian, only a limited number of traditional half-sung/half-spoken lamentations have recently been transcribed from earlier recordings of the eldest surviving speakers for research in folklore and mythology. Although invaluable from a cultural-preservation perspective, the amount and variability of vocabulary

represented by these laments and dirges, which are largely written metaphorically, cannot alone contribute to a lexicographic database.

It is widely agreed that the efforts of dictionary research, compilation and publication in a minority-language undoubtedly enhance the literary stock of the language. Moreover, such efforts enhance speaker attitude, empowering members of the linguistic community with the knowledge that their heritage language matters. As a text reflecting the outlook and values of those producing it, we presume a dictionary mirrors the mindset of the linguistic group as a whole. Therefore, does this necessarily mean such reference works carry some degree of social responsibility? For non-LWCs (Languages of Wider Communication), as for Ingrian in the post-Soviet era, the dictionary disseminates socio-cultural preferences and biases in a way specific to Eastern Balto-Finnic culture. Having been published prior to 1989, IMSK contains many Slavic lexifiers particular to Soviet speech and rhetoric, including many finnicized Russian loanwords. (For example, 'to have breakfast': *safkata* for *zavtrakat* and 'holiday': *praaznikka* for *praznik*.) Nirvi compiled his dictionary within the academic era of Soviet inspiration, but used citations spanning Czarist to post-modern times.

5.3.1 Comparative dictionary structure

In the IMSK of 1971, Nirvi commences the fore matter with a geographic explanation, followed by a short discussion of dialect differences in the region, including the relationship to Karelian. Then, Estonian researchers are commended for their recent contribution and greater interest in the field than anyone else, and a mini-bibliography of major works in the area of linguistics dealing with Ingrian is cited. He mentions the importance of migration patterns during and after World War II, which strongly affected dialect areas. Also, linguists had trouble returning to the region to conduct fieldwork, especially since most parishes were emptied of their

inhabitants and replaced by ethnic Russians. Dialectal discrepancies in vocabulary were likely due to whether a village from which the tokens came was Orthodox or Lutheran. Moreover, it's not surprising that 25% of the headwords in this text are Russian loans. Nirvi's grammar explanations have been criticized because they follow too often a set formula.[57] Also, his method of translation is weak due to artificial phraseology. Citations from collections of earlier scholars were quoted and credited 'as is', i.e. in the research language of that time. Therefore, included are several German translations from the late 19th century by linguist Volmari Porkka and some Estonian translations from the 20th century by Julius Mägiste, Arvo Laanest and Paul Ariste.

Veera Ollikainen, compiler of the 2002 dictionary, concentrates primarily on two sub dialects, one of which the author spoke as a child. The work is more of a personal undertaking—a recollection work--revealed by the fact that in addition to transcribed recordings as resources to construct the wordlist, her mother's diary and letters between friends were incorporated. She mentions the tragic fate of speakers under Soviet rule, paying particular homage to the thinning out of the linguistic community through deportation to Siberia. Those who were interviewed and tape recorded, for example, revealed leaving their homes with nothing, not even personal effects. All they truly 'owned' was their language and how they spoke it, which idealistically remains preserved in undamaged memory. Her main purpose for bringing the dictionary to fruition is to illustrate the type of people who spoke these dialects during the peaceful time of rustic life. Ollikainen apologizes in the fore matter to the Finnish-only readers of the dictionary, admitting that her own skills lack the ability for descriptive examples in Finnish, the translations of which

[57] It should also be noted that he followed only one grammar book as a basis for consultation, Vilnius Junus' *Gramatikka ja Ortografia*, Parts I and II (1936).

were too cumbersome an undertaking and as a result, Russian prevailed. However, the dialect is similar enough to the matrix language that Finnish readers should not encounter many problems.

Both dictionaries were found to serve not only as a tool for translation but more so as a conveyor of real-life definitions illustrating the collective Ingrian mindset and daily existence via terminology depicting wedding and death rituals, tools and their usage in the home or in the fields, religious holidays and symbols, clothing specific to the climate and terrain, names of plants and potions, etc.

> "Sanakirja on, paitsi kielen tulkitsija, myös kieltä puhuvan yhteisön ajatusten ja elämänmuotojen ilmentäjä. Sanat ja asiat kuuluvat siinä yhteen."
> Aimo Turunen

> The dictionary is not only an interpreter of language, it also expresses the speech community's thoughts and aspects of life. Words and facts belong together therein. (translation mine)

More so than with the large bilingual or learner English dictionaries (or with French, Spanish or German dictionaries as second-language learning tools), the Ingrian dialect dictionaries stand among the best reference examples of words and events in a more descriptive sociolinguistic context, affording the outsider a glimpse into this nearly extinct cultural entity. As holistic texts each can be considered truly didactic in nature, reflecting the dominant language influence of Russian as an inescapable part of Balto-Finnic culture.

Ingrian-Finnish texts do not reflect the dilemma of becoming fundamentally entrenched in the cultural melting pots of linguistic majorities around the globe, as do the World English and Learner English dictionaries in current publication. In particular, the French and German bilingual reference works oftentimes succumb to romanticized and/or stereotypical citations and illustrations. This is often true of the hyperbolic slang dictionaries, as well as of those meant for the novice/tourist speaker. Most widely believed is the perception that a dictionary represents

concrete evidence of the language (past or present) and acts as a comprehensive authority of language usage. This notion of propriety is genuine across the spectrum of language populations, from the international English community to the remote linguistic islands of Uralic in Central Asia. Therefore it rightfully remains an integral component of a community's cultural identity as it is representative of their world view[58].

5.4 Soviet influence in the lexicon

Worthwhile noting is that the two Ingrian dialect dictionaries discussed in this chapter had no great social expectation to fulfill—their linguistic contents would neither be all-inclusive or -exclusive of typifying cultural elements, nor an exhaustive representation of spoken Ingrian. Although Russian-language dictionaries with clearly ideological goals were in constant governmental publication, the Ingrian-related speech communities never felt an obligation to produce such texts for social justification or ideological proselytizing. They were on the receiving end of the ethnic educating game. A comparison between the blatantly propaganda-oriented East and the more objectively-oriented West German lexicographic practice is worth consideration. In contrasting culture-bound definitions, the differences in approach are quite apparent in, e.g. Meyers Neues Lexikon Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut, 1972-1978 and Kleines Wörterbuch des DDR-Wortschatzes by Michael Kinne in Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1980.

The first reference work was published in the former (East) German Democratic Republic and the second in the Federal Republic of (West) Germany during that era, providing a socialist

[58] The 'worldview' refers to that at the time of dictionary compilation, which may even differ from that at the time of publication. Hardly considered static, a group's or individual's worldview naturally fluctuates, and this must be considered in any diachronic approach to interpretation.

viewpoint on many issues via neologisms, Russian loans and the avid use of acronyms. The list below provides evidence of Russian influence in 20th-century German word formation:

Elternaktiv 'parents dedicated to the betterment of school children, actively engaged in field trips, outings, festivals and report card distribution'

Pioniernachmittag 'afternoon meeting of Young Pioneers every Wednesday'

Spartakiade (спартакиада) 'athletic meeting/competition'

Datsche (дача) 'cabin in the countryside'

BePo < Bereitschaftspolizei 'swat team'

PHS < Parteihochschule 'a nationalized university operating within an ideologically leftist framework'

Similarities of ideological infiltration can be found in the Ingrian dialect dictionaries examined in this study, however, acronyms are lacking as a part of the vocabulary. Whether or not this is an indication of non-use or non-existence is difficult to determine. The lexicographers chose not to include acronyms, and abbreviations are used exclusively for grammar-related explanations typically found within the notational microstructure of a dictionary.

Table 9: Ideologically derived loans found in Ingrian dialects

arestantti < арестант 'prisoner'

hosain < хозяин 'master'

rojia < строить 'to build'

tankki < танк 'tank'

kolhoossi < колхоз 'kolkohz' or 'collective farm'

According to Ranko Bugarski, a linguist from the former Yugoslavia, "The linguistic distinctions may serve as symbols of different national sentiments, social values and political orientations." (44). In addition to the Ingrian-Finnish examples of translated Soviet jargon above were numerous other loans used in the daily work and home life, as was illustrated in Chapter 4. Evidently the dictionary is deemed authoritative not only in written and possibly spoken matters, but also as an authority on the geo-political era reflected during the time of research gathering and publishing. Beginning as early as the eighteenth century, the dictionary (monolingual or not) assumed an authoritarian role when, for example, Samuel Johnson in England and Noah Webster in the United States sought to align the language and establish its orthography. "It is from this stratum that many people's sense of the dictionary as a provider of 'correct' information derives." (Jackson 2000) Bilingual dictionaries, however, may be bound by the constraints of translation and target language limitations. Neither dictionary in this study serves the monolingual user, since no speaker remains only fluent in Ingrian or Ingrian-Finnish. Bilingualism has flourished in the Balto-Finnic basin, particularly as a precursor to language death for the smaller branches of the Finno-Ugric tree. Dictionary research and production will remain a bilingual endeavor as it gradually approaches one of purely historical documentation for these family members and interrelated dialects.

5.5 Conclusion

A solid lexicographic contribution during the post-Soviet era is quite empowering to a language minority. Today the minute Ingrian-Finnish speech communities in Russia are urged to preserve what remains, with the help of sporadic university funding and Finnish government support. However, it is the Lutheran church that internationally continues the lead in reassembling the remnants of Ingria. Missionary work remains largely in Finnish with support

via religious and communal publications in the dialects[59]. These minority speakers now sense they have been given legitimacy if not completely by Russia, then by the outside world to regard their language or dialect as a distinct tributary to the stream of human cultural development.

Perhaps social responsibility in lexicography should be viewed as an individual measurement of acceptability. It is ultimately the choice of individuals to express themselves when consulting either the mono- or bilingual dictionary, using the text as a guiding reference. For speakers of Ingrian dialects and for those of Ingrian-Finnish lineage, the two lexicographic works examined in this chapter stand as primary verification of Ingrian cultural identity, with which the dialects are so closely tied.

[59] Religion and bilingualism as related to Ingrian-Finnish will be addressed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6

THE REGLIO-LINGUISTIC FACET OF INGRIA

> Ingria! The grand and 'holy' region enveloping Petersburg, inhabited by our kindred people. Even the very name makes the heart of every Finnish enthusiast of ethnology and folklore swell with joy. Ingria, like Russian Karelia, has yielded us our greatest folkloric treasures. –Samuli Paulaharju, 1919.

6.0 Introduction

The power that religion has over the survivability of an indigenous language is questionable. Traditionally, the imperialist or dominant language bears the linguistic cross of disseminating religious values and customs, as was true with Spanish and Catholicism or Arabic and Islam. Alternatively, religion was oftentimes used as an ethnocidal tool to expunge indigenous languages and cultures from their homeland: Spanish language use and the decimation of native South Americans offers an example from the distant past while today, Arabic speaking Palestinians and Hebrew speaking Israelis may very well fight to the calamitous end over Judaic or Islamic supremacy in the Middle East. In addition to effusing explicit traditions and morals or being employed as a pretext for waging war, religion has furthermore been decisive in promoting an erudite manifestation of learning in semi- or non-literate societies. "Literacy is often introduced into a community by the spread of a religion" (Crystal 388). The statement may be factual, for example, in Polish communities, which adopted the Latin script to promote the Catholic faith and schooling, but perhaps not so with Islam, whose most conservative interpretations discourage the further education of women.

Does religion interfere with language planning or is the opposite more often true? In the case of Ingria, the introduction and inherent division of religious beliefs in the region beginning

nearly 400 years ago dictated the course of long-term survivability of Lutheran Ingrian and Orthodox Ingrian as distinctive linguistic members in the Balto-Finnic family. Moreover, incompatible and changing alphabets, as significant symbols of a group's cultural identity in regions of linguistic competition and conflict, can be considered ominous to the survivability of the language. As Polish was cited earlier for adopting the Latin alphabet, for which it was hardly suited, other examples of orthographic Romanization are quickly gaining in global popularity with such languages as Hindi (English influence) and Chinese (pin-yin alphabet).[60] The orthographic debate regarding Ingrian in the 1920s-30s, when the *language* was about to become a literary vehicle, was addressed in the previous chapter on lexicographic issues.

6.1 Ingria's place in the religious neighborhood

For a small indigenous entity to maintain linguistic viability, it cannot endure as an island over time, specifically when it has been targeted by atheistic-driven strategies toward ethnic cleansing. In the Ingrian-Finnish world, religion had a diffusing effect lasting centuries under the natural conditions of societal cause and effect, except it could neither compete nor defend itself more recently under the severe autarchical thumb of Soviet aggression and annihilation: "The oppression of the Russian language and milieu was neutralized by Lutheranism and the proximity of their mother country, Finland…it took the Soviet Communist regime to exterminate the Ingrians morally as well as physically" (Kolga, et al.144). Although the above quote is for the most part accurate, it leaves out the link between language and spirituality. This chapter shall demonstrate the Lutheran Church's role as far more than a neutralizer in keeping the strands of the Ingrian nation together, albeit in a historical sense of accessibility. We could very well be

[60] It cannot be stated that these larger language entities have truly been threatened by Anglicization. For minority languages and dialects, the situation may be quite serious as dominant contact languages persistently influence the subordinate linguistic paradigm.

addressing a tangible, living language and culture today had it not been for the most devastating western expansions into Balto-Finnic territory by the Russian empire in the eighteenth century, followed by systematic ethnocide in the twentieth century.

6.1.1 Historical insight into the Lutheran-language connection

Sweden introduced its religious canons in Ingria after 1617, after the Stobolvo Peace Treaty afforded membership in the Swedish dominion. It is from this point on, until St. Petersburg was founded, that Ingria could be easily located on the map and that Ingrian-Finnish became linguistically distinct. Early in the seventeenth century a large population of Lutheran Finns, also known as Narvusi Finns for the initial areas of congregation in the vicinity of the Narva and Luga Rivers and along the Gulf of Finland, settled the first villages in western Ingria and thus represent the oldest and most prominent dialect of Ingrian-Finnish, Savakko. It is incontrovertibly in this dialect that some of the first evidence of formal proselytizing can be found. Savijarvi (1998: 274) states that a Finnish Catechism was written in the Cyrillic alphabet already in 1644, clearly for the intent of reaching out to the native Ingrian population. In presuming a low literacy rate of such a predominately agrarian, peasant population, one might infer that the Catechism was largely inaccessible to the majority. Rote memorization of song and verse was undoubtedly the representative method of religious teaching in illiterate communities.

The Swedish ruler Gustav II enacted laws such as attending Lutheran-only services in order to more closely bind the new part of the dominion to its mother country. According to The Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire (Kolga, et al.143), Orthodox Ingrians (as well as Votes) were promised money and reductions in taxes to convert to Lutheranism with the ultimate goal of becoming Finnish. Their responsive action, however, seemed indifferent, since the

congregations continued to grow, but almost exclusively with the voluntary influx of peasants from Finland.[61] "By means of law and religion, Finnish peasants were kept faithful and subservient to the Swedish crown" (Mantila 49). However, when Sweden began governing its new frontier acquisition in the Baltic, the indigenous Orthodox population deserted Ingria in fear of Lutheran conversion during the subsequently enormous mass of Lutheran peasants from Savo and Northern Karelia. The refugees moved to Tver[62], northwest of Moscow on the Volga River, and became known as Tver Karelians. In spite of the diaspora, an Ingrian Lutheran diocese was formed in 1641 and by 1643, schools were established in every county seat. After fourteen years the tiny region could boast of fifty-eight congregations, thirty-six churches and forty-two parsons. "Due to Lutheranism," with the earliest school records dating from 1632, "the Ingrians' education has been good" (Kolga, et al. 143; 145).

The turning point leading to the dark years of the 1700s was Sweden's military loss to Moscow and the establishment of St. Petersburg as the new western frontier of Russian Orthodoxy and dominance. After Peter the Great laid claim to Ingria as a province of the new Russian capital in 1702, Ingria ceased to officially exist save for ecclesiastic necessity. Russians arrived in their new western frontier to settle St. Petersburg and its environs. Ingria soon overflowed with these newcomers and new, Russian-named villages dotted the countryside. Author and historian Pekka Nevalainen describes this dark era for the Ingrians as a time filled with misery, destitution and brutalization in which the shortage of priests was dire. (Nevalainen

[61] It is known that Russian nobility and high state officials in the region desired workers and servants from Finland, and that Sweden often used Ingria as a place to which people were deported. (Kolga, et al; 143) There is no reference to criminals here, although it can conceivably be assumed that was the case. Therefore, in contradistinction to a one-class society, perhaps there were indeed minor distinctions among different levels of existence: Those in service who worked for the upper-level Russians, those in the countryside who worked the land for themselves, and those deportees who apparently did not fit in with or contribute to mainstream Swedish society of the seventeenth century.

160) Moreover, The Ingrians were permanently severed from their Eastern Finnic relatives, including from the Votes and Vepsians, who had already begun to assimilate linguistically and culturally into the Russian domain.

During the time in which Finland was a Grand Duchy of Russia (1809-1917), the Lutheran Ingrians had never been ethno-politically closer to the Finns. With the exception of Hungary, all Finnic nations had been under some type of Czarist rule with very few having been afforded the luxury of political and cultural autonomy. In Ingria, there was a growing sense of cultural identity and pride linked to Finland, with purposeful linguistic evidence found in church publications. The establishment of a theological seminary in Kolppana in 1863 allowed the training of parsons and teachers, which not only resulted in the spreading of the Lutheran doctrine, but must have also aided in formulating a determination for national identity.

Yet darker years fell once again upon Ingrian Lutheran communities, as the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 set new guidelines for the eventual eradication of religious life in and around what was then being called Petrograd. Each registered church in the Ingrian province was obliged to submit a complete list of the names and addresses of its members. "Pastors were regularly subject to discipline, rebuke and open threats by the KGB [Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti 'Soviet State Security Committee'] whenever church activity began to appear too evangelistic or successful" (Haukka 116). Once church buildings were closed and abandoned, the spirit and unique dialect of the Ingrian-Finns kept them unified until Josef Stalin accomplished the conclusive fragmentation of the group into the early 1950s and forever erased the indigenous attributes of the region from the face of the earth. "In 1937, just preceding the total dispersion of the Ingrians, all Finnish schools were russified, most of the intellectuals killed and the Ingrian cultural life completely extinguished" (Kolga, et al. 145). The German-Finnish-

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[62] Tver was named *Kalinin* 1934-1990.

Estonian parish in Hatsina, situated 40km south of Leningrad, was the last operating Lutheran church in the Soviet Union, before closing its doors in December 1938.

Close ties were inexorably fostered between Lutheran Ingrian residents and the Finnish fatherland via church services held over radio and shortwave, which included readings from the Finnish Bible and the singing of Finnish hymns. "Luterilainen usko ja suomen kieli ovat Inkerissa aina liittyneet toisiinsa" (Pallonen v) 'In Ingria, the Lutheran religion and the Finnish language have always been intertwined' (translation mine). Bibles translated in the Finnish language were smuggled across frontier roadways and railways at great personal risk, given that they were considered serious and detestable propaganda by the Soviets. Lutheran Ingrians were considered a threat to the atheistic platform because their religion, along with their Finno-Ugric language, kept them united even when family members were being executed or nocturnally hauled away to concentration camps. Their language furthered unwarranted intimidation as many Lutheran hymns and sermons began to be heard in the minority dialect. Religion was in direct competition with non-believers and seemed an ostensibly intimidating factor to the Soviet ideal of culture and society. The intensity of religio-ethnic and religio-linguistic prejudices held by those in local and national Soviet administrations was close to tyrannical levels, as came to fruition with the first church (and school) closings and subsequent persecutions of the *kauhuvalta* 'reign of terror.'

6.2 Challenged by atheism and communism

It is not simply dialect glosses which demarcate diverse ethnic differences in Ingria, but also religious borders, i.e. Lutheranism versus Orthodoxy and later, versus Atheism[63]. There was

[63] Atheism may also be considered a form of a religious faith since it is a 'belief' in the nonexistence of a God or a 'belief' in the absence of religion. As the *Dictionary of Religions* affirms, atheism is: "A form of religion which rejects the reality or ultimacy of all super-human beings" (Hinnells 54). It can be argued that Communists indeed had religion, incarnated in their iconic super-

no logic in the decision to splinter the Ingrian people and spread them throughout Russia, except to prohibit uncontrolled contact among them. (Haukka 33) Presumably this included the banning of religious congregation and prohibiting the fellowship occurring in their respective dialects. Hannu Haukka, a Canadian-Finnish theologian and researcher, succinctly describes the fanatic belief in communism: "…it was hostile ideology which could only be sustained by fear." And it furthermore appeared to him that the Soviet system "…cursed the Russian people with a system that robbed them materially, while impoverishing their spirit with deceit and corruption" (59).

Dialectic materialism[64], understood as the study of atheism, was mandatory for all students and necessitated a passing grade in order to continue one's studies. There was no theological faculty in any Soviet university, and no discussion of religion or faith-based queries was allowed. Since Stalinized society was heavily structured and media controlled, "It was virtually impossible for a student to have access to any religious material in any positive form (Haukka 39)…the underlying philosophy of the Soviet educational system was then to produce citizens loyal to the party and capable of contributing to the material growth of the State." (Haukka 199) It appears dialectic materialism created a religious vacuum which led in the Soviet era to deceit and corruption as it was being promoted over spiritual enlightenment. Restrictive language and censorship was popularly employed in sanctioning a hostile ideology,

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beings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin; devoutly following in doctrine, in symbolism, and in holiday and feast.

[64] A political term coined in the late 19th century and according to Dictionary of Theories, "Dialectical materialism was an ambitious and almost abstract attempt by Marx's successors to give an account of all human and natural events, and was subsequently largely discarded" (147). The definition here presumes the current belief is an ineffective and inadequate line of thought. Dialectic materialism, however, can better be coupled with the definition of historical materialism: "The material circumstances of society, the manner in which its members get a living and the control of their resources for doing so, are the chief influences upon its history" (*ibid*., 255). In view of contentious atheistic theory, religion appears to have played no role in influencing history for the better.

which was undoubtedly fueled by fear against the church. It follows that endorsing the nonexistence of religion was utilized by the dominant culture for politically manipulative purposes and thus very likely had an effect on the use and misuse of liturgical language.

Children are the benchmark of measurement by which the ethno-linguistic health and status of a speech community can be interpreted. "Children in the Soviet Union were considered to be "most holy," a precious segment of society not to be tampered with or contaminated by dissident ideology" (Haukka 40). In other words, religious instruction of minors was strictly forbidden and punishable by law. If a minority group could maintain its linguistic identity via the teaching of a catechism or via sermons on Sundays or via hymnal and prayer recitation, then the government was powerless in limiting their language transmission from older generations in the church, who handed down such linguistic traditions. Authorities only had the power to inhibit the setting in which religio- linguistic routines were held. Once the youngest Ingrian speakers were denied access to their heritage language outside the home (i.e. church, school, community) and began total assimilation into the dominant cultural-linguistic sphere of Russian, there was apparently little chance of the group perpetuating its unique identity via autochthonous speech or group dialect characteristics for much longer.

6.2.1 Lutheranism and language preservation

Consider the church's role in language preservation among the emigrant Norwegians in the 1800-1900s. According to historian and linguist Einar Haugen, the primary reason for leaving Norway was not political oppression, famine, over-population, etc., but rather for social betterment, of which religious dissent was partially involved. "The rural folk were a proud, freeholding peasantry, literate and Lutheran, but without much share in the government of their country." (Haugen 1954:19) Although the primary reason for leaving was economic, religious

dissatisfaction was present and did have its consequences. Hans Nilsen Hauge, a lay preacher who opposed the established privileges of officials, was subjected to persecution and a lengthy prison confinement. (Haugen 1954: 20) However, by the time the United States began restricting immigration after World War I, immigrant nationalities had made dramatic linguistic changes in religious and communicative sectors of their communities. Foreign-language newspaper circulations steadily declined as the religious community became obliged to cater more to its younger, pro-English-only speaking generations in order to maintain church membership. With immigration stifled, it was apparent the scale of bilingualism was no longer in balance within the community and that the mother-tongue would soon be threatened with an increasingly diminished number of speakers. In addition, it was believed that more immigration would signify a lowering of living standards and so the process of Americanization, especially for the youngest-born of the immigrants, went into full swing and people abandoned their language and their traditions. However, Norwegian immigrants held the Lutheran Church as their most enduring institution: "Here the Norwegian pioneer found a natural center for his social and religious cravings…[choosing] to live near one another and to create churches, newspapers, and societies which might minister to their own special needs. These they patronized to whatever extent they felt a craving for a common bond with one another and with their Norwegian past." (Haugen 1954: 33-34) The key emphasis in illustrating the sustainability of the speech community rests with the church, which often supplies the social outlet for the needs of its immigrant members and in so doing, provide the venue in which language and dialect may dynamically flourish. Conceivably the church, as in Ingria prior to 1917, played a dual role as a non-sermon-related gathering place for some communities, fulfilling the needs of buyers, sellers, civil planners, and most important of all, the spreading of anything newsworthy.

6.2.2 Trial and testimony

The Tuija Saarinen's biography of an Ingrian-Finnish family in a collection titled, Uskonto ja Identiteetti 'Religion and Identity', describes how without warning in 1931, the Karkkonens were taken away in the middle of the night. The two- and four-year old children were brought to a relative's farm, but the parents were transported to a train station where cars filled with other Ingrians were waiting from the nearby villages of Kelto and Rääpyvä. The train cars were locked from the outside and as soon as the locomotive started toward the yet unknown destination, one could hear from each train car the verses from Jumala ompi linnamme 'A mighty fortress is our God'. (Saarinen 130) The hymn was written by Martin Luther (1483-1546), inspired by the forty-sixth Psalm, and often sung in times of war and extreme human misery. For Ingrians, learning verses was more or less a family pastime as children and young adults knew many of them, offering recital in the mother tongue for various occasions. Such familial recitation typically introduces a religio-linguistic tradition for future generations, but does not assure any degree of language or dialect maintenance.

Pekka Mutanen relates the story of Ingrian refugees in Finland after WWII, who were being hunted down by victorious Soviet authorities just to be returned to the Soviet Union. The details in Mutanen's work, Vaiennetut Sotilat 'Silenced Soldiers', reveal the willingness of a Swedish Lutheran priest to meet a ferry from the western Finnish port city of Rauma carrying Ingrian escapees, but who knew neither how to speak Finnish nor any Finnish dialects. At the harbor he only had to sing the Martin Luther verses in Finnish "God is our fortress" and the refugees on board knew whom it was safe to approach (256). It was a deeply significant and moving hymn familiar to every Ingrian-Finn. Sweden meant freedom for approximately 217 souls, due to this priest. Many continued their move westward in fear; as far away as they were

able from Soviet Russia. Such was the case with Vilho Bjorn, whose story will be discussed in greater detail in 7.0.

6.2.3 Strength in the language of prayer and hymn

The first verse of Martin Luther's meaningful hymn has been reproduced with the official Finnish version placed alongside a much older Finnish text, closely reflecting the dialect most likely spoken or understood in the region of Ingria. The underlying symbolism of good versus evil--of the God-fearing Ingrians versus the oppressive Soviet government--is overwhelmingly apparent and worthwhile to examine. Markku Kilpiö, theologian and verse historian, acknowledges the essence of the verse as a socio-linguistic medium for analysis: "Virsikirja peilasi tuoreesti syntyaikansa elämää, kieltä, sanomisen tapaa, tapoja ja uskonnollisuutta." ("Virsikirja," *Evangelical*) 'A verse book freshly reflects the life of its time, the language, types of expression, and approaches to customs and religion' (translation mine). A Mighty Fortress Is Our God - Source: Martin Luther, 1529

A Mighty fortress is our God, A trusty shield and weapon; He helps us free from every need That hath us now overtaken. The Old evil foe Now means deadly woe Deep guile and great might Are his dread arms in fight; On earth is not his equal.	Jumala ompi linnamme, varustus vahva avian. Hän aseemme on, kilpemme ajalla varan, vaivan. Se vanha vainooja, kavala, kauhia, on kiivas, kiukkuinen ja julma, hirmuinen; Ei löydyy maassa vertaa.	Meidän linnam' on Jumal' taivaast', meidän kilpem' ja otam', hän auttaa meit' hädäst' ja vaivast', kuin usein päällem' kootaan; meidän vihollisem' on hirmullinen, neuvois' monis' pahois' juonis', Ei löytä hänen vertaans'
Hymn #298 Lutheran worship hymnal	Traditional Finnish verse 1986 #170	Traditional Finnish verse 1701 #51

It is possible that a rendition during twentieth-century hardship could have more narrowly resembled the 1701 version above, which had not been updated in well over two hundred years. Interestingly, the liberal use of poetic apocope could be due to the mimicking of German poetic meter in the late 1600s - early 1700s or to the way some dialects syllabically clipped their postpositional suffixes. In that era, the eastern Finnish dialects were coming of age in print, in

opposition to the dominant western Finnish dialects primarily from the heavily Swedish influenced region of Turku. Clipping is a widespread feature common to the Western Balto-Finnic dialects still today.

6.2.4 Religion and language loyalty

Is there loyalty to a language via religion? Particularly with older Ingrian dialect speakers, the cherished values of language and religion are two crucial issues in defining their identity. As far as the dynamics of these two socially powerful elements are concerned, varying strengths may eventually govern a group's destiny. For instance, Ireland split in two along political and religious lines, however, Irish Gaelic, in the shadow of ethnocentric English, managed to survive within the Irish Catholic communities. On the other hand, as Rein Taagepera so aptly reminds us, "A common language does not always unite people, especially when religion pulls them apart" (100). He offers the example of the struggle between Serb, Croat and Muslim Bosnians. Thus, Yugoslavia was divided in the 1990s along the lines of political autonomy yet the identifying religious factors notably differentiated its Slavic languages, e.g. Serbians maintained their Cyrillic orthography in allegiance to Eastern Orthodoxy while the Roman alphabet stands as an identifying pillar of Catholic Croatians. [65] Finally, the diaspora of Hebrew-speaking Jews kept the language and its script alive for centuries, existing as ethno-linguistic minorities across the globe. In Ingria, one's language was a necessity in ritual and custom, as evidenced in religious unanimity and societal cohesion before the Stalin regime. Ingrian identity was decisively linked with both language and religion, having

[65] Similar to Soviet atrocities in Ingria, Serbian governments systematically persecuted the users of ethnic languages, suppressed minority language publishing and closed schools. "The religious rituals remained the last bastion of the national language, the only manifestation of ethnic identity and self-assertion was from the pulpit and in religious services. In such a ruthless and thorough oppression the importance of religion as the last refuge of ethnic self-preservation grows to gigantic magnitude." <www.users.tyenet.com/kozlich/dzini3.htm> 01/05/05

effectively resisted the antithetic influences of surrounding atheism. Whether speaking of Lutheran Ingrian-Finns or of Orthodox Tver Karelians, definitive self-identification had prevailed. Especially the Lutheran-Ingrian existence may be interpreted as a minority within a minority, while being surrounded by atheism in the Soviet era or by Russian Orthodoxy in earlier and more recent times.

6.3 Religious ethnicity via language in present day Ingria

According to pastor, writer and crusader for Ingrian culture Arvo Survo, the Ingrian Lutheran Church currently consists of forty congregations in Ingria proper with a total of 60,000 Ingrian Finns, 11,000 Finns and 15,000 members of other ethnic backgrounds. He reports, "As might be expected, Russian is the main language of the Ingrian church and the only language of the youth and young adults" (1995: 18). An effort is being made, however, to introduce the dialect to young people through catechism translations, youth hymnals and various ministry publications. In working with the language at hand, a rebirth of the cultural identity can still be achieved at the onset without the indigenous tongue. After the fall of the Soviet Empire, it was imperative to expeditiously utilize whatever linguistic assets available, especially to capture the attention and spirits of young Ingrians. Due to Soviet efforts at abrupt acculturation and homogenization of the previous generation, the majority of younger parishioners have resolved to adopt the dominant language and are hence, in all practicality, Russian monolinguals. "Many different communities use a totally different language for religious purposes" (Crystal 389). This is apparent with the function of Hebrew in Judaism, Classical Arabic in study of the Koran, Latin in traditional Catholic mass and nowadays Finnish in Lutheran services throughout the original

region of Ingria.[66] The ethnic makeup of later generational Ingrian-Finns has effectively become so diluted and geographically distant that the attempt at revitalization would seem fruitless. However, the Lutheran Church of Ingria received official recognition in 1992 and with the help of Finland and the international Lutheran community, church buildings have since been renovated and reconsecrated. Finnish volunteers have been especially crucial in jump-starting religion in Ingria with the infusion of new church buildings and the establishment of bilingual parish programs for young and old alike. The faith manifesto of the Theological Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ingria, located in the Leningrad Oblast (the chief district of St. Petersburg), edifies its readers with its convictions from a geo-historical perspective:

> We consider ourselves inheritors of those spiritual traditions of the Church that was founded in the land of Ingria , where later the city Saint Petersburg was built…During the period of reorganization (perestroika) of the social and political life in Russia (former USSR), when new parishes began to exist, the matter of the theological education became very actual and relevant. At that time in the Lutheran parish city of Pushkin the first deacon course was organized with the support of the Department of the Foreign Aid of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland. (lines 8-9; page 7)

6.3.1 Bilingualism as reflected in choice of religion

The bilingualism of Ingrian Lutheranism is, therefore, the result of an astonishing rebirth and growth after near religio-cultural obliteration. Due to the region's adverse geopolitical historicity, bilingualism was the outcome of younger generational indoctrination and assimilation. As a linguistic periphery partitioning old borders of both language and religion,

[66] Finnish language Bibles had been smuggled into the Soviet Union during the Communist regime; other than school primers published in the early 1930s, no other (official) printed material appeared in the Ingrian dialects. Since Finnish is mutually intelligible and since the financially stable Finnish Lutheran organizations are volunteering their manpower and materials to rebuild the region, the Finnish language has reigned supreme over regional dialects in sermons and church publications. Further discussion on cross-generational language identity in light of Ingrian dialect-speaking minorities can be found in chapter 7.

Ingria remains a region embedded within two ethno-linguistic domains—Slavic and Balto-Finnic. For most of the twentieth century a third element had to be considered, namely, that the linguistic majority was atheistic. Arno Survo, who was also the first ordained Ingermanlandian minister, reminds us that Bolshevism equated to the spread of atheism and that this 'anti-'system was ostensibly maintained through the Russian language. (5) Thus, Finnish language ties to Lutheranism afforded groups like the Ingrian-Finns and Votians in atheist Russia a lifeline to religion, which was previously inaccessible to those who were not bilingual.

The likelihood of mother-tongue survival increased with the frequent use of the language or dialect in sermons, church-related schools and congregational activities, however, research professor John E. Hofman of Yeshiva University, concludes that language interest in and practice toward preservation are more important in connection with sermons than with instruction (128). This is in accordance with his study on native language retention in ethnic parishes, for which he gathered answers from congregations and parochial schools in the United States to questions on numerous aspects of mother-tongue usage and maintenance, including its predictors based on religious or parish behavior. It is a study relevant to determining attitudes toward language and ethnicity in the sphere of religion and tradition.

6.3.2 Declining use of native language

Although the study below focuses on the convictions (motivated by national or religious ideology) and the habits (motivated by non-ideological traditionalism) of U.S. immigrants on language maintenance, Hofman's results can be applied in part to the circumstances of Ingrian-Finns in an attitudinally religious light. There are two important, differentiating items to keep in mind prior to extracting any parallels and to avoid making any mistaken assumptions:

1) Persons questioned in this study chose to leave their homeland and undertake the consequences of immigrant status where their native tongue was not an official language. 2) The hiatus of the Lutheran church in Ingria during communist rule had ensuing socio-linguistic reverberations, the attitudes and consequences of which are illustrated more comprehensively in the next chapter.

Table 10a: Reasons for discontinuing the use of mother tongue in church *sermons*[67]

Reason	Frequency	
	No.	%
Old immigrants dying out	39	15.3
American-born prefer English	83	32.4
No understanding of mother tongue	58	22.6
Ethnic composition changed	14	5.5
Parishioners opposed	7	2.7
Church authorities demand it	9	3.5
Pressures of WWI and WWII	11	4.3
Loss of membership	6	2.3
Other	29	11.4
Total	256	100.0

Table 10b: Reasons for discontinuing the use of mother tongue in *church-affiliated schools*

Reason	Frequency	
	No.	%
Parishioners and parents opposed	24	5.8
Parents and children indifferent	97	23.5
No competent teachers	37	9.0
Overcrowded curriculum	18	4.4
Mixed ethnicity of students	15	3.6
WWI and WWII pressures	4	1.0
Church authorities opposed	5	1.2
M. T. not used in U.S. - waste of time	45	10.9
Children should master English instead	26	6.3
Religion can be taught in any language	25	6.1
Other	102	24.8
Generally negative	14	3.4
Total	412	100.0

[67] Hofman's methodology in data collection is not revealed, leaving one to assume that an open-ended questionnaire was sent to various Catholic and Orthodox institutions in an unspecified vicinity. The percentages are based upon total responses versus total parishes since some of the latter submitted more than one response.

Source: John E. Hofman. "Mother Tongue Retentiveness in Ethnic Parishes" in *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups.* Joshua A. Fishman, ed. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966. 132.

Similarities for discontinuing native language use in sermons and/or parochial classrooms can still be discerned and parallels can be drawn for the purpose of this study. Both the religious U.S. immigrants and the Ingrian-Finns experienced pressures from the World Wars, a loss of membership, no competent teachers, indifference on the part of parents and children, and perhaps overcrowded curricula. As far as mixed ethnicity classrooms are concerned, only Russian (and possibly Estonian) is/was competing with the mother tongue for what could be labeled as prestige or practicality. This does not imply that solely ethnic Russians are partaking in Lutheran church activities, but rather Ingrian-Finns under sixty years of age who are so russified by their surroundings that Russian is the most practical medium of communication. The increase in interethnic marriages must also be taken into account—either the couple opts for Lutheranism or Russian Orthodoxy and the language oftentimes follows accordingly, similar to U.S. immigrants facing Anglicization of their respective language use in religious and non-religious activities.

In step with the path of least resistance, linguistic change follows a minimalist process of evolution. Evidently the dynamic propensity for change in attitude toward dominant language use outweighs the desire for native language maintenance not only because assimilation is pragmatically inevitable, but the process could be deemed by the younger parishioners as more convenient than abiding by linguistic tradition.

6.3.3 Bilingualism and de-ethnization

Another competing factor for young people is the luring economic advantage of bilingualism, overcoming both religious conviction and religious habit as motivational reasons for mother-tongue maintenance. Generational drift in the church may occur when older

immigrants die out, but also when no new immigrants arrive to feed the earlier religio-linguistic fire of the parish by reinforcing its rituals, which are esoterically embodied in the language. Since the purpose of the parish is to meet the religious needs of its parishioners, one solution Hofman offers is that of segregated sermons, services and organizations in the mother tongue for the elderly until that generation dies out. (131; 132-33) Death without leaving behind a stable linguistic legacy can be viewed as an intrinsic part of the internal de-ethnicizing process for any cultural entity. Native speakers living in foreign lands, under long-term occupation, or as minorities upon their own soil, must tolerate other natural but internal aspects of dilution: "The primary factors such as interethnic marriages, generational turnover, and the admission of non-ethnics (or other-ethnics) to membership inevitably and immediately pull in the direction of diversity or de-ethnization" (Hoffman 137). In Ingria, as well as in other corners of the world, the inexorably relentless ethnic cleansing suffered throughout most of the twentieth century was an external factor stimulating the process of de-ethnization. This particular branch of Finnic culture, that has been crushed and dispersed by its neighbor into a nearly unrecognizable ethnicity, is barely identifiable as an age group younger than sixty, albeit through their long-established religion—with or without fluency in their heritage language.

6.4 Religion and folk culture

In an inspiring article on ethno-futurism, a concept formulated by four Estonians who have also sponsored annual conferences for young Finno-Ugricists on ethno-futurism[68], the necessity for introspection emerges as paramount for ethnic continuity. "The Finno-Ugric peoples living in the territory of the Russian Federation have preserved their old folk culture as village culture. The most important vital components of this culture are an ethnic religion or a

[68] Ethno-futuristic endeavors include maintaining ethnic self-awareness as an ethno-culture and promoting numerous ways of cross-cultural and ideological dialogue.

system of ethnic folk beliefs, folk songs still sung, handicraft used as utensils, the use of the original language of the people as the home language" (Ülle, at al. 4). While the Uralic populations of Mari and Komi in Central Asia may be experiencing a linguistic-folk revival, the traditions of surviving Ingrian-Finns to the West are fading as observed by the absence of village culture and the replacement of ideals by post-Soviet society as the language ceases to exist in daily use. As the entire socio-political and technical vocabulary has been borrowed from Russian (cf. Chapter 4), it seems that only religious customs and the language associated with it have survived as tangent signifiers of a once benign, devout cultural entity of the Baltic region.

A more progressive interpretation of the changing position of religion in modern Finnic society, as researched by the U.S. Department of the Army on country studies, is the notion that the church should serve a greater community function with a healthier inclusive outreach toward linguistic and/or ethnic minorities, "…students of religion commonly regarded [Lutheranism] not so much as a state church, but as a folk church that served all Finns, members and nonmembers alike" (48). This position clearly revisits the central role the church played in previous centuries, by which multi-functional gatherings were not out of the ordinary. Currently the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland works in conjunction with its sister parishes in Ingria, sending nurses in training on a rotating basis to care for the aging Ingrian-Finns, who speak primarily their own dialect of Ingrian, sporadically peppered with Russianisms.

6.5 Proposed matrix as comparative socio-linguistic tool

The matter of identifying language with ethnicity and religion is a seminal undertaking in the exploration and understanding of past socio-linguistic existence and near non-existence today of ethnicities viz. Ingrian inhabitants, and is worthy of further comparative study with other less- and not-so-less-fortunate Uralic languages in identifying signs of linguistic obscurity. A

religion-identity-language-ethnicity (RILE) matrix is a general approach for comparatively measuring the inclusivity or exclusivity of minority language identification and policy at local community, institutional or governmental levels. Although originally formulated to explicate the Ingrian dialectal situation using a synchronic set of variables, the proposed template may be applied to other minority languages found in the same linguistically moribund predicament. Understanding socio-linguistics as a composite science, language is selected as the underlying point of orientation, since this study probes each of the four categories evaluating the position and influence of language. It is an interdisciplinary approach in covering a broad base of minority language legislation and should not represent a closed circuit of human interaction.

The plus/minus value assigned to each attribute is an expedient means of depicting the opposite or absence of the respective attribute, e.g. one cannot choose his/her ethnicity (-b), but can eventually choose a primary language other than the mother tongue (+b) and can choose a religious conviction (+b), as well as a socio-linguistic group with which to identify (+b).

Table 11: RILE matrix for minority ethnic group application

RELIGION non-universal (-a) eventual non-birth choice (+b) tangible (+c) exclusive (-d) community-kinship ties protection required	IDENTITY non-universal (-a) eventual choice (+b) intangible (-c) inclusive (+d) community-kinship ties protection required
protection required community-kinship ties LANGUAGE universal (+a) eventual non-birth choice(+b) tangible (+c) inclusive (+d)	protection required community-kinship ties ETHNICITY universal (+a) birth rite; no choice (-b) tangible (+c) exclusive (-d)

1. Universality (+a/-a) denotes the involuntary or built-in attributes every human possesses. Theoretically it can be argued that the absence of or disbelief in RELIGION is essentially having 'faith' in disbelieving, as the Soviets in this study 'believed' in atheism. Equally, one may choose to identify with one or more IDENTITIES, or none at all, e.g. to be extremely knowledgeable and capable in the art of Italian cuisine, but not speaking Italian, not participating any Italian-American activities, not attending Catholic Mass, etc.
2. By and large LANGUAGE and ETHNICITY are biologically inherent and no choice (+b/-b) exists. However, one may acquire a second or third language and eventually choose to identify with one or more speech groups. The choice of religion is eventually a conscientious and cognizant pronouncement, which most likely may be affiliated with or influenced by a group identity.
3. Tangibility (+c/-c), as a concrete representation of a human trait, should be recognized as such without much subjectivity, e.g. a spoken language is heard and accepted as that unique language, and physical characteristics of eyes, skin color, skeletal features are tangible entities. Also tangible are religious symbols identifying one's affiliation—the minaret, the Star of David, the Orthodox cross, etc.
4. Exclusivity (+d/-d) marks the singleness of those components, i.e. whether or not multiple affiliations are permissible. For example, one can choose to speak multiple languages and identify with various groups, but cannot typically have more than one ethnicity or belong to more than one church. The hyphenation of Americans and their backgrounds have, in essence, created new categories of exclusive ethnicities.
5. COMMUNITY and KINSHIP ties are services, which speech groups provide for themselves, that encircle all four elements of the matrix by meeting the religious needs,

the linguistic needs and the identity needs of the ethnic group. This may include special church services in the native tongue, organizing a semi-annual ethnic festival, a children's reading hour on heritage topics, an adult writers group for short stories, verses or poetry on group- or non-group-related themes, website construction and maintenance for language and group activities, youth aiding the elderly programs, etc.

6. PROTECTIVE RIGHTS of all four elements should be implemented and enforced at higher governmental levels with local input and administration.

Addressing the appropriate interactive fundamentals of these components within and among cultural groups has been challenging for many governments with multi-lingual constituencies. Not all experience the syncretic fusion of religious cults or movements as byproducts of intercultural contact and adaptation. The United States, for instance, supports the separation of church and state, abjuring support of an official religion, while theocratic countries see no other acceptable existence. Still others, like Finland, pay homage to the founding heritage and religious customs, at least in doctrine. Although statistics may reveal that Finns are by and large a religious folk, they comprise one of the most secularized regions in the world, along with other Nordic citizens.[69] Hannu Haukka (53) provides the followinginsights on the role of the Lutheran Church in Finnish Society:

1. Approximately 9 in 10 Finns are officially members of the church
2. 90% of infants are baptized
3. 92% of 15-year olds are confirmed

[69] Polls revealed, for example, that approximately 70 percent of the Nordic population believed in God, a good deal fewer than the 90 percent who belonged to the state churches. About 40 percent of the population believed that the best place to find God was in the Bible, but only about 10 percent read it at least once a week, striking figures for a Protestant country. For Finns, frequent church attendance was unusual. Surveys conducted during the 1980s found that perhaps as few as 4 percent went to church every Sunday, about 12 percent went once a month, and 43 percent went at least once during the course of a year. Source: United States Dept. of the Army. Lutheran Church of Finland. In Finland. U.S. Library of Congress (1986-98). <http://countrystudies.us/finland/47.htm> 1/21/05

4. Over 80% of marriages take place as church weddings
5. Baptisms and funerals bring nearly all Finns into contact with the church every year
6. Confessional religious teaching in accordance with the Lutheran faith in an essential part of [government] school education
7. Schooldays usually begin with a religious assembly and occasionally pupils attend a service in their local church

Nevertheless, Finnish-based Lutherans have reached out to their Baltic brethren during times of religious void and continue doing so via humanitarian efforts. Some governments have collectively tackled the RILE matrix compiled above, however, success may be difficult to measure and certain ideologies of more repressive countries have yet to enforce their own legislation. According to H.B. Shenoy's article *Konkani as a linguistic minority: Constitutional rights and privileges*, the rights of approximately six million Konkani speakers have not been recognized, with enforcement and interest in doing so lacking. The Constitution of India, for instance, states in Article 27 of its *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966) that, "Minorities in every unit shall be protected in respect of their language, script and culture, and no laws or regulations may be enacted that may operate oppressively or prejudicially in this respect." Proclaiming also for each state, "…in which ethnic, religions or linguistic minorities exist, that persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language." As a member of the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Independent States, foremost Russia, is obliged to adhere to the directives below, which furnish a comprehensive example of protection in addressing the linguistic and religious needs of minorities:

> United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992): Resolution 47/135

Article 1

1. States shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories, and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity…

Article 2

1. Persons belonging to [minorities] have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination…

6.6 Summary

In conclusion, language maintenance or revival cannot depend on the success of one socio-linguistic element or human practice, but rather on a synergy of related factors, which may or may not be currently available to the residual Balto-Finns of formerly despotic Soviet times. Hence religion alone is most likely unable to provide a complete renaissance of any culture, including its language. For Ingrians, or Leningrad Finns, Lutheranism is able to offer a venue to reinforce Balto-Finnic traditions, customs, and rituals at varying degrees of linguistic exposure, according to the needs and desires of parishioners.

CHAPTER 7

ETHNO-LINGUISTIC IDENTITY ISSUES

7.0 Socio-political conditions for Baltic Finns

Establishing an ethno-linguistic identity is considered crucial by many for an ethnic group that chooses language over race, religion, dress, etc. as the key identifying feature to characterize or align their identity. The desire for continued presence and linguistic affirmation has to be present from within the speech community, regardless of whether the group was forgotten due to socio-economic pressures to assimilate, or to poorly mandated language politics, inclusive of linguistic change via loanword infiltration. The lesser Balto-Finnic and Uralo-Asiatic languages have traditionally lacked the various avenues of academic and political support afforded the better established matrix language of Standard Finnish via official domestic language research centers, Finland's special EU language supervisor, the Finnish Language Board, the Finnish Language Office, the Finnish Center for Technical Terminology, the Medical Terminology Board, etc. One may argue that the lack of recognition or representation together with the non-commitment of Ingrian speakers to their native language and culture parallels the lack of symbolic value they place on their culture-linguistic identity, having chosen other identifying factors as per above. Ingrian speakers were not (and continue not to be) committed to underlining their cultural distinctions, to monitoring or promoting their ethno-linguistic status, or to simply utilizing their heritage language. As their numbers declined, the result was the inevitable path toward language death without revivification. This does not, however, equate loss of language to loss of culture. The Diaspora could have maintained the ideal of localism

from afar, similar to New Yorkers who identify themselves as Italians or Italian-Americans (whose forefathers emigrated from Italy), but do not speak Italian. The community perpetuates Italian culture without the language from Europe via cuisine, music, festivals, etc with which subsequent generations are proudly familiar.

When the purges of Stalin's era ended and the Ingrian population was permitted to return to its homeland in the mid-50s, the degree and effect of nearly two decades of geographical displacement had taken its toll. The survivability rate of a linguistic community dramatically decreases when diasporic resettlement and assimilation outside the indigenous borders manifests itself as current demographic reality.

Table 12: Approximate deportation and migration figures of Ingrian peoples

1928 = approx 18,000 deported to Kola peninsula and Central Asia in order to frighten others into collective farming.
1935 = 7,000 to Urals & Caspian Sea area
1936 = 20,000 to Siberia and Central Asia
1942 = 25,000 deported to Siberia
1943-44 = Germans allowed 63, 227 Ingrians to leave to Finland as refugees
1945 = Finland was forced to return 55,773 under the Armistice. Stalin scattered those who weren't immediately liquidated to far-off regions of the Soviet Union.[70]
1998 = 20,000 'returning migrants to Finland', according to the Finnish Ministry of Labor

Moreover, the irredenta of Ingrian speakers was growing increasingly smaller, as they possessed no geo-political space of their own and the majority of them had been dispersed to Finland, Estonia, Siberia and elsewhere. The Soviet Union was merely a host country, in which ethno-

[70] "Some years after the war even those children of Ingrian descent that had been adopted by Finnish families were reclaimed by the Soviet Union." (Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire)

linguistic pride and will were severely diluted, giving way to linguistic homogenization of Uralic minorities via outright eviction.[71] Some Ingrians moved up to thirty times in their lives. (Survo 2000: 5) Such compulsory mobility resulted in a type of 'ethnic placelessness' and can be regarded as coerced nomadism. One personal account illustrates a family who fled their homeland and never looked back: In a historical program at FinnFest95 (July 14, 1995 - Portland, Oregon) an Ingrian presenter, Vilho Bjorn, tearfully revealed the dire situation in which his family had ultimately escaped as far away from Soviet Russia as possible via Finland, Sweden and Canada; eventually settling on the western coast of the United States. Fortunately, he was educated in forestry engineering at a Swedish university and initiated a peaceful life. By that time his impeccable English revealed only a slight downward prosodic intonation and his hypercorrection of the flapless American English /r/ were both recognizable as almost distinctively ethnic Finnish.[72] His wife later declined a personal interview on his behalf for the supposed fear of exposing too much detail at a time when Soviet Russia had not been long enough dissolved.

Although ethnic Finns in Russia moved numerous times in the last century, it was during the deportations that being Ingrian had concretely become a stigma via stamps in their internal passports with the number 38. This marking signified the holder was an enemy of the state and was barred from certain privileges afforded only to the ethnic majority. "Ingrians began to be wary of speaking their own language because it revealed even to strangers that they belonged to a minority." (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 14) In this manner, the Soviets were able to control one's

[71] According to Décsy: "Eviction is the forced removal of a hereditary people or portion of a nation from their homeland, which may be carried out through expulsion, deportation, resettlement, exchange of population or simply extermination (murder)." (289)

[72] Further detail on the linguistic features of Ingrian-Finnish may be found in chapter 2.

ethnic identity, but not one's ethnicity—the internal group identification process of an individual—by essentially forcing them to keep a low cultural profile. Seemingly Ingrians as a whole had capitulated without a struggle, having long ago substituted self-assertion and pride with indifference, leaving hardly a linguistic trace for subsequent generations and researchers.

Two generations of Ingrians have now lost their heritage language and for various socio-economic reasons have had to adopt Russian to survive, as younger speakers seek the economic advantage of L2 proficiency while older speakers value the cultural advantages of the L1. This generational cleavage narrows as the mother tongue progressively loses ground and ceases as a vehicle of communication with each passing decade. Even after 1990, many are still struggling with that integral and fragile part of their cultural identity—their vernacular which was abandoned via generational turnover paired with legalized de-ethnization during the Soviet era.

The various detrimental social and economic forces affecting minorities (e.g. items [a-j] mentioned later in section 7.4) were passively sanctioned by Moscow via the 'metropolitan' language and undoubtedly contributed to ethnic Ingrian language and dialect abandonment. Dorian points to systematic linguistic stratification equating to an ideology of contempt by which subordinate languages are despised and considered impoverished, crude and inadequate. (7-8; 20) Of course this is the wrong assumption that many speakers make who are from technologically advanced nations boasting enormous cultural accomplishments, which they feel justifies their position and attitude. "A linguistically distinct population which has come into poor standing needs to discover or develop some basis for increased self-regard in order to withstand pressures for ancestral language abandonment and shift to a dominant language group." (Dorian 12) Because Ingrian speakers were never recognized as a cultural entity, almost no effort was made to document and preserve their place in the Finno-Ugric group. The idea of

cultural capital is put into the linguistic realm by Bonny Norton-Peirce, who in light of enculturation, states that language is a cultural investment with many positive returns, e.g. a wider range of symbolic and material resources, and access to previously unattainable resources. (17) For Ingrians, too, the return of what is in essence socio-cultural capital would have only increased in value.

7.1 Endangered Language Aspect

Becoming a linguistic minority in one's own territory differs from minorities who have more recently emigrated to generally improve their standard of living and have had some choice in the fate of their declared language identities. "The yearning for a separate identity cannot be instigated artificially…A reclamation of ancestral identity after one had raised a brood of Russian-identifying children will not contribute to preservation of the nation." (Taagepera 393; 400) The dominance of Russian is no longer due to traditional cultural activities but rather to the spheres of commerce and industry, then economics and technology, as Glyn Williams implies in demonstrating a facet of ideologic ethnocentrism: "[Minority language groups] are told that it is only by changing their language or, indeed, other aspects of their culture, to the point where it resembles the 'modern' that they can escape the pejorative connotation of being 'traditional', and in so doing, of course, they cease to exist." (129) If the epidermis of a 'traditional' minority speech community is thick enough, the foreign influence can never successfully infiltrate and guide innovations in language, literature and culture. Awareness of 'modern' pressures with the possible downsizing effects goes hand in hand with determination both as prerequisites for individual and group autonomy. "As the Soviet planners clearly knew, indigenous self-identity was directly affected by language policy." (Grenoble 162) Ingria, which has so heavily Russified ethnically, now produces citizens who no longer understand their native language or

dialect and who prefer using Russian. Thus the resulting idiolect, or minor dialect based on loanword lexifiers, becomes an internal manifestation of overall cultural assimilation.

"Even minor advances in national pride, indigenous-language education and political organization may have a synergistic effect, just as long, that is, as the post-Soviet relaxation of oppression lasts." (Taagepera 408) Otherwise, the tendency of a minority speech group to believe in and accept its own inferiority could increase, along with apathetic views on the rate of language variation and change toward Russian, leading to irreversible socio-linguistic repercussions. And thus, Ingrian speakers, chiefly as a result of complacency, have no penchant for revitalizing or revalorizing their mother tongue. Their culture and linguistic identities had been attacked, directly and indirectly, by despotism and outright cruelty with the aim of deculturalization and marginalization. "Glottophagic conflicts [the suppression of the minority language by that of the majority] are specifically common in linguistic boundary areas, since ethno-linguistic heterogeneity in modern industrial societies, which for economic reasons strive for unification and standardization, occasions language conflicts." (Nelde 38) Also, regarding the consequences of language conflict, anthropologist Wade Davis points out that, "When you strip away language and the culture it embodies, what you have left is alienation, despair and tremendous levels of anger." (Hayden 42)

In 1942-43 the Ingrians and the Votes were evacuated to Finland. After the war ended, the Soviet Union sought to reclaim them, and they were deported to the Novgorod, Kalinin, Vologda and Jaroslav regions. (see appendix C; cf. 7.2; footnote 71) The reasoning behind these measures could only have been to splinter the Ingrian people via separate movements of extradition, prohibiting any contact among them or other smaller-numbered Finnic peoples. After 1956 when they were finally allowed to return home (where internal ethnic Russian

immigrants had settled in the meantime), there were only 1,062 Izhorians or Ingrians left.[73] Physical extermination and russification had achieved their purpose: post-war generations have little or no knowledge of their native tongue.

Nevertheless, neither Ingrian-Finnish nor its close cousin Izhorian ever became a literary language. Population levels of each group had been severely dwindling throughout the 20th century and soon will die out. Although some languages experience revitalization (Hebrew, Irish Gaelic, Welsh), the irremediable consequences for the majority of circum Balto-Finnic languages and dialects has marked the end of a defined linguistic existence in history. As far as dialects are concerned, it is undeniably true that matrix language survival would supercede that of its lesser or minor varieties, as illustrated in the scenario offered by Norman Denison's work, *Language Death or Language Suicide*. He suggests that if the city of Vienna were stricken with a flu to which all residents succumbed, it would be true that the Viennese dialect would be dead, but the German language would hardly be affected—nor would the Austrian form of standard German. (15) The allegory may be applied to Ingrian varieties as well, the death of which, partially sped up by Soviet language policies and partially by Darwinian forces of socio-linguistic nature through which the weaker language or dialect is subsumed over a period of two or three generations under the language umbrella of the stronger dominant culture, has had no major effect on the status of Standard Finnish.

Collision of linguistic systems and subsequent interference in multilingual communities is natural and necessary for survivalist forces to occur. It is known that multilingualism typically precedes the disappearance of border-line languages from the region of contact. (Denison 16). This disappearance usually is confirmed via phonologic rule modification, simplification, and

[73] According to the 1959 Soviet census.

loss followed closely by morphologic mutations in the minimalist spirit of economy and path of least resistance. However, disappearances occur within the framework of the dominant language system as processes of continual interference, progressing toward complete assimilation. It is this loss of speakers, regardless of mutations in the language which otherwise occur in contact situations, that ultimately determines the presence and vitality of a spoken tongue. Assimilation policies may appear to promote an improved political linguistic status for powerless groups as well as economic and educational language equality from the lowest economic strata and education levels, however unfortunately, "[such policies] often inflict great suffering and loss of dignity on the part of the minorities, who are thus taught that their tradition is of no value." (Eriksen 14) It is the lack not only of economic resources but also of ensuing social power, that minority languages like Ingrian or Votic have experienced. Not only due to rejection by the dominant speech community, but also to extreme diffusion and depopulation, the drive for linguistic emancipation dissipated to the point where revitalization or reintroduction was impossible.

"Whether or not a language thrives or falls into attrition depends very much on social habits of its speakers." (Mufwene 2000: 9) It seems Ingrians have accepted dissolution, as no further functional distributions of the language or its dialects exist. The tools left for interpretation have rapidly diminished. An imbalance has been created—a disturbance from which the speech community may not be able to recover. In order to gain access to education, politics, economics, and to be a part of the mass media and entertainment industry, history reveals that one must learn the language of the more powerful majority or elite. (cf. 3.5) For those dispersed Ingrians after the Second World War, as well as for the small percentage that were able to return to their homeland, the reality of their mother tongue's limitations to such

circles was suddenly and swiftly evident—reliable only as a rural-, home- or church-only medium of communication.[74]

As discussed at greater length in light of Soviet language policies in Chapter 2, the fact that Ingrians and other Uralic minorities during the last century of political reorientations had witnessed multiple changes in the nomenclature of their birthplaces and workplaces and could only induce a sense of uncertainty and irrelevance.[75] "It is not enough to mark our territory as belonging to us by name tags, mailboxes, fences, hedges, and walls. We must also mark ourselves as belonging to the territory, and one of the most convincing markers is by speaking like the people who live there." (Chambers 250) The dilemma currently faced by Balto-Finnic minorities is that they have ceased to be distinct cultural entities and have instead evolved into enclaves sharing scant ethno-linguistic features or peculiarities. Moreover, the façade of 'the people who live there' had quickly become a russified society, leaving only slight traces of Finnic-Ugric heritage behind. "The strength of a small nation lies in its culture", said J.V. Snellman, the leading 19th century Finnish statesman and philosopher, who was also known to believe that collective experience, knowledge, customs and beliefs of a nation are coded in its language. (Huimasalo 1)

7.2 Russian fear of Pan-Uralicism

In discussing Eurasian identity issues, Hungarian linguist Gyula Décsy describes in his article titled *Why do the Russians dislike Ural, Uralia, and Uralic?* the well-developed Uralo-

[74] The faltering status of minority Balto-Finnic languages like Ingrian may certainly be attributed to the lack of ethno-linguistic consciousness and thus, accountability as Fishman suggests: "Responsibility for the language brings forth a plan of action to be undertaken by those that have already attained the requisite ethnolinguistic consciousness, whereby…the beloved language is fully appreciated, so that the unjustifiable indignities to which it has been so grievously exposed will be fully redressed and so that, finally, its right to reverence…and to pride…will be widely recognized and visibly confirmed." (91)

phobia of the Russians, i.e. the fear of Finns and the Finland-oriented ethnic consciousness of the indigenous population, stating that even the study of linguistics was affected. For decades it was impossible to embark on any scientific study or field work in traditional Uralic research. Only smaller, separate disciplines were tolerated. As late as 1975, suggestions to rename the international Finno-Ugric Congress, representing Uralic ethnicities in Euro- and Central Asia, to Uralic Congress were adamantly dismissed by Soviet leadership. (Décsy 124) Beyond cultural implications are also current political and economic concerns, since estimates place Finno-Ugric speaking peoples numbering up to four million, however, the Uralic homeland encompasses 1.2 million square miles.[76] "Not the size of the ethnic population but *extension* of the territory is what impresses." (Décsy 125)

Language endures as an exceedingly charged, emotional constituent of ethnic identity and socio-cultural construction, particularly for the wide-ranging Finnic group of languages and dialects. "In Central Asia and Bashkiria…the language policy's goal was to separate supranational communities and to create nations because the Soviets wanted to prevent the development of Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkish movements." (Simon 43) Also true was Soviet trepidation of a plan for a Greater Finland, as there existed expansionist minded Finns who dreamed of annexing Ingria.[77] The well-known Komi scholar and Finno-Ugric languages researcher Vasilii Lytkin (1895-1981) had barely survived court harassment and labor camp imprisonment in 1933 for his alleged Finnish ties of treason and conspiracy, which began with an organized attempt to accuse him of bourgeois-nationalistic agendas embedded in his poetry

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[75] "Naming is as chaotic as linguistic modernisation itself." (Haarmann 2002: 68)

[76] The Uralic territory together is rich in natural resources and has flourishing mining, forestry and oil industries, which has drawn recent multinational interest and thus recognition and economic clout for the autochthonous communities.

[77] There also existed "red" Finns who promoted the idea of building a Soviet Ingria and Karelia, which obviously reflected ideals carried over from the Finnish Civil War in 1918. (cf. chapter 3)

collections as early as 1930. (Kokkonen 91)[78] Arresting authorities fictionalized an alliance that never existed, named SOFIN or The Freedom Movement of the Finnish Peoples, whose goal was to encourage the secession of Finno-Ugric autonomous republics from the Soviet Union and create a new Finnic nation. "Threatened with sentencing he had to admit—in spite of his beliefs—his inaccuracies in relating scholarly observations concerning comparative linguistics and stating that the Finno-Ugric languages have a common origin." (Kokkonen 92) It was the five intra-Uralic conferences held between 1921 and 1936 that probably led to Soviet suspicions of a minority movement. However, Estonian linguist Tõnu Seilenthal points out that a proposed pan-Finno-Ugrism campaign was "…unlike several other pan-movements (Pan-Slavism, Pan-Islamism, etc.), it was not directed *against* any other peoples but, on the contrary, *for* the mutual cooperation among Finno-Ugric nations." (212)

Uralic pluralism, as a culturo-linguistic platform promoting minority progress and non-discriminatory advances, would indisputably produce a high degree of collective consciousness for those members who still considered themselves linguistically underprivileged and/or engulfed by the dominant Russian language community. Nonetheless, would Russia presently permit such a concordance? It is doubtful that sharing, supporting or much less recognizing a Balto-Finnic-based platform would coincide with Russia's historically intolerant attitude toward subordinate ethno-linguistic populations.

After the First World War, a newly independent Finland was divided and must have presented to the Bolshevik regime a dubious front: Red Finns on one hand sought to align themselves with their Balto-Finnic kin as Soviet comrades, e.g. to build a Soviet Ingria or a Red

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[78] It is widely known that Stalin eliminated thousands of scholars as part of his mass psychosis.

Karelia whereas on the other hand, White Finns sought to bring all Finno-Uralic tribes together to promote a 'Greater Finland', an expansion of Finnishness and thus, hopeful annexation of Ingria and other Balto-Finnic territory. The idea remained a true threat to Stalinist fears a generation later. The Soviet leader's disillusionment increased during and after World War II due to the fact that Finland aligned itself (albeit unwillingly and not without resistance) with the Germans, who as Stalin's greatest national rival, surrounded and starved Leningrad for approximately two years in near success. Innocent Ingrians were subsequently taken in the middle of the night to be either jailed, sent to concentration camps, made to toil in far away labor camps or simply executed.

Other than geo-ethnic ties, Ingrians were deemed threatening because a large number were kulaks, who are defined according to Random House Unabridged Dictionary, Second Edition, as: "a comparatively wealthy peasant who employed hired labor or possessed farm machinery and who was viewed and treated by the Communists during the drive to collectivize agriculture in the 1920s and 1930s as an oppressor and class enemy." If they didn't collectivize by becoming a member of a kolkhoz, they were evacuated from their home territory and executed. (Saarinen 129)

Arno Survo reminds us that Ingrian soldiers fought for the Soviet Army against the fascists in WWII and were promised a safe return to their homeland. However, "…from the standpoint of Soviet ideology, the returnees were seen as potential supporters of Finland's tribalism and as representatives of the enemy." (2000: 5) As a result of this xenophobic stance, the Stalinist government defaulted on its promises and shipped them away to other parts of the vast USSR, where no schooling or communal support in the vernacular was available. Alternately, their birthplaces were inundated with mostly Russian ethnic (internal) immigrants in

order to dilute and weaken the ethno-linguistic speech community. "At the same time, official propaganda constantly intensified its efforts to depict Russians as the chosen people who would lead the whole world into Communism. This, together with the obvious political supremacy of the Russians, led several minor peoples to develop inferiority complexes to the extent that they denied their own nationality." (Kolga, et al. V)

The Pan-Finno-Ugric network of today benignly incorporates youth organization conferences, folklore and television festivals, children's camps and the establishment of professional groups as the Association of Finno-Ugric Journalists and the Consultative Committee of Finno-Ugric Peoples. Finnish President Tarja Halonen stated at the Third World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples held in Helsinki in December 2000 that "Language is quite central as a factor underpinning national existence and identity." And she expressed the hope that "…the presence of three presidents of three independent Finno-Ugric states will also give encouragement to those groups which are minorities." (Halonen 11 Dec. 2000)

7.3 Evidence of ethno-linguistic differences and negative attitudes

> "Die semantische Strukturierung einer jeden Sprache gibt die ihr eigene Kategorisierungen und Strukturierung der Welt wieder…allerdings muβ hierbei berücksichtigt werden, daβ es sich um Perzeptions- und Interpretations*angebote* handelt, d.h. daβ auch andere Differenzierungen möglich und ausdrückbar sind." (Sarter 95)
>
> The semantic structuring of every language reflects its own categorization and structuring of the world…however, it must be taken into account that it is a question of offers of perception and interpretation, i.e. that other differentiations are also possible and expressible. (translation mine)

Lexical semantics serve a special function in language beyond traditional structural properties and are language specific to every unique contact situation. In the case of minority-speaking Ingrians, who historically, politically and economically have good reason for acrimonious expression and ill will toward anything in Russian society, we find animosity

toward the dominant culture is exuded in the lexematic borrowings themselves. In her paper on lexical innovation and loss in Hungarian, Susan Gal cites 'oppositional culture' as a response to L2 culture dominance and states, "Although the use of the minority language is self-defeating from the point of view of the dominant ideology, it is an active gesture asserting the countervalue of solidarity that the language expresses locally." (318) This observation would certainly prove valid in areas such as southeastern Germany where pockets of Hungarian or Czech are still proudly spoken, e.g. in Neugablonz, where people resettled and maintained their linguistic and cultural identities from their destroyed hometown Gablonz. Sadly, Ingrian speech communities are deficient in solidarity options and their speech is seldom heard locally or elsewhere because no competent speakers remain to conflict or compete, so therefore, this observation of local language use for them would be rendered invalid. Ultimately, ethnic Russians were a powerful source of linguistic influence on smaller Uralic speech communities with whom they came into daily contact, accentuating their cultural superiority via an imposed, elevated sociolect and in doing so, directly affected indigenous linguistic behavior in an effort to maintain an imbalanced hierarchy. Such influence effectively determines lexifier-language status and thus, the superstrate in lexical borrowing processes.

"Speakers tend to exploit their existing grammars for new labels, rather than inventing words out of whole cloth. The features they abstract from new situations are shaped by the grammatical tools already present in the language." (Mithun 169) Ingrian speakers had indeed exploited the remnants of their grammar to recreate on their own terms lexical items borrowed from Russian. For Ingrians, negative semantic connotations supplanted the original denotation. If the borrowing, as well as the language, remain viable and sustainable, then in contributing productively to the interlanguage process, the loan will "…provide a special legacy to new

generations of language learners." and "…provide a view of the concepts speakers have chosen to label over the centuries during which the language has evolved."[79] (Mithun 171)

Instead of overemphasizing structural or phonological criteria in explaining converging characteristics of a moribund language, the broader venue of lexical semantics will be considered in order to illustrate tendencies in attitudinal borrowing while remaining attentive to loan-word behavior or phenomena. The possibility also lies therein, that the word-formational devices or patterns found in the translations below may supply evidence for language shift due to speaker attitude and ultimately group perception. Kathryn A. Woolard writes about language convergence and accurately observes that linguistic interference is not necessarily a cause of language shift, but only an indicator of it, reiterating that shift is a quantitative extension of borrowing. (357) For non-moribund languages, convergence in some linguistic paradigms may not signify complete shifting toward obsolescence, but rather a shift across socio-linguistic lines toward more pragmatic functions.[80] Waning languages similar to Ingrian, however, cannot control the direct course or speed at which interference prevails and utility declines. Intense lexical and structural change can then indeed be viewed as decay.

"Historically, languages have always nourished each other not only through the borrowing of correct meanings, but also through the misapprehension of shades of meaning, and even through downright mistakes." (Weightman 57) The present study finds three areas of loan types spawned by negative semantic shifting: intensification, diminution and alteration, and

[79] The underlying psycho-linguistic reasons for negative semantic shifts will not be explored in this study, but are nevertheless worth a cross-linguistic analysis.

[80] In Myers-Scotton's discussion on the progression of matrix language turnover, convergence is more concisely identified as the use of morphemes from one language only with the introduction of lexicalization patterns, namely lexical-conceptual structures for the purpose of loanword study of Balto-Finnic languages. (315) The evidence in this chapter depicts exactly the Finnic-lexicalized patterns of Russian-inspired morphemes.

demonstrates that even a fading language is capable of exercising lexical innovation, albeit via socio-psychologically inspired semantics.

Table 13a: Negative semantic intensification

Ingrian dialect tokens	Romanized Russian translations
A. hiitra; hitryj 'miserly, stingy'	chitryj 'cunning, clever'
B. hotniekka 'greedy'	ochotnik 'lover of something'
C. kolovi 'military recruiter'	golova 'boss'
D. kurtikka 'old-fashioned male coat'	kurtik 'jacket'
E. loposka 'big ugly shoes'	lopoški 'diapers, old rags'
F. luuspa 'military service time'	služba 'service'
G. molvia 'to swear'	molvit 'to speak out'
H. piisaroida 'to scribble'	pisat 'to write'
I. pommoi 'dirty water'	pomoi 'cleaning water'
J. pasaalustaa 'to beg	požalujsta 'please'
K. rostina 'coarse canvas'	prostynja 'bed sheets'
L. povarna 'schnapps distillery'	povarnja 'cooking'
M. sastava 'customs gate'	zastava 'turnpike'
N. savetniekka 'estate lord'	sovetnik 'councilor'
O. sennoi 'St. Peterburg's market'[81]	sennaja 'hay market'
P. sissikka 'customs official or secret police'	syščik 'persecutor or secret police'
Q. turakka 'a card game'	durak 'dumb head'
R. tamosna 'jail'	tamožnja 'customs building'
S. tassia 'to haul, drag'	taščit 'to pull away'
T. tiela 'problem'	delo 'matter, affair'

Table 13b: Semantic diminution

A. kornitsa 'room'	gornica 'best room at the inn'
B. kuusava 'any basket'	kuzov 'birch-bark basket'
C. nahintka 'pillow case'	nakidka 'tablecloth or bedspread'
D. otsina 'a share'	otčina 'heir to real estate'
E. patsolunski 'sunflower seeds'	podsolnečnik 'sunflower'
F. pausina 'break between meals'	paužina 'afternoon snack'
G. potska 'bucket'	podnos 'barrel'
H. rompka 'lively or impudent'	gromkij 'loud, resounding'
I. ruusti 'mushroom'	gruzd 'chanterelle'
J. tameska 'chisel'	stamezka 'mortise chisel'
K. varenja 'preserved fruit'	varenje 'confection'

[81] It can be inferred that the large market in St Petersburg is negatively, but perhaps jovially referencing a resemblance in some manner to a hay market.

Table 13c: Semantic alteration

A. holostoi ‘independent’	cholostoj ‘single, unmarried’
B. hutoi ‘negligent, careless’	chudoj ‘bad’
C. kompka ‘block, blouder’	komok ‘small lump’
D. letka ‘crosswise layers of any material’	kletka ‘cage’
E. louhka ‘pleasant, nice’	lovkij ‘swift, clever’
F. lovia ‘to grasp’	lovit ‘to catch’
G. manerkka ‘milk jar or can’	manerka ‘water bottle’
H. masurikka ‘cheater’	mazurik ‘a crook’
I. masurniekka ‘villain’	mazurnik ‘pickpocket’
J. patsukka ‘batting, filler’	pod sukno ‘that which is sewn under the cloth’
K. poslipai ‘a schnapps after bathing’	posle bani ‘after the bath’
L. potvaalu ‘ground floor’	podval ‘cellar’
M. rijutti ‘orphanage’	prijut ‘asylum or poorhouse’
N. saminkka ‘sailboat built from Russian barge’	zamenka ‘transformation’
O. torossia ‘to stand around in the same place’	storožit ‘to guard or watch’
P. sura ‘chunky ice and thick water at the bank’	žur ‘sediment’
Q. surina ‘sister’s husband’	šurin ‘wife’s brother’
R. vilkka ‘pitch fork’	vilka ‘fork’

The above sampling provides an inimitable insight to the type of lexical convergence observed in endangered languages. Haugen’s explanation of the process of borrowing (1969: 402-03) can be applied here as semantic loan shifts with or without phonological accommodation. The tokens, extracted from the same ephemeral sources analyzed earlier in this study (cf. Plöger and Haarmann in Chapter 4) cross-referenced with lexicographic texts (cf. Chapter 5), reveal processes of style reduction in Table 13b and perhaps a further restriction in usage in, as well as that of lexical or morphological simplification in Table 13c. “The loanword…has been used as evidence for cultural diffusion, on the assumption that cultural influence inevitably leads to a borrowing of terminology.” (Haugen 1969: 11)

The dialect samples on the previous pages possibly show hints of innovation during the final stages of cultural adaption. Different dialects may illustrate different degrees of acculturation as levels of deconstruction evidently varied due to linguistic exclusion, repression,

elimination, etc. Differences between need-filling borrowings and core vocabulary borrowings of the linguistic paradigm by minority languages are indicative of language decay and are discussed by Hoenigswald, who supports the understanding of simplification as a decisively putative characteristic of dying languages. (348-9) In fact, convergence can alternately be viewed as an indicator of simplification since it frequently capitalizes on simplification processes through which minority languages conform and assimilate. In accordance with this suggestion, abstract semantic merging in Ingrian dialects depicts plausible cause for simplification toward and outright substitution with neighboring Russian lexemes, e.g. Table 13a-B: Ing. *hotniekka* 'greedy' < Russ. *ochotnik* 'lover of something' instead of the original Ingrian terms *ahnaz* or *ahnaat* meaning 'greedy', and Table 13c-A: Ing. *holostoi* 'independent' < Russ. *cholostoj* 'single, unmarried' instead of the original Ingrian term *itsenäin* meaning 'independent'.

Worthy of further investigation is allegorical substitution or code-switching data to obtain greater awareness toward the direction a speech community's ethno-linguistic identification leans. "While situational code-switching is mostly guided by functional considerations of setting and participants, metaphorical code-switching is guided by more expressive concerns, which provide an important source of insights about the connotative meanings of these codes to their speakers." (Kroskrity 193) The challenge here is to contemplate whether the above loanwords occur situationally or metaphorically. The majority of connotations that surface in the list compiled above correlate to negative associations with the dominant ethnic group and, in accordance with Kroskrity's view, reveal choice in either communicative motivation or in appropriateness for the language best suited for immediate expression. (194) By altering the definition of a loanword slightly, negatively or diminuitively, the minority speaker chooses

his/her attitude in spite of succumbing lexically or sententially to dominant speech group parameters.

Code-switching, the extent of which accompanies widespread bilingualism, which is often cited as a sure sign toward linguistic extinction, rests on a variety of grammatical principles. Suzanne Romaine discusses a syntactic rule that possibly explains the sentential role of the loanword samplings below, namely the equivalence constraint. "[It] predicts that code switches will tend to occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate a syntactic rule of either language…at points where the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other." (58) She notes that the more structurally similar two languages are, the greater syntactic opportunity for code-switching should exist. Alternatively, the more dissimilar two languages are, e.g. a Slavic versus a Finno-Uralic family member, syntactic opportunity becomes less accessible. (59) It may then be presumed that for two dissimilar languages or dialects, lexical borrowing would supercede sentential borrowing. The findings from recorded speech of older remigrants below indicate evidence of both processes and a different type of chronologic study would be necessary to determine which transformation tended to occur first. Informants typically combined some acquired features from Standard Finnish with embedded lexematic influence from either Russian or Estonian. Explicit examples in the dialect texts and transcriptions are the sprinkling of Russian particles and conjunctions.

Table 14: Tokens of Russian grammatical influence

	Russian	Russian Romanized in Ingrian	English definition of Ingrian
a)	вот	vot	‘well’
b)	так	tak	‘so’
c)	вот так	vot tak or vottak	‘well so’
d)	что	shto	‘what’
e)	и	i	‘and’
f)	а	a	‘but’
g)	или	ili	‘or’
h)	ведь	vet’ or vet	(clitic or emphatic particle)

One also witnesses such particles modeled after Russian syntax:

Ing. Sillo vet omenii kasvatettii paljo.
Russ. Тогда ведь картофеля выращивали много.
ADV EP* Subj-N-pl V-pass-pl ADJ
‘Back when a lot of potatoes were grown.’

Ing. A miDä siä tumash?
Russ. А что ты думаешь?
EP* Comp Pron2ps V-2ps
‘So what do you think?’

7.3.1 Language abandonment

Ingrians have submitted to external pressure to acculturate at the expense of cherished traditions with no hope of gaining any type of cultural autonomy or acknowledgment. They feel their language is neither capable nor worthy of surviving, since their collective minority identity is powerless and no longer continues to be of social relevance. Systematic discrimination of Uralic minorities grew intensely in the twentieth century and this, coupled with the lack of will to linguistically endure, speeds up the acculturative process toward socio-linguistic homogeneity. “Minorities, in particular, are “matter out of place” in relation to nationalism; their distinctiveness is in itself a sign of the lack of congruence between nationalist ideology and social reality.” (Eriksen 11)

It pays to bear in mind that the Ingrian language and dialects were denied officialization, but nowhere in post-Stalinist Russia were they banned from use in non-official capacities. However, the Ingrian vernaculars were lost not only due to enforcement of metropolitan language education but more pointedly to the lack of willingness to resist linguistic encroachment and preserve their heritage language. Officialization is directly proportional to the level of prestige afforded a minority tongue. Ingrian-Finnish was associated with countryside customs, a rural economy, a subordinate political status, religious tradition, and a peculiar minority language. One's sense of group-prestige and linguistic pride was probably negligible. The Ingrians and the Votes, who constituted the true eastern Finnish periphery, simultaneously constituted the citizenry surrounding the great city of revolution and ideological birth, Leningrad, along the far western border of the USSR and no-man's land, an area which was off-limits to foreigners and visitors from other parts of the USSR. This dual encapsulation was perhaps one reason why little was known or published about these speech communities, which were likely regarded as odd ethno-linguistic islands.

Brenziger et al. stress in their writings on language death in Africa that the absence of group vitality is a sure indicator that the minority ethnic faction in question will disappear as a distinct group. (30) Likewise, "…those with low ethnolinguistic vitality[82] will tend to be replaced by the dominant language". (Tollefson 71) Another term for this 'replacement' or 'disappearance' is actually *language shift*. The terminology at times appears mutually exchangeable in language death situations, however language shift alone may not constitute

[82] Within the framework of accommodation theory, Tollefson measures the level of ethno-linguistic vitality by a) status: amount of a group's economic resources and social prestige; b) demography: population and distribution; and c) institutional support: the representation of speakers in formal and informal institutions. (71) In applying these measurements to Ingrian, which registers zero at every count, it could be said that ethno-linguistic vitality is virtually non-existent.

complete eradication of the weaker component. It is the separation of individual identity from the group identity which language *use* or dis*use* is perpetuated. "Negative views toward one's own language are not infrequently encountered, particularly among populations under the contrastive impact of culturally relevant classicals or econopolitically more advantageous vernaculars. Such negative views, if long and widely entertained, often contribute to language shift, and ultimately, to language loss." (Fishman 123)

As discussed early on in this study, Ingrian is believed to have originated as an off-shoot from Old Karelian in the ninth century. Some ethnic Ingrian-Russian-Finns still refer to themselves as Karelians to this day (cf. paragraph below), which only complicates the identity issue. "It's admitted to distinguish the independent Izhora language, although the Izhora call themselves the Karelians." (Tsypanov 2000) Multiple ethnicities in accordance with one's daily functional needs are commonly admitted to in multi-cultural and multi-linguistic settings, e.g. the male Ingrian adoption of the Russian wife's surname in intermarriages. This categorically suggests that identifying oneself as Russian is worth the forfeiture of the Ingrian family name and tradition. As a prime example of the weight prestige carries, assimilation at degrees well beyond language may be undertaken for the promise of cultural and economic benefit.

Although current linguistic-related identity issues were addressed in the previous chapter, it is worthwhile to specify historical reasons pertaining to a group's will and pride in maintaining or not maintaining their heritage language. Past justification for linguistic abandonment or compulsory realignment, the effects of which have lingered well into the present, could possibly be due to the fact that the language, culture and status of Karelian simply has carried more prestige. The lesser regarded but closely related minority Balto-Finnic language group of Ingria strives to identify with the Karelians, who (1) enjoy a rich literary and musical history, (2)

recognize their religious impetus with the Finnish Bible having been printed in Karelian before any other Eastern-Finnic dialect, (3) have a permanent 'soft-spot' in the heart of Finns as evidenced in highly active music, literary and social groups, news publications, etc., (4) have benefited from the first dialect dictionary publishing and college-course status, and (5) have been recognized and granted autonomous cultural status (ASSR) while part of the Soviet Union, including a reorganization of the republic from 1940 to 1956 to Karelo-Finnish Union Republic. Karelia and Ingria experienced parallel political, geographic and religious divisions and developments that history has inflicted. These common traits, however, are differentiated by the fact that one group has had the respect, financial support and good wishes from Finland to maintain its cultural and linguistic heritage while the other was left behind the Iron Curtain without much consideration for preservation until 1991. This is the year in which the President of Finland, Mauno Koivisto, granted citizenship to any Ingrian in Russia who could prove his or her Finnish lineage. Hence residual, ethnic Ingrians were afforded the opportunity to culturally reintegrate with their brethren Finns, the linguistic consequences of which will be discussed in section 7.4.

After Soviet occupation, traditional language planners in the former Eastern Bloc states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria were quite active in their task of refurbishing their national languages and ridding them of past Russian influence as "terms for new concepts were created from the language's own native materials." (Décsy 384) For Ingrian and other internal, non-peripheral Uralic minorities of the former USSR, language dissociation was much more challenging to undertake due to the intimate functional influence of Russian in the daily discourse of minority communities and to the lack of cohesive, organized efforts to reassemble and reevaluate language maintenance issues. The conditions engendering internal

innovation and production of neologisms would have seemed unfavorable or disadvantageous for Uralic minorities like Ingrian. Loan blends and translations tend to pave a more effortless and uncomplicated avenue toward linguistic acculturation than outright creation. Nevertheless, there exists no reason why the Russian language cannot serve a supra-ethnic communicative purpose as a lingua franca or type of hybrid language throughout the Uralic region, but without replacing the indigenous language itself.[83]

The consequences of side-stepping the group mentality can be devastating to linguistic integrity, as Brenziger alludes, "The decision to abandon one's own language always derives from a change in the self-esteem of the speech community. In cases of language shift one could observe that members, very often the younger generation of minorities, regard their own community as being inferior." (37) Therefore, evidence of faltering (e.g. linguistic disloyalty, changing value systems, etc.) should most likely occur in the communal group before it does in the individual. Did Ingrians freely choose to abandon their language and thus, that part of their ethnicity? Clearly, Ingrians were not valued; nor did they value themselves as being important to the future development of the Balto-Finnic region. Brenziger et al further claim that the fundamental right of self-determination, and the free choice of abandoning one's own language or of maintaining it, should be guaranteed even for minority groups. (41) He is referring, however, to an ideal scenario in which the governing group possesses a positive attitude toward its minority speech communities and embraces future linguistic diversity.

When the speech community is absorbed into the dominant speech group, gravitating toward a defeatist attitude and deciding for economic or pragmatic reasons not to transmit the language and its ethnic components, then all linguistic options for language maintenance seem

[83] Such decisions, however, are made by the minority speech communities and not by linguists seeking idyllic interlocutory situations or by politicians seeking interethnic settings for exploitation.

unattainable for younger speech-community members. As the Ingrian language community existed for primarily socio-economic reasons, it was the individual's responsibility and desire to maintain the language norms and cultural traditions. Namely, the older generations held the last straws of linguistic competence while those of middle-age slid into semi-speaker status. Mother-tongue displacement and subsequent abandonment can be observed in all younger generations. "The languages at the lower end of the prestige scale retreat from ever increasing areas of their earlier functional domains, displaced by higher prestige languages, until there is nothing left for them appropriately to be used about." (Denison 21) This holds true as the mother tongue becomes the medium in which everything outdated and traditional is conveyed while Russian becomes that in which everything innovative and sophisticated is expressed. Schools can be viewed as transmitters of not only cultural literacy, but also of several modes of action—scientific, societal and political—and are obviously crucial for modern development of a language. Since Ingrian language has been excluded from school curricula from 1937 onward, Ingrian speech communities never crossed that bridge to linguistic modernity.

Thus, Russian has displaced the minor Uralic languages for most written and spoken purposes. As alluded to in Chapter 3, the minority language is oftentimes the first line of attack for dominant language policy makers in breaking down or diluting the heritage culture. Erosion of a Balto-Finnic language or dialect is directly related to the encroachment of Russian culture and speech. It can be considered here the predatory language. Trends in language or dialect attrition for this family may include, as a probable result of advanced transference: gender assignment (a prominent feature of many Finnic languages is the lack gender as a grammatical category), pre- and post-positional assimilatory phenomena, word order change, and phonologic accommodation. Documenting Russian loanword usage from an areal linguistic perspective

aids in better understanding the point in language typology to which the Ingrian-Finns and other Uralo-Finnic speaking people had arrived by the end of the twentieth century. The imported linguistic rules rendering such feature alterations have been willingly adopted by these minority speakers and a thorough examination of them is best suited for a comparative study on circum-Baltic discourse.

While the fostering of bilingualism may be a low priority for current Russian legislators, it is up to the speakers of local languages, in a spirit of linguistic allegiance, to foster a desire to maintain the speech community and prevent what is often referred to in anthropo-linguistic circles as self-inflicted linguicide. Poor self-attitude and a low degree of attachment consequentially contribute to a weak and vulnerable Ingrian ethnicity that augments evolutionary linguistic features, e.g. loanword processes, which aide in identifying patterns of serious language endangerment coupled with social, emotional and intellectual loss. A pattern of minority language attitudes was sketched in 1990 by Jantsje Sikma for the Brussels Research Centre on Multilingualism, in which emotional and rational aspects were divided between positive and negative attitudes based on informants representing 34 minority languages. His chart is reproduced below (89).

Table 15: Minority language attitudes

	POSITIVE ATTITUDE	NEGATIVE ATTITUDE
EMOTIONAL	feeling at ease	feeling of inferiority
	pride	shame
	group identity	
RATIONAL	cultural relevance	low (economic) value

The conclusive responses indicate inner-speaker conflict, proudly defending their language when necessary yet at other times being defeatist and pessimistic. Sikma admits that a speaker may situationally show different attitudes. "What is called "national character" is the way in which

the linguistic inheritance of a particular group has molded the thoughts, feelings and behavior of the members of that group." (Weightman 57) The emotional and rational awareness factors for Ingrians would appear to have been entirely negative, since their small speech community had suddenly and swiftly abandoned the language, no longer sensing the worth of its continued existence. As previously discussed, neither pride nor group identity were a high priority, given that internal (human resources) and external (economic resources) community support of positive attitudinal aspects toward the heritage language never increased while relegation to fewer and ever narrowing domains did. With the absence of a positive ethno-linguistic consciousness in the regions where some form of Ingrian was spoken, any potential cultural relevance was doomed, beginning with an era in Soviet history during which cultural and linguistic homogeneity was the objective.[84] The following quote places responsibility not on the individual, but rather on institutional planning:

> Most language endangerment today is not the result of a free choice among linguistic options, but is instead the result of discrimination, of direct attack on the languages as such, as well as indirect attacks on local cultural and linguistc identities through every form of oppression and stigma, which have the aim of reducing those who have made them to deculturated and marginalized populations on the lowest rung of global hierarchies. (Hill 2002: 130)

It is perhaps a combination of institution and human being, of external and internal components, which provide nurturance for culture-linguistic relevance and development. However, ethnic self-awareness in the speech community cannot be imposed or legislated, as rhetoricists for much endangered languages would like to advocate, e.g. "They should be made to recognize the intellectual and emotional values of bilingualism and biculturalism…" (Wurm 1998: 197) or "The condition which must prevail in order to halt language loss is a form of sociopolitical and

economic justice in which this choice [to maintain and propagate one's native language] is not limited." (Hale 215) Some vanishing speech communities, similar to Ingrian and its dialects, no longer possess the will to maintain or revive the heritage language and culture. Their language's diminishing social and economic function was reason enough for outright and immediate abandonment. With appalling economic pressures on non-Russian ethnicities since commencement of the Russian Federation, there remained little choice but to concentrate on raising their substandard living conditions to that of a manageable level by opting for L2 assimilation or risk remaining on the periphery of the advantages afforded one who masters the dominant language. "Indeed, Russia today is a country of permanent crisis, whether in politics, economics or in society itself." (Haarmann 2002: 64) Haarmann's article on Russian identity in transition captures the current demise in that country, which is only worse for ethnic minorities within its borders: the lack of community feeling, the lack of social stability, the lack of cultural direction and the lack of political orientation (64-65). The only economic direction (devoid of linguistic or cultural consideration) for this dwindling contemporary Balto-Finnic population experiencing community-wide language loss was emigration to Finland, for which they had an open invitation if Ingrian-Finnish lineage could be proven.

7.4 Remigration and linguistic identity

"Remigration and emigration movements constitute a particular form of opposition." Gerhard Simon also observes, "Most people claim that they want to emigrate primarily to preserve their national, cultural, and linguistic identity." (334; 337) However, a study conducted by Finland's Institute for Immigration appears to prove otherwise, pointing to less idealistic and

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[84] Sikma's study included none of the Finno-Ugric languages in his Lesser Used Languages list. Since most of the threatened languages in this family exist on Russian territory, (which was still Soviet-run during the time of the publication) it could have proven more difficult to carry out his study.

more pragmatic motives inspiring emigration. Ethnic principles were not once declared. Ten remigrants were interviewed in 1997 to document their reasons for leaving Russia and the following was revealed, but in no particular order of magnitude:

a) unstable economy
b) feelings of insecurity
c) crime
d) miserable living conditions
e) inadequate salaries
f) insufficient and delinquent pensions
g) unemployment or the threat thereof
h) frustration and feelings of helplessness
i) fear of sons being drafted to the Russian Army
j) hope for a better future for their children (Kyntäjä 129-130)

The decree had a downside, which was the final emptying of the Ingrian territory of Ingrians, most of whom have left their land and taken their historico-ethnicities with them. No cultural or linguistic revival is deemed possible. "Changes in environment would mean that the cultural and social setting in which a given language had been functioning, usually for a very long time, have been replaced by new and quite different ones as a result of irresistible culture contact and clash, with the traditional language unsuited for readily functioning as a vehicle of expression of the new culture." (Wurm 1991: 3) Accordingly, no further linguistic allegiance to local speech varieties and no desire to foster bilingualism by either side existed.

Remigration has a negative effect on language preservation because the mastering of Standard Finnish is imperative for any type of success…"Learning the new language becomes their main objective and all that has been developed through centuries and preserved through the Soviet era—disappears." (Kyntäjä 131) The effort in promoting remigration legislation through Finnish parliament and packaging it for the Finnish people was another means, it seems, for repatriation of some sort—for the lack of defense and support of one's kindred culture, i.e. the

return of Ingrian refugees to Stalin's regime after World War II. (cf. 2.0.3) However, the policy was an invitation, blind to the socio-linguistic reality across the Gulf. If two grandparents were somehow tied to Finland, the Russian citizen could emigrate. This blindness was quickly understood when Finns realized these people had become quite Russified and were ill-prepared for integration into Finnish society, which neatly operates under a different value system. Ethno-profiles would most likely reveal differing and even confrontational linguistic attitudes between native Finns and the Russianized remigrants, e.g. culture-specific modes of behavior and ways of thinking. It is apparent that the majority of Ingrians settling in from Russia are fully Russian in terms of language and self-identification. "The Finns have discovered that these "brothers" do not share their language or Finno-Ugric culture and don't care to...efforts to integrate the Ingrians have failed." (Smirnov 24) Continued preference for Russian language television and radio programming, newspaper and magazine publications, dress style, religion, etc. supports the unwillingness to assimilate, which is far more difficult than maintaining expatriate-like cohesion. Younger russified Ingrian remigrants, past the age of mandatory schooling and already experiencing discrimination in the work force (primarily due to incompetence in Finnish language skills) and changing social settings, now have a reputation for criminal activity. It follows that ethnic Russian attachments are detrimental to acculturation and advancement.

A parallel to repeated ethnocentric attitudes of Finns can be drawn between the Ingrian remigration and the Karelian post-World War II status in Finland, namely, Finns today holding Ingrians in contempt for the privileges they receive from job placement (at the expense of a native Finn filling the position) to complementary housing, health, day care, educational benefits and pensions, as they did the post-war Karelians: "The local people were also personally bitter and jealous when the Karelian peasants received new farms." (Raninen-Siiskonen 372) A more

current sentiment is observed by someone who works intimately with the cultural and linguistic rehabilitation of Ingrians on a daily basis in Finland: "Rasismiin taipuvaiset suomalaiset kohtelevat inkerläisiä joskus tavalla, mikä ilmentää pitkiä ja sitkeitä ryssänvihan perinteitä." (Miettinen 8) Finns inclined to be racist treat Ingrians in a way that expresses the long and vicious tradition of Russian hatred. (translation mine)

Many young Ingrians were considered well-educated in the USSR but, largely due to the language barrier, they unfortunately cannot obtain similar or advanced employment and usually encounter discrimination. Importantly, there exists an Ingrian aid organization in Helsinki (Inkerikeskus) where remigrants in and around the capital city can learn Finnish, take computer courses, receive help in completing forms, participate in social activities, etc.[85] The problem is that they arrive with papers confirming Finnish lineage but start living in their new home as Russians, having built a Russian society in Finland. Genetic affirmation is not enough to thumbnail ethnicity and it is clear that Ingrians cannot rediscover their heritage by clinging to the morals, customs and habits from whence they recently came. It is hoped through such services that Ingrians can begin to feel and nurture a bond with Finland and, in so doing, to construct a new Ingrian Finnish identity. Otherwise, the ethnic group will continue moving toward a complete transfer of identity, the success of which no longer entails an association with one's heritage language, but rather an integration of dissimilar cultures to form a new linguistic identity. Successful integration, whether of older Ingrians in Soviet Russia or of younger ones currently in Finland, depends ultimately on the multi-ethnic choice of viable and valued language

[85] For asylum seekers, Finnish language courses are required and provided directly by the government. Ingrians do not have asylum status and therefore, participation in Finnish culture and language courses remains optional. Those without a sense of Finnic identity lack the motivation to integrate and will linger at the periphery of Finnish society.

skills, which are esteemed cultural commodities directly affecting all other enculturation elements: economic, political, societal and emotional.

Extensive research into the survival of a small North American Indian tribe, the Arizona Tewa, reveals that they have been able to maintain their ancestral language for more than three hundred years, in spite of being surrounded exclusively by the Hopi nation and experiencing widespread Hopi intermarriage. How could this occur when one would expect a fate similar to that of the Ingrian people? Both language identities have fundamentally been insulated in a demographic sense from their outermost environments while diachronically 'protected' by a sphere of dominant language contact and subsequent linguistic interference.[86] Neither the Tewa nor the Ingrians immigrated to their homeland but rather were encroached upon by more powerful and culturally influential speech communities, so studies on minority bilingualism and ethno-linguistic attitudes cannot be entirely applied to such indigenous minority cases of endangered languages. The answer appears to be both pedagogic and psycholinguistic in nature: The Tewa take immense pride in their language abilities and levels of proficiency, and they view the necessity for (and command of) Hopi bilingualism as victorious in terms of cultural superiority. (Dorian 15; Kroskrity 23) What demarcates the opposite attitude, which Ingrians espoused, is twofold: The Tewa have not been controlled in any way by the Hopi and they have been able to further sustain their language through a robust religious foundation and ceremonial practice, whereas the Ingrian people have been under oppressive Czarist/Soviet/Federal rule, under which personal and group language attitudes were ideologically repressed, along with ecclesio-identity rights. (cf. Chapter 3) Moreover, if the Ingrians had exercised some sort of 'staying power' as the Tewa have and if the Soviets or Russians had exercised a greater degree

of 'tolerance' as the Hopi have, then we would be discussing parallel levels of justification and preservation. Language maintenance for the smallest of speech communities requires not only an external environment in which to flourish but also an internal attitude of desire and pride.[87]

Language maintenance also depends on group cohesion and the need to interact with others. For centuries, Ingrian peoples had been linguistically and culturally distinct from most surrounding inhabitants. Their social proximity to other ethnic Balto-Finnic speakers is not transparently determinable. Since there was regrettably not much will to defend and preserve Ingrian-group cohesion, linguistic identity faltered alongside the group's failing ethnic pride. Perhaps Ingrian speakers, in light of minimal cohesive efforts have neither realized nor benefited from essential interaction with other minority groups, i.e. other Balto-Finnic speakers. Not only an absence of national identity but also their image as a regional group became nonexistent. In the case of immigrants as minorities, Americans have often complained about their clannishness, overlooking, in the words of H. H. Boyesen, that "…the immigrant, of whatever nationality, has no choice but to be clannish, unless he chooses to associate with those who look down upon him." (Haugen 1969: 33) Clannishness, as a form of ethnocentrism via in-group preference and partiality, can therefore be deemed as beneficial to any minority speech community's self-esteem by increasing the sense of positive values their language holds. In other words, if Ingrians could have stuck together in a socio-linguistic or even intra-tribal sense with other Balto-Finnic

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[86] The Arizona Tewa were also included with the Hopi by the U.S. census bureau, just as Ingrians were eventually counted by Soviet census takers among all Finnic ethnicities in the Leningrad district as Leningrad Finns. (cf. chapter 3)

[87] Indiana University professor Paul Newman observes at the university's American Indian Studies Research Institute that minority language documentation and 'going out into the field' is something in which the current generation of graduate linguistics students is not interested. "I suspect that if I had funding to send a dozen graduate students to remote places to do work on dying languages, I would have trouble giving the money away." (Newman 14) Apparently Newman feels fieldwork procedures are not a priority with the students, as they are not completely prepared to collect, transcribe and manage the data for preservation.

minorities, their self-esteem as a group would have improved enough so that we might still be referring to a viable ethno-linguistic unit.

7.5 Conclusion

It seems that Ingrian-Finnish no longer encompasses a true speech community. The dialects are becoming more a historical-cultural entity than a tangible area for linguistic exploration. Remaining speakers each reflect an aging idiolect, uniquely reproducing the now obsolete mother tongue phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, prosodically and especially lexically by predominant Russian loanword usage. Domination by the culturally hegemonic linguistic group and pressure to assimilate has been too strong for speakers of Ingrian and, beyond embracing multiple ethnicities, the only option for them has been disintegration or complete disappearance from the cultural landscape. Although their numbers were never significant enough to opt for passive co-existence with the majority group or to negotiate for any type of limited linguistic or religious independence, let alone break away to establish their own state, Ingria and its dialects have left their impression. Ethnocentric and metropolitan attitudes by majority language speakers have contributed to the demise of the fragile Finnic language populations, whose poor expression of ethnic self-consciousness after planned Soviet dilution and diminution left nothing for resistance efforts to revitalize the speech communities as partial or minimal proficiency prevailed and, eventually, economic necessity prevails over the struggle for self-determination.

> "…dieses kleine Volk, das die urfinnischen Siedlungsgebiete nördlich und südlich der Neva bewohnte, hat während der letzten vierzig Jahre einen so schweren Leidensweg zurückgelegt, seine in Jahrhunderten geschaffene materielle und geistige Kultur ist so gründlich vernichtet worden, daβ die verbliebenen Kräfte der gewiβ nicht zahlreichen Heimkehrer kaum ausreichen dürften, um das zerstörte Nationalleben wieder aufzubauen." (Inkinen 699)

> This small populace, which originally settled the proto-Finnic region north and south of the Neva River, had experienced such a wearisome trail of tears over the past forty years, and their secular and intellectual culture was so fundamentally obliterated after centuries of creation, that the remaining strength of the few returnees could hardly be enough to rebuild the destroyed national life. (translation mine)

Cooperative initiatives in Uralic studies coupled with consideration of Russian linguistic perspectives may prove fruitful to Finno-Ugric linguists. The importance of primary documentation increases as the remaining octogenarian speakers of endangered Uralic languages and dialects expire, taking their heritage language with them. In such instances, it is pure research in fundamental linguistic description that requires attention as opposed to efforts promoting projects in applied linguistics for these moribund communities, although both areas can be considered as acute priorities. In sum, it is hoped this study, inspired by socio-linguistic and historical factors, is able to provide an overview of the tribulations experienced by oppressive language policies over, and treatment of, a minority Finnic speech community. An ethnic group which has been denied opportunities to cultivate its inherited linguistic and cultural symbols can earnestly be regarded as a forgotten people. Any contribution to the recognition and maintenance of poorly researched and little understood Uralic languages or dialects aids in strengthening the visibility of such ethnic heritage as valuable components of the non-Slavic culture in an internationally diverse ethno-linguistic area of old, continental Europe.

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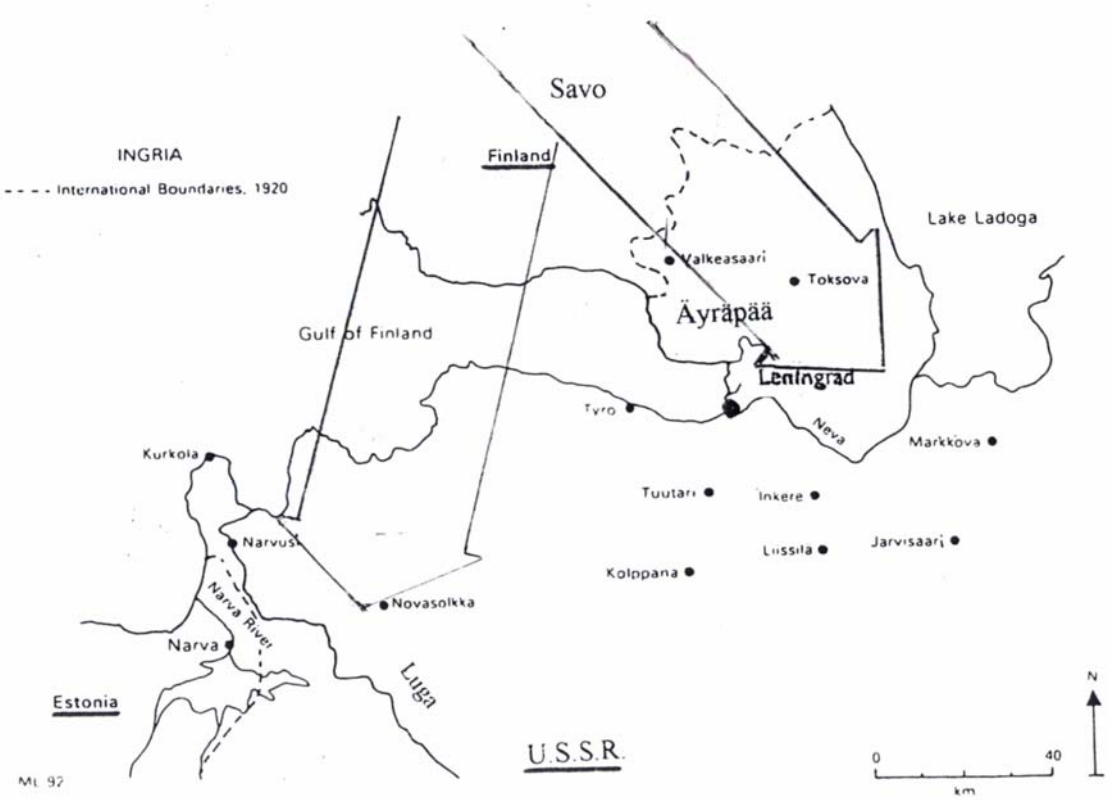
APPENDIX A

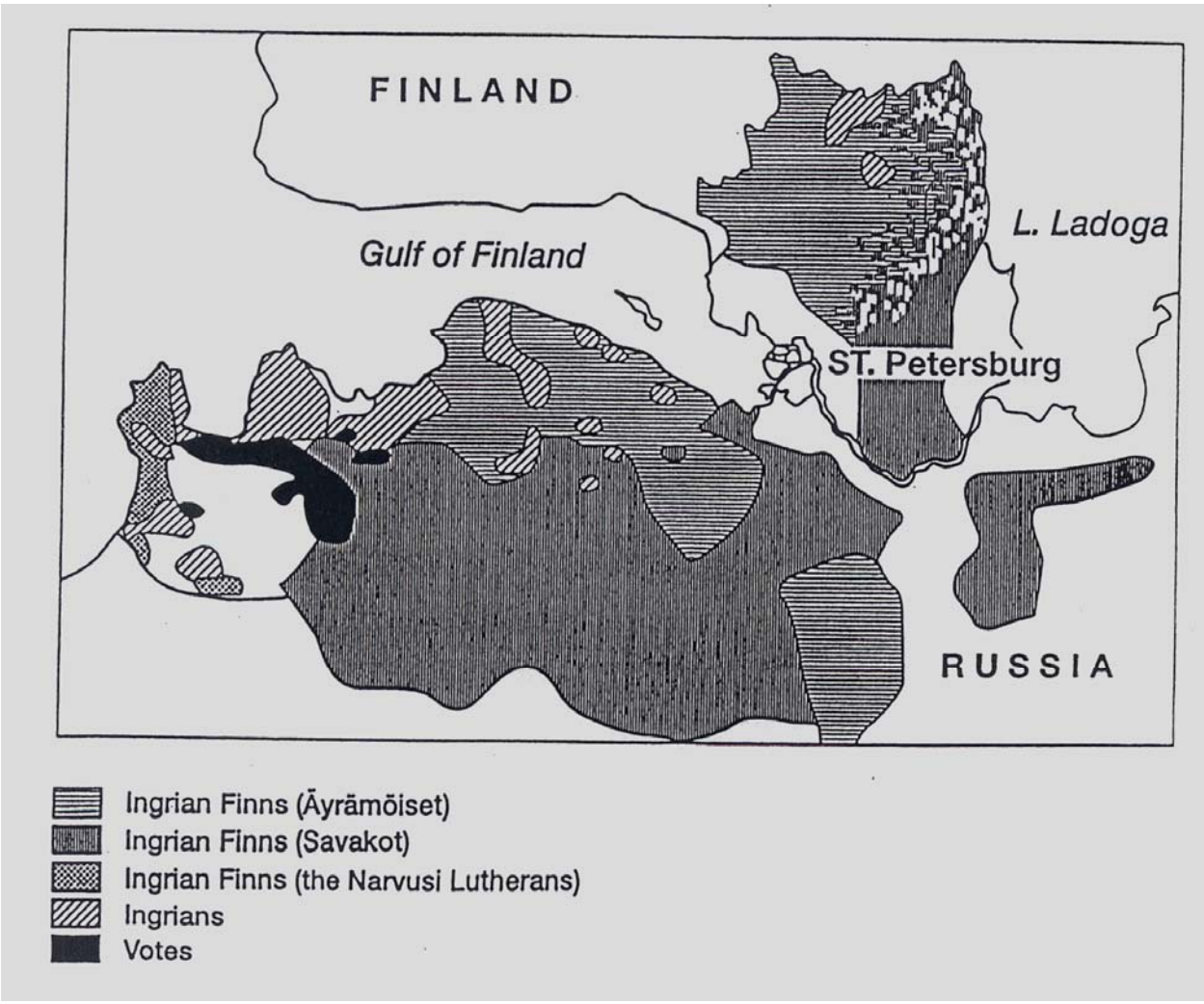
Seventeenth-century migration to Ingria



Inspired by Manja Lehto's drawing in "Ingrian Finns in Focus"
Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development Vol.13, 1992. p.427.

APPENDIX B

Mid-nineteenth century Ingrian settlements

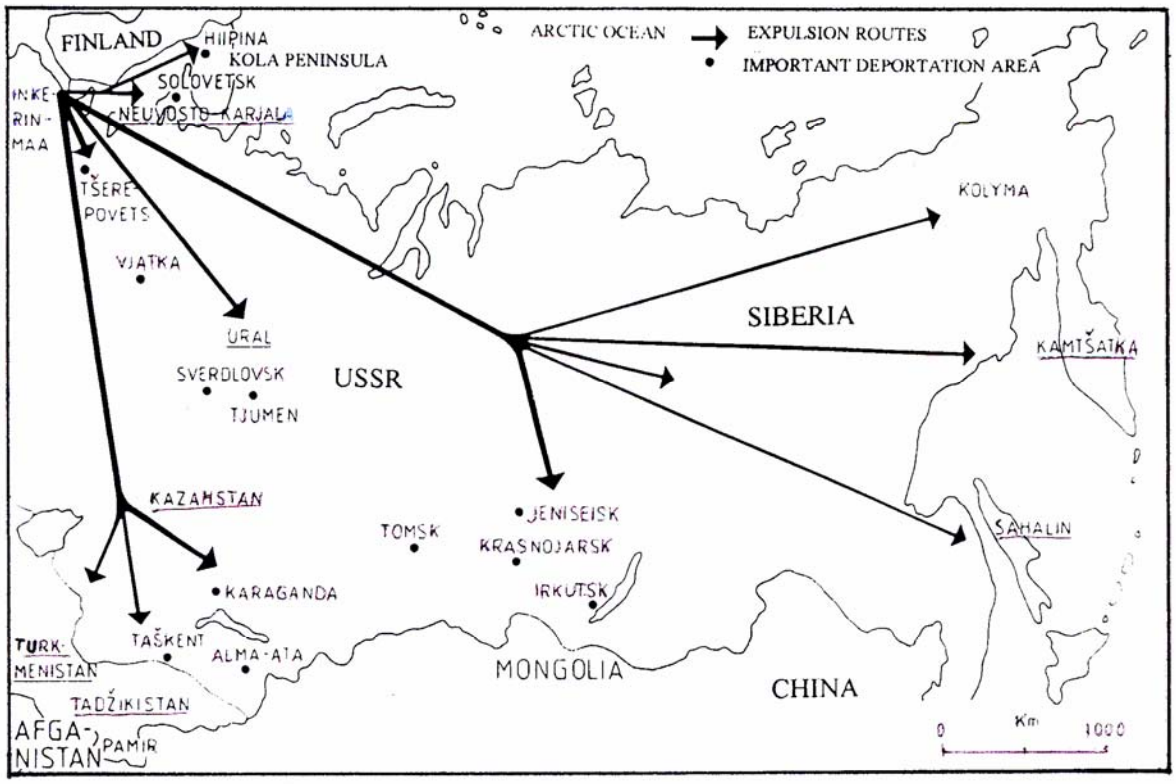


Obtained from Lauri Honko's Geisterglaube in Ingermanland I, 1962.

APPENDIX C

DESTINATIONS OF INGRIAN DEPORTATIONS

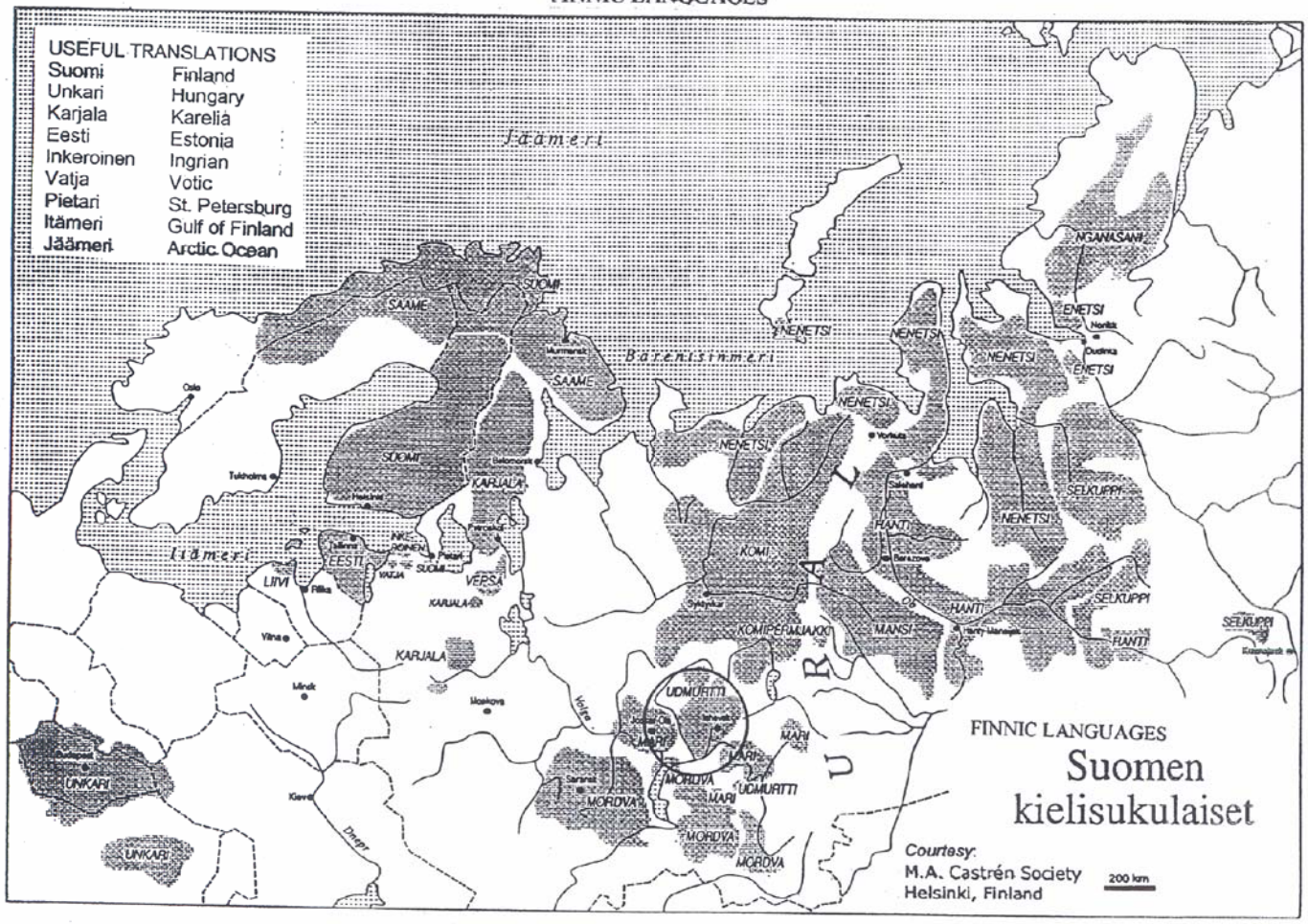
1929-1939



Adapted from Pekka Nevalianen's drawing in Toivo Flink's article titled in English, "Persecutions in Ingria" published in INKERI by the Finnish Literary Society in 1991.

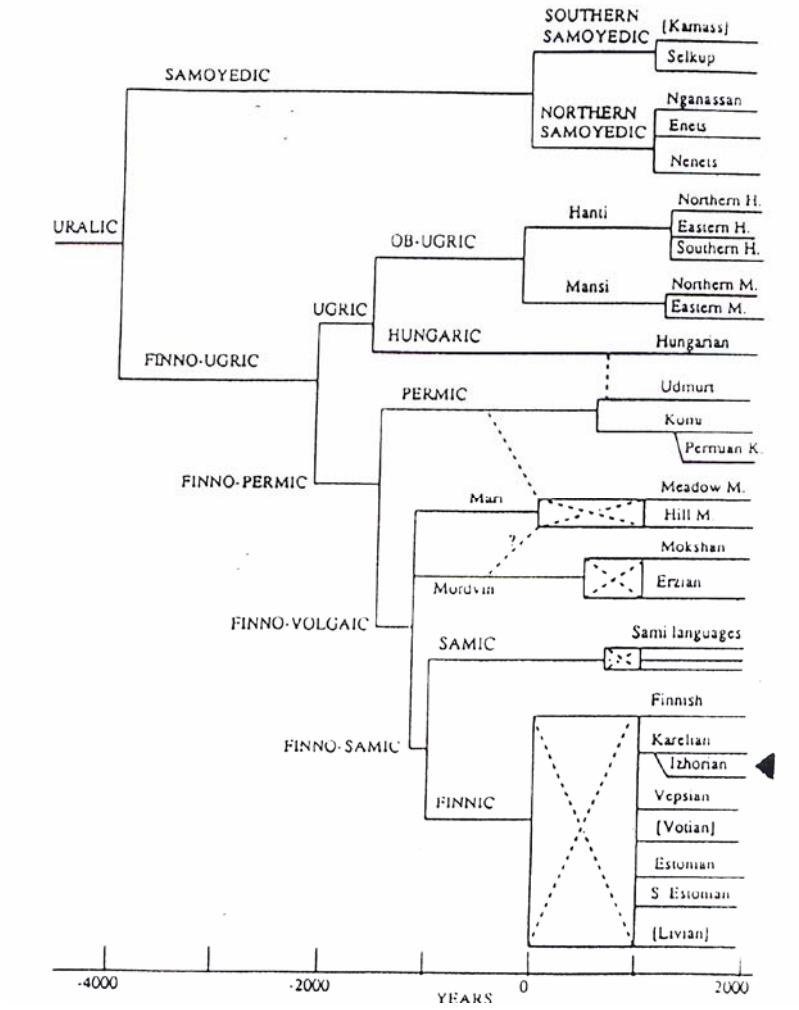
APPENDIX D

FINNIC LANGUAGES



APPENDIX E

INGRIAN LANGUAGE PLACEMENT WITHIN THE URALIC FAMILY



A consise historical overview of the Uralic languages based on Rein Taagepera's chronologic presentation (1999: 33).

APPENDIX F

General transcription sample

From: Joensuu-Bergen pilot project entitled, "Language Contacts in the Northeastern Regions of the Baltic Sea", led by Professors Ilkka and Muusa Savijärvi at the University of Joensuu.

MS: Maissi.

MA: sit, sit oli, sit oli tämä, kaik pellot tyhjät. no, minä sanoin et, kysyin et sit vanhemmilt, eläjilt et mitä mis voip kasvattaa. eei hyö ollit nin tietäji. samallain om mium poikaim paraika. hyö tietät paljo assia. no tehhä eivät taho [nauraa]. no ko eivät taho no tehkööt mitä tahtoot, kyllä mie sit heille,. iltasillam myöhempänä sit, tämä, lähtöö sannoo jot lähe- kitkemä. niin om paljo ruohoo, sataj ja ei sua vakkoilla, peruna on noussut ei sua vakkoilla ja,. joks se Hilja, vakkoilit? Hilja(lle), Hilja ono ja hänel ja on tervys huono Hiljal. työ oletta Nasanteril? vain ette ole?

MS: Nasanterilla (olemme).

MA: Nasanterilla, olette?

MS: Olemme.

MA: ja. jo-, -ko oletta kavva tällä?

MS: Me olemme olleet viikon.

MA: viikon jo? ah niin. no no, se on hyvä sitten.

MS: No nyt on, poika tuolla, kitkemässä.

MA: no, pittä se ainaki torru torut ni sit männöö(t). olet hilja sit eivät mäne.

MS: No ku työ tulitta tänne, takaisin nin, oliko tämä talo (tässä)?

MA: eij ollut ja sitten minull oli talo minä olin siellä vot mis Nasanterit nyt ellää siell on yks vanha talo jäänyt ennensotalline talo, sellanen, pikkarainen talo, ono, Nasanterin talo ono, siin ja siin ol vanha talo vastas. se talo ol ja sit, siell ei ollut ikkuni siell ei ollut. pöytää eij ollut tuolii ei mittä. itse teki- kaik, pienel lasin saim mist tein itse tekih hellan itsellaim mis keitin ja,. [Nauraa.] jälke sovan tulin sit olin nuori ja työt ol,. o-kos teillä heikko?

MS: Ei ku minä panen vähä ikkunaa kii ku tuos on nuo he-.

MA: o tuuloo?

MS: Ei ku helistävät nuo.

APPENDIX G

Linguistic transcription

The following provides an example of a 'second generation' linguistic transcription (i.e. not transcribed by the interviewer) of recorded Ingrian speech, courtesy of: The Finnish Literary Society Sound Archives 36, 1994 I. (numbering and English gloss mine)

1a. Vot, (venäjää naurahtaen). No mitäs viel laulan?

There, (laughing in Russian). Well what should I still sing?

1b. Hetki, mä pistän tähän tämmösen jalan ni se tukee vähän.

Wait, I'm going to place this leg like so, it supports a little.

Amalia saa silaikaa levätä vähäsen.

Amalia can in the meantime rest a while.

2. Ahah.

Ahah.

3. Sitten kohta meiän täytyyki lähteä. Kello on viistoista vaille. Yks laulu ehditään viel.

Then we'll soon have to leave. It's almost a quarter to. I can manage one more song.

4. Niitshe voo. No ei mittää Annel piäsöö peril sen niitshevoo.

Nothing. Well Annel won't get back before then it's nothing.

5. Niitshevoo mitä se on?

Nothing what is it?

6. Ei mittää.

Nothing.

7. Hetkinen.

Wait a minute.

8a. Mitä mie viel nyt selläsii, mitä mie sillon el laulant viel. Nyty pittää ajatellaki se, mitä mie laulasin (hyräilyä)

Now what kind I should, what have I then not yet sung. Now I have to thing about what I should sing. (humming)

8b. Naverna, em muista kaikkii sitä. No monta värssyy muistaa viel. Soap jo laulaa?

Of course, I don't remember all of it. But I still remember a number of verses. Okay to sing?

9. Joo.

Yeah.

'Third generation' linguistic transcription (i.e. re-transcription and analysis by another transcriber). Italics = Russian-based loans; Underlines = text absent from first transcription. * = corrected word order or spelling, according to original transcription.

1a. Vot, *ja pishu parjat pomnju*. (I write better than I remember) Tak, no mitäs viel laula? Olla mitä mile? (What will it be?)

1b. Hetki, mä pistän tämän näin päälle.* (on top like so) Mulla on helpompi ja paina sen verran (It's easier for me and presses about that much...) tämmösen jalan ni se tukee sitä.* No, (Well,) silaikaa Amalia saa levätä vähäsen.*

2. Ahah.

3. Sitten kohta meiän täytyyksen jälkeen (after that) lähteä. Kello, aha, kello (aha, the time...) on viistoista vaille. Ykslaulu ehditään viel.

4. *Niitshe voo, niitshevoo*. (Nothing.) No ei mittää Annel piäsöö peril sen *niitshevooki*. (emphatic suffix particle '-kin')

5. *Niitshevoo*, viel, (yet,) mikä se on?

6. Ei mitään. Niin, *niitshevoo*. (So, nothing.)

7. Hetkinen.

8a. Mitä, mitä （what） mie viel nyt selläsii, mitä mie sillon ne laulant viel.* *Vot,* （There,） nyt joutu （happen to） pittää ajatellaki se, mitä mie viel laulasin? Ja, ajattele mi, on, mitä mia laulasi vielä. （And, think what, should, what I should sing still.）

8b. Nyt, aha. （Now, aha.）

9. Sen （that）, *naverna*, em muista kaikkii sitä. No, monta värssyy muistaa vielä. Soppi （first person singular suffix） laulaa?*

10. Joo.

Short analysis:

As the underlining illustrates, a gamut of exclusions occurred in the second generation transcription—from interjections and particles to complete words and sentences. This could only have been revealed by carefully reviewing the original archived source tapes. Line (5) proves that the interviewer (‘first generation’ linguist involved in the documentation process) had no knowledge of Russian herself, having asked the interviewee the meaning of the previous utterance. Line (8b) was an untranscribed turn or interruption by the interviewer. The nuisances of thorough transcription define the necessity of discourse analysis in socio-linguistic study and error analysis of foreign language learners.

APPENDIX H

Comparative Lexicographic Analysis

MACROSTRUCTURE

	IMSK - 1971	PIMS - 2003
Front matter	Introduction, map, usage directions, abbreviations, diacritics, alphabet inventory	Intro for Finnish users, Russian intro to the introduction, Russian intro, usage directions, transcription notes, abbreviations, informant information
Post matter	Additional entries, Finnish index listing	n/a
Usage guides	introduction	introduction
Author's commentary	introduction	introduction
Editorial claims	introduction	introduction
Whitespace	N	better
Colored text	n/a	n/a
Illustrative material: pictorial	n/a	n/a
Foreign word inclusion	Y	N
Abbreviations tabulated	introduction	introduction

MICROSTRUCTURE

Lemma	indented, *italicized*	indented, **boldfaced**,
etymologies	identified by village of origin (Votic/Russian/Estonian/Finnish)	identified by dialect origin (Vuole, Kelto)
Stress markings	inherent	inherent
Grammatical markings	abbreviated	abbreviated
Regional labels	Y	Y/N
Collocations	n/a	n/a
Pronunciation & variations	extreme non-IPA diacritics on vowels and consonants, elision, lenition, stressed gemination	elision markings, some special vowel diacritics, lenition
Illustrative material: citational	*italicized*, lamentations, proverbs, incantations	(parenthetically numbered) proverb translations, sayings
Derivatives or compounds	Y	diminuitives
Other source labels	religious	religious, church words, metaphors
Stylistics (formality, vulgarity, etc.)	Childlike, rare, archaic, mode of expression,	Vulgarity, rudeness, disapproving, literary
Word formation or variation	headword split for adding suffixes, suffixational derivation	variational suffixes in **boldface**
homographs; homonyms; polysemy	◊ lies outside the group of meanings, numbered[superscript]	embellishment
Sense relations	vertical slashes	numbered in **boldface**
Definitions: sentential or phrasal	in source language (e.g.German)	all Russian

APPENDIX I

Dictionary of Ingrian Dialects sample: kehno ‘bad’

aletti sinä kekkoa tehhä ni leicatti oksä metsäst ni, kerron ai tava tehti enstä oksasta. Sa | »kivet luotii kekkoo» (P 58) | *kego* kuhi (L¹ 180). Ylä-L

kecopä n. Esim. *vakka om pannu ruist kecopäh kera* kukkuroilleen, aivan täyteen. Me

keh|ata v. *-tän, -talzin* viitsiä. | *ei k:ata tehä.* Me | *kaik linnut tekkät pezän, a hä* (käki) *ei k:tä. ei heinä* (sisiliskoja) *k:ata tappägä, ain sarondä jot hä om marom* (= käärmeen) *poikain. olivan laizan, evät k:annät pessä tehä, pivi meijen tehä.* Re | *eihä se k:ant paicaa* (sukkaa), *parzi vai vähälzen, te valmiz!* sillä valmis. Vi | *miä em pellol k:ann niitä* (leikata), *miä sanoin: miä en kehtä niitä einä. eihä tätöit kois k:annän olla pühhän.* Sa | *ven eivän ne kaikki tuntenät tehä eivätko k:annät tehä* käsitöitä. L-suu

kehhiä v. *rihmä kehinä.* | → *kehä.* Sa

kehn|o a. huono; myös nimenomaan laiha. | *k:o rõca* laiha, huono ruoka; *k:on lapsen* laihat lapset. *meil on k:o heppoin. kevärest om meres k:o jä.* Me | *vanha ja k:o* heikko. *muissamma mõ, meil on k:ot kälen, emmä maha lähä* (emme osaa puhua) *ni ku tõ.* Re | (Rikkaat pitivät komeita häitä.) *a vet köühät täz, k:ommäst piretti.* Sä | *k:o heppoin* hyvin laiha hevonen. *hüblan* (erään isot hallit) *olti vanhat süren hailin, ai kui k:on* (= laihat), *ühet kuvelän olti pivän ja sür pä. nin k:o kumman kovast k:o ja pin, se on sanonä paharuiskuin.* (Huono hevosmies) *hevoist raiskajä kovast* (ajaa kovasti) *ja k:ost sittä. hä on k:o kovast, läšsivä,* sairas. (A: *üt siä terve? B:*) *en ü, miul on nin k:o tervehtäz.* Sa | huono, hankala. *toukoa oli vähä k:o visata sen mašinankä.* L-suu | vilets. Ro | laiha. Vibjä | »No heill oli koti liian k., se sota polttiit koin, särkkiit kaik». Hev (P 134)

kehnokkai|n a. »huononpuoleinen». *kenen ne k:si lapsen olliin.* Me | »k:see» = pahanpäiväiseen, hyvin huonoon. Soi (Alava)

kehnon|nua v. *-nui* laihtua. *hä jouden ollessäkki k:nüi.* Me

kehv|el s. *-elin, -ellä, -elen, -elin, -elin* savi- t. hiekkaluoto, joko näkymätön tai veden pinnan yläpuolelle ulottuessaan kasvuton. *tijjät siä et sim paikkä om merez liva-k:el; savi-k:el. sil k:elel käüp paljo kallä.* Me | hiekkapohjainen n. 1½—4 sylen syvyinen matala meressä; sen pohja näkyy. *möllin k:el* pn., *mandoin k:el* pn. Lo | *k:elen* lähelle rantaa mereen kuiville jäävät kohdat veden laskiessa. Väärinoja | meressä oleva hiekkaharju, jonka myrsky on ajanut. Kurkola

kehvelä|gäz a. mäkinen. *k:kkähän mäen.* Me

kehä s. Kangasta luonnaan ryhdyttäessä: *rihman oli kärittä kehille* (t. *kehälle*), *kehän se rihma jõksi lõkkipuile.* Vi | *siz üks vühti panti kerikantoi, sis panti kehät seinä, sis kärittiin kahelle kehälle kain rihman.* Sa || kehä auringon ympärillä. Soi (Alava)

kehädä v. *kehhän* tehdä, valmistaa, kyhätä. *kehhäizin vändekäsin.* Me

keid|oz s. 1. keitos, keittäminen. | *piltäis sõvä minä ikkä k:öst.* Me | *ei sõl* (kesämerellä) *keidedä miltä, keidozrazjoi ei ole.* Re | Ro 2. hitsaus. *meijjen seppä ei maha tehä hüvvä k:öst.* Me

keisah|tä v. *vene k:ti.* Me

keijjüra s. *keijurai* loiva, matala harjanne, esim. kuiva kohta niityllä. Lo | *mäei ven ei ü ükstašsain, sin on nät keijjuran ja siz on notkon.* Sa

keikute|lla v. (Kankaan kutomisesta sp.) *hüvähän se ono keskipaikan k:lla ko joku sen alkä.* L-suu

kei|kkua v. *-un, -uin* keikkua. | *tormil* (= myrskyllä) *aluksen k:kkumin põrrüttä.* Me | (Arvoitus:) *kezät k:kkü pä kenaz, talvel kukkä küzen at?* (vastaus: vene). Sa

kei|lava v. *-län, -laizin* niitata. *näcla ol lõdü läsi ja k:lattu.* Me

keino s. keino, konsti. Me | Nar | ? < suom.

APPENDIX J

North Ingrian Dialect Dictionary sample: kehno ‘bad’

всегда нести к маткам

kehhuu *s.* хвастаться; yкś ukko kehu, jot miul ko on hyvä koira K один старик похвастался, какая у него хорошая собака; em‿mie kehtaa kuulla tuota kehumista K мне не охота слушать это хвастовство

kehijä *a.:* ko uot kelkkaa k., ni uo liukas liukumaa *погов.* V если любишь [садиться в] санки, то умей и кататься [, чтобы они хорошо скользили]

kehittyy *v.* развиваться, образовываться, становиться; ko tulloo sieme, se alkaa kehittyy mustaks V когда появляется семя, оно начинает темнеть (*букв.* становится черным); ko lypsää maijost maitoo, ni pihkamaito alkaa k. siihe sekkaa V если доить беспрерывно от одного молочного периода до другого, то начинает образовываться молозиво; näil nuoŕil eij‿uo kehittynt se voima yhtää K у этих молодых сила нисколько не развита

kehno 1. *a.* плохой, худой; слабый; k. ruoka V плохая пища; kehnot kenkät V худая обувь; kehnot ilmat V плохая погода; k. muist V плохая память; k. rihma V плохие нитки; k. ruataja V плохой работник; hänest eij‿uo kylpijäks, hänel on k. piä V он не может париться, у него голова слабая; nii mäń kehnoks, jot suť jakso kävellä V [он] так ослаб, что еле мог ходить; osaś kehnost venättä V [он] плохо говорил по-русски; riihes oľiit kehnot nutut piäl K в ригу надевали плохую одежду; katto oľ jo k., piť panna uus k. K крыша была уже плохая, надо было поставить новую крышу; mie olin oikein k. K я была очень слабая; eistäin śijoil annet'ii kehnompaa ruokaa K сначала свиньям давали похуже корм; tuoreet lepät palloit kehnost K сырая ольха плохо горела; 2. *s.* плохое, худое; perrees eij‿olt kehnoo konsaa V в семье никогда не было [ничего] худого; mittää kehnoo hyö miust eij‿uo nähneet V ничего плохого ни от меня не было; iässää ei sanont miul kehnoo V никогда не говорил мне худого [слова]; ◊ k. vatsa VK *(кого-л.)* слабит

kehnoissaa *adv.* K: olla k. быть плохо одетым; lapset oľ oikein k. дети были очень плохо одеты

порядке

kehnopuolimaine *a.* плоховатый; kenkät on kehnopuolimaist, mut välttäätha nuo V обувь плоховата, но ничего, сойдет

kehottaa *v.* советовать, предлагать; nuoret papit alkoit k. ńimittämmää lapśii uuven‿aikaśil ńimilöil K молодые попы стали советовать давать детям современные имена

kehtoittaa *v. 3. pers.* вызывать лень, усталость; надоедать; nii käi kehtoittammaa, mihikää ei ennää kehtajais lähtii V такая лень напала, никуда больше не хочется идти; en lähe seisomaa puot'ii, ńiin k. seisomine K не пойду стоять в магазин, так надоело стоять [в очереди]

kehuskelija *s.* хвастун, -ья; se on oikee k., kehhuu vaik mitä ei olekaa K этот такой хвастун, похвастается и в том, чего не было

kehvèl *s.* kehveľ K немощный, нерасторопный человек; meitä on täs kaks vanhaa kehvelii V нас тут двое немощных старух; kuka on sellane k., sitä eij‿ois tahtont kukkaa kerallee V кто такой нерасторопный, с тем никто не хотел вместе [работать]; sellasest kehvelist nyt mihi on, koha pyörii ko hämähäkki V от такого рохли никакого толку, только крутится, как паук; putovaaha se k. K упадет ведь, чертенок неуклюжий

kehä *s.* 1) круг, диск; massinas k. pyöri ympärsee, ja ne hankot vua viskoit kaik omenat syrjää K в машине диск крутился, и вилы только отбрасывали всю картошку в сторону; 2) K утроба рыбы; maksat otet't'ii kehäst suun kautta pois kalait печень вынимали из утробы через рот у рыбы; 3) мотушка на оси, на которую наматывают пряжу с ворóбьев, тюрик; kerinlauvoist rihmat kerit't'ii kehhilhe K с ворóбьев нити наматывали на тюрик; 4) венец вокруг солнца, луны; päivä ko on kehä sisäs, śillo ilmat muuttuut *примета* V когда солнце окружено венцом, тогда погода переменится; kuun ympärsee ko on k. talvel, śit tulloot huonot ilmat *примета* K если вокруг луны зимой венец, то будет плохая погода

kehäs *s.* копьё; kehästä viskoit V копьё

keikahutella *frekv. v.* подбрасывать, вскидывать; vasikka keikahutteľ takapuoltaa V теленок вскидывал зад

keikahuttaa *mom. v.* подбросить, вскинуть; k. piätää V тряхнуть головой

keikailla *v.* ходить, задрав голову; k. on ko männöö piä pistyś K keikailla — это когда ходит задрав голову; keikailemine on sellasta olleillaa olemista K задрав голову ходят, когда воображают

keikkamat'rei *adv.:* männä k. V полететь вверх тормашками

keikkuu *v.* 1) прыгать, скакать; eik hyö väsy, ko tuol viisli keikkuut? V они не устают, что так прыгают?; ofhevone keikkuu kahe jala pistyy V жеребец становится на дыбы; k. ko harakka V как сорока прыгает; ko puit'ii, pienet pant'ii olkiloihe keikkumaa K когда молотили, [мы] маленьких ребят поднимали на солому, где они прыгали; śiun keikkumisseis jo tuskoittaa K уже раздражает, что ты всё прыгаешь; hevone ravajaa, ko männöö tasasee, jot ei keiku K лошадь бежит рысью, когда бежит ровно, не скачет; 2) K быть в течке; jos hiä alko jo keikkuu uśjempaa, ńi se lehmä häviteť'ii poikkee если у неё уже стала повторяться течка, то эту корову резали (уничтожали)

keikkuvaine *a.* прыгающий, непостоянный; не в определенное число *(о празднике);* neljätpyhät, se on sellane k., kons on ylempän, kons alempän V Троица — она такая непостоянная, когда бывает раньше (выше по календарю), когда позже (ниже)

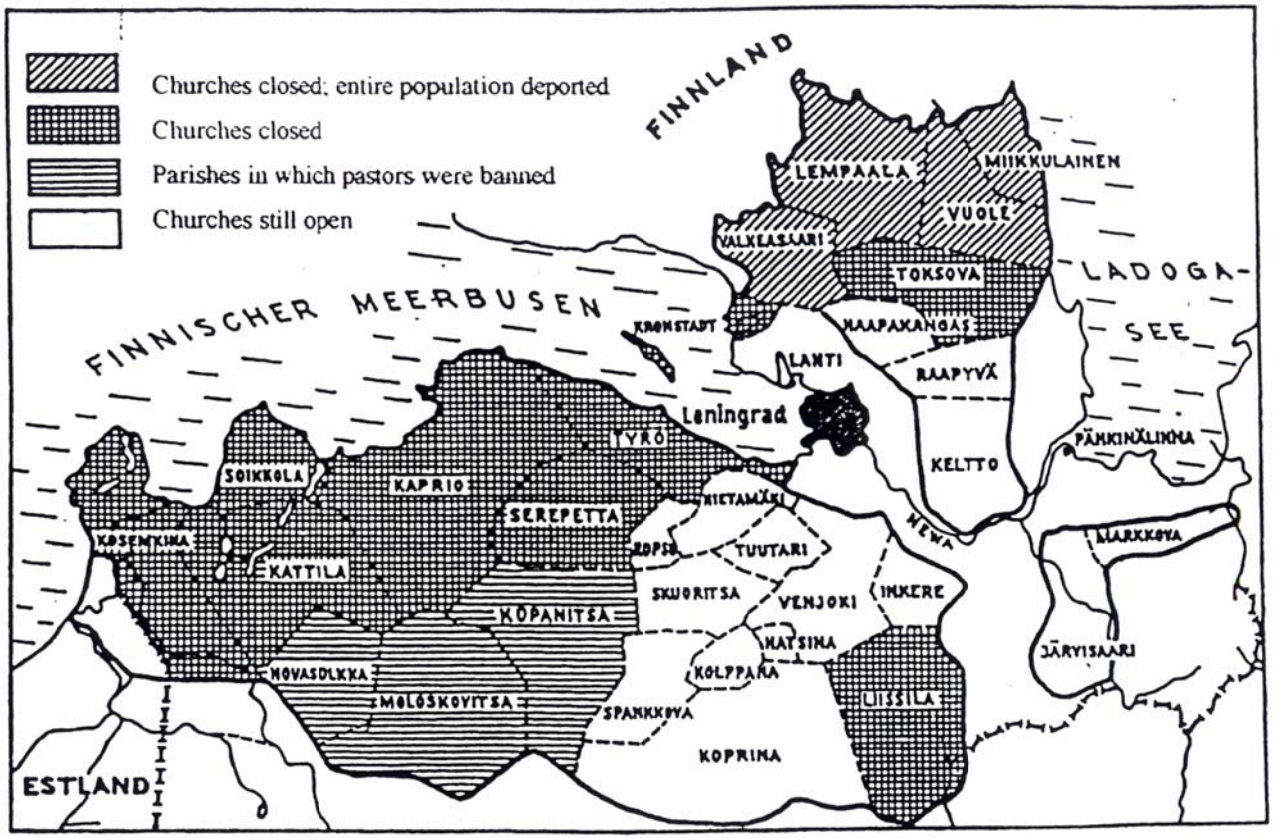
keikutella *v. тж. 3. pers.* 1) *frekv.* заставлять прыгать, подбрасывать; k. lasta sylessää V подбрасывать ребенка на руках; ries väliii nii keikuttèl louhkast V в санях иногда так приятно подбрасывало; 2) *deskr.:* kävellä k. V ходить, легко подпрыгивая

keikuttaa *v.* заставлять прыгать, подбрасывать; k. lasta V подбрасывать ребенка

keimailla *v.* кокетничать; pań hyvät nutut päällee ja keimaiľ peilin ies puoľ päivää K [она] надела на себя всё хорошее и вертелась перед зеркалом полдня

APPENDIX K

The parishes of Ingria in the mid-1930s



Source: Drawn from the map by Juuso Mustonen in Ingermandland—seine Geographie und Geschichte. 1941: Y.Y. Hämeen-Antilla, p.83.

APPENDIX L

Returning to one's childhood home

1995 photo supplied to author by the Luukkonen family.