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LAPPISH LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN SWEDEN

In Finno-Ugric linguistic research in Sweden, the Lappish language has always occupied a central position. This is quite natural, considering the circumstance that Lapps have lived in Sweden from time immemorial and have formed the aboriginal population of the northernmost parts of Sweden. They are now only a small minority of the population in these parts, but their language and their culture in general still form an important object of research, partly as an interesting language and an interesting form of culture in its own right, and partly because the Lappish language is an important member of the Finno-Ugric family of languages. It is natural that, e. g. the centre of Finnish studies is in Finland, that of Estonian studies in Estonia, and that of Hungarian studies in Hungary. The Lapps, on the other hand, have no country of their own, but live in four different countries. It is then evidently the responsibility of Finno-Ugric scholars in Sweden to study the language and the culture of the Lapps that live in Sweden, and so on.

This survey is not going to deal with the history of Lappish linguistic research in Sweden, but is intended to be a report on such research work as has been done recently and is perhaps not yet generally known, and above all to give information about such work as is being carried on at present and about research projects that are planned for the future.

I will start by mentioning the grand old man of Finno-Ugric linguistics in Sweden, Björn Collinder. Nowadays he occupies himself more with general linguistics than with Finno-Ugric research, but not long ago he published an important contribution to the knowledge of the Lappish language in Sweden, viz. a dictionary of Lappish place-names in Sweden (*Ordbok till Sveriges lappska ortnamn*, Uppsala 1964, 255 pages). This dictionary is based on the extensive collection of Lappish place-names that is kept in the Swedish Place-name Archives in Uppsala (*Svenska Ortnamnsarkivet*). A very considerable part of this material has been collected by Collinder himself during his field-work.

Collinder's dictionary of the Lappish place-names in Sweden does not record all the Lappish place-names, which would have been impossible in one volume, but rather those Lappish words that are used as place-names or form parts of place-names, and then only such names or parts of names as can be interpreted with certainty or with a reasonable degree of probability. As in many other languages, the Lappish place-names mostly consist of two parts, the second member being a word denoting some kind of locality, such as "lake", "river", "mountain" whereas the first member defines the place in question more closely. The second member of a place-name is almost always an ordinary word of the language and can be understood without difficulty, but the first member is often more difficult to interpret. It may be a word that is now extinct in the language, the name of a person that is no longer known, etc. The title-words of the place-name dictionary consist of those simple words that are used as place-names as such or as parts of place-names, in alphabetical order. Thus, e. g., if one wants to know what *Luossajaure* means, one has to look up the word *luossa* and the word *jaure*, and one is then informed that it means 'salmon lake'.

The dictionary contains place-name elements from all Lappish dialects in Sweden, and this makes it difficult to decide what kind of transcription to use. It should be at the same time accurate enough for scholarly purposes and reasonably easy to read for the general reader. The transcription used by Collinder is intended to be adaptable to both the northern and the southern dialects, and it does not conform in all respects to any of the ways of writing Lappish that have been used earlier.

If an etymological counterpart of a Lappish place-name element is found in Finnish, the Finnish correspondence is quoted, together with an indication that it is a loanword in one or the other direction, if such is the case. If it is a Finno-Ugric word that has counterparts in other Finno-Ugric languages, a reference is usually given to Collinder's etymological dictionary "Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary" (Stockholm 1955). In the case of Scandinavian loanwords a reference is usually given to Qvigstad's "Nordische Lehnwörter im Lappischen" (Kristiania 1893).

Talking of etymological dictionaries, we could mention a project that is being planned at the Finno-Ugric Institute of Uppsala University, viz. that of publishing an etymological dictionary of the Lappish language. The plan as such was conceived more than ten years ago and a good deal of material has been collected. In the meantime, the major part of the monumental Finnish etymological dictionary "Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja" (Helsinki 1955—) has been published, and two etymological dictionaries of the Hungarian language have been started (A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei I, Budapest 1967; A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára I, Budapest 1967). The Lappish material that is contained in these dictionaries will naturally have to be taken into due consideration in the preparation of the Lappish etymological dictionary. Especially the Finnish etymological dictionary contains a lot of valuable information on the origin of Lappish words, both originally cognate words in the two languages and Finnish loanwords in Lappish (and it also, of course, records the less numerous Lappish loanwords in Finnish). An important part of the Lappish vocabulary consists of the Scandinavian loanwords. The basic source for a knowledge of the latter is Qvigstad's "Nordische Lehnwörter im Lappischen", and a very important recent contribution is Tryggve Sköld's "Die Kriterien der urnordischen Lehnwörter im Lappischen» I (— Skrifter utgivna av

Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet 8, Uppsala 1961, 222 pages). The second part of this investigation is in progress, and it is expected to appear soon. Sköld has also published a separate volume on some special groups of Scandinavian loanwords in Lappish (*Einige germanische Lehnwörter im Lappischen und Finnischen*. — Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1960 2, 78 pages).

A couple of other dictionary projects should be mentioned here. We are fortunate enough to possess extensive descriptive dictionaries of most of the major Lappish dialect groups. Every student of Finno-Ugric linguistics is of course familiar with Konrad Nielsen's monumental "Lapp Dictionary" I—V (Oslo 1932—1962), which records the vocabulary of the Finnmark dialects in Norway, and equally important in its field is Harald Grundström's "Lulelappisches Wörterbuch" I—III (Uppsala 1946—1954), which is based on the Lappish dialects in the parishes Jokkmokk and Gällivare in Sweden. East Lappish is represented by T. I. Itkonen's "Wörterbuch des Kolta- und Kolalappischen" I—II (Helsinki 1958), and a comprehensive dictionary of the East Lappish dialect of Inari in Finland is known to be in active preparation and is eagerly expected. But for the South Lappish dialects no dictionary of comparable size is yet available. A lot of valuable information on the vocabulary of these dialects is to be found in two works by Eliel Lagercrantz: "Wörterbuch des Südlappischen" (Oslo 1926) and "Lappischer Wortschatz" I—II (Helsinki 1939). But a task that remains to be carried out is to collect all the various information that is to be had on the vocabulary of South Lappish and condense it into a comprehensive dictionary. This task is being undertaken by Gustav Hasselbrink, who developed himself into an eminent specialist of South Lappish, when he served for many years as a clergyman in the parish of Vilhelmina in the southern part of Swedish Lapland. His doctoral thesis "Vilhelminalapskans ljudlära" (Uppsala 1944) dealt with the phonetics and phonology of this dialect, which he has also treated in several other works, e. g. "Alternative analysis of the phonemic system in Central South-Lappish" (— Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 49, Bloomington—The Hague 1965).

Hasselbrink now lives in Uppsala, where he is preparing a dictionary of South Lappish. Besides the various printed material that is available, a very important source is the archive material that is kept mainly in Uppsala (in the Institute for Dialect and Folklore Research) and in Oslo. The South Lappish material in Sweden has been collected by, among others, K. B. Wiklund, Björn Collinder, and not least by Hasselbrink himself, and the material in Norway above all by Knut Bergsland, the eminent Norwegian specialist in South Lappish.

In 1947, the school authorities of Norway and Sweden decided to take into use in the Lappish schools in both countries a new form of the North Lappish literary language, which was a modification of the North Lappish written language introduced by Konrad Nielsen (the latter was in its turn a modification of the still older literary language used, e. g. by J. A. Friis). This new literary language is based on the western variety of Finnmark Lappish, the one spoken in Kautokeino, which conforms best to the Lappish dialects spoken in the northern parts of Swedish Lapland. It was created mainly by Knut Bergsland in Norway and Israel Ruong in Sweden in cooperation. Several books have been published in this language for use in the Lappish schools and for the benefit of the Lappish readers in general, among them a

new edition of Johan Turi's famous "Mui'talus sámiiid birra" (Stockholm 1965; first published in 1910; the title may be translated as "Report on the Lapps"). In his work as editor of this and other books in the new literary language, Ruong has been assisted by Olavi Korhonen, a young Lappologist who at present serves as a clergyman among the Lapps in Jokkmokk.

In order to make the new Lappish literary language more easily accessible to students, we need basic manuals in the form of grammars and dictionaries. Ruong has prepared some textbooks for use in the Lappish schools, and Bergsland has published a primer containing the fundamentals of the grammar together with reading exercises. Nils Erik Hansegård, docent of Finno-Ugric languages at Uppsala University, has published two textbooks for the Lapps who want to learn the new literary language (*Sámi-giella, gál'li giella*, Stockholm 1963; *Giellamet*, Stockholm 1968). These books were used as the basis of two radio courses. But we need a more comprehensive grammar and perhaps above all a dictionary, and it seems that these wants are going to be filled soon. Israel Ruong has written a grammar which is expected to be published this year, and Olavi Korhonen is preparing a dictionary.

It should also be mentioned that Israel Ruong has recently published a manual on the Lapps and their culture in general (*Samerna*, Stockholm 1969, 236 pages). It supplements in an admirable way the earlier manuals on the Lapps by directing special attention to the present state of the Lapps and the changes their culture and way of life are undergoing as a result of the rapid progress of modern industrialized civilization, especially the transition from the nomadic way of life to permanent settlement. From a linguistic point of view, this book is interesting because of the constant attention it pays to the linguistic expression of the Lappish culture. The Lappish terminology in various fields of activities is given and explained throughout the book.

Olavi Korhonen devotes his research work especially to the folklore of the Lapps. During several expeditions, partly alone and partly together with Finnish colleagues, he has made extensive collections of tape-recordings of folklore material. Particularly he has concentrated himself upon an intensive investigation of the remains of old folk belief in the Lappish village Dalvadas in the parish of Utsjoki in Finland close to the Norwegian border.

Nils Erik Hansegård has devoted himself particularly to the study of the numerous recent Finnish loanwords in North Lappish, especially in Jukkasjärvi Lappish, and he has published a doctoral thesis on this subject (*Recent Finnish loanwords in Jukkasjärvi Lappish*. — *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Uralica et Altaica Upsaliensia* 3, Uppsala 1967, 269 pages). The influence of Finnish on Lappish has been great throughout the ages, and in recent times this influence has continued with undiminished force in the northern parts of the Lappish area in Sweden, where the settled population speaks Finnish. As a matter of fact, it appears from Hansegård's investigation that in recent times and in our days this influence has been stronger in Jukkasjärvi than anywhere else, and it may be surprising to learn that not even the Lapps in Finland adopt new Finnish loanwords as readily as they do in Jukkasjärvi.

In an investigation of this kind, the first thing to do is of course to decide which Lappish words are loanwords, and then one has to decide which of the loanwords should be called recent and which are to be regarded as old. Hansegård means by recent loanwords such

words as seem to have been adopted during the last hundred years or approximately after 1850. As to their form, they are characterized by not having been fully integrated in the Lappish phonological system. They thus exhibit characteristics that more or less belong to Finnish and are not found in old Lappish words. Other criteria as to the age of the loanwords are their distribution in the various Lappish dialects, their occurrence in the old Lappish literature, etc.

The main part of the linguistic material in Hansegård's treatise, the loanwords, is presented in the form of two vocabularies, one containing "old loanwords" and the other "new loanwords". The number of old loanwords recorded here is about one thousand, and that of the new loanwords is considerably over one thousand. The Jukkasjärvi material has been collected by the author himself during many years of daily intercourse with the Lappish-speaking population, and it is presented under the title-words in the form of selected sentences heard by the author in everyday speech.

Shortly before his doctoral thesis, Hansegård published a separate investigation that was intended to serve as a basis for some of the conclusions in the work on the Finnish loanwords in Jukkasjärvi Lappish (Sea Lappish and Mountain Lappish. A comparison of Fiord Lappish and Jukkasjärvi Lappish. — JSFOu 66,6 1965). The Lappish dialect dealt with here is the one that is spoken in Norway in the old summer land of the Jukkasjärvi Lapps, where many of the old Jukkasjärvi Lapps have settled down. This dialect does not seem to have adopted loanwords from the Finns recently, and if a Finnish loanword is found both in Jukkasjärvi Lappish and in this "Fiord Lappish", this may be an indication that it is an "old loanword".

At present Hansegård is occupied with rearranging the material presented in the form of alphabetical wordlists in the doctoral thesis. Among other things, it could be an interesting task, related to linguistic psychology and sociology, to try to find out what kind of words have been most frequently adopted as loanwords in Lappish from Finnish and why they have been preferred. In order to be able to tackle such questions, Hansegård intends to arrange his vocabulary according to the meaning of the words, using the same method as Asbjørn Nesheim in Volume 4 of Konrad Nielsen's "Lapp Dictionary".

Another work that Hansegård has started is of an ethnological as well as linguistic character. In Jukkasjärvi as well as in the "Fiord area" in Norway, the old summer land of the Jukkasjärvi Lapps, he collects information on things that are connected with the transition of the Lapps from the nomadic to the settled way of life. One point of interest is to what extent the words connected with such things — agriculture, cattle breeding, various kinds of buildings, etc. — are borrowed from Finnish and from Scandinavian in the various parts of the settlement area.