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Petar Kehayov  
&  
Denis Kuzmin

The Karelian Dialect  
of Kolvitsa, Kola Peninsula

Petar Kehayov &  
Denis Kuzmin

**The Karelian  
Dialect of Kolvitsa,  
Kola Peninsula**



Kolvitsa is the only surviving Karelian village on the Kola Peninsula, and the northernmost Karelian village in the world. Its inhabitants speak a mixed migrant vernacular, which developed in isolation from the Karelian Proper dialect continuum. This study uses linguistic-ethnographic insights from the region to investigate the lexical and grammatical structure of receding Kolvitsa Karelian. The last generation of speakers manifests a profusion of alternative forms, not only across but also within idiolects, and the study explores different factors giving rise to this variation.

Kolvičča on viimeksi karjalaini kylä Kuolan niemimualla ta šamoin muajilman pohjosin karjalaini kylä. Šen eläjät ollah eri Vienan Karjalan paikkakunnilta tullehien šiirtolaisien jälkiläisie ta paissah šekamurrehta, kumpani on kehittyn erikseh varšinaiskarjalan murrehjatkuošta. Kirjašša tutkitah rappeutujan Kolvičan murtehen šanaštuo ta kielioppie alovehelta šuatujen lingvisti-etnografisien tietojen avulla. Karjalua taitajien viimeisen šukupolven kieleššä rikeneh tulou ilmi vaihtoehtosie muotoja šekä idiolektien välillä jotta idiolektien šiämeššä, ta tutkimukšeššä punnitah eri šyitä, kumpaset šuahah aikah tätä variatijuo.

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## 1. Introduction

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Kolvitsa lies on the northern coast of the White Sea, at the mouth of the Kolvitsa River, 30 km east of Kandalaksha in Murmansk Oblast. The village was founded in 1894 by migrants from Karelia and until the 1970s its population was almost exclusively Karelian, which makes it the only Karelian settlement on Kola Peninsula surviving into the second half of the 20th century.

Due to the distance from both Finland and Russian Karelia, as well as its solitary location, Kolvitsa long remained unnoticed by the scholarship interested in Karelian language and culture. In 1972, however, the village was accidentally discovered by the folklorists Aleksandra S. Stepanova and Nina A. Lavonen from the USSR Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk, who interviewed six of its residents. In the same year, their linguist colleague Pekka Zaikov briefly visited the village and interviewed two local speakers of Karelian. Fifteen years later, in 1987, the folklorist Aleksei Konkka from the same institute visited Kolvitsa and recorded further material. All these recordings are available at the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk, but so far these have not been used in linguistic research.

This book presents the first study of the Karelian variety spoken in Kolvitsa. For the most part, it reports the results of Petar Kehayov's research project "Vanishing Karelian in Murmansk Oblast: Toward a comprehensive documentation and description" (2017–2020), funded by *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. The study is based on material collected during authors' expeditions to the village in July/August 2017 and July/August 2018. As of 2017, eight Kolvitsans were able to communicate in Karelian (the oldest born in 1934, the youngest in 1956); another four/five were able to produce isolated words and phrases. Since this contemporary data does not suffice even for a rudimentary analysis of linguistic variation, we use Stepanova/Lavonen's, Zaikov's and Konkka's "snapshots" from 1972 and 1987. These materials do not only reveal linguistic facts missing from our recordings, but also allow us to investigate how Kolvitsa Karelian varies in time and space – e.g., to study its genealogical connections with Karelian dialects spoken in Mainland Karelia.

Why should we study the language of this specific village to begin with? At first sight, Kolvitsa does not seem to be more interesting than other local varieties of Karelian, within or outside Karelia. Karelian settlements in the Kandalaksha District have been regarded as an extension of the northernmost Karelian settlements in the Republic of Karelia. The White Sea Karelian dialect, to which the varieties of Kandalaksha District belong, has been

relatively thoroughly described within the Republic of Karelia. Therefore, the vernaculars spoken across the northern border of Karelia have been of little interest for the traditional Finnic dialectology.

Despite of being geographically detached from the other Karelian settlements in Kandalaksha District, Kolvitsa has not been seen as linguistically different from these vernaculars and thus deserving of special attention. This explains why even Pertti Virtaranta, the renowned Finnish linguist and collector of Karelian dialect material, never worked with consultants from Kolvitsa or from Murmansk Oblast in general.<sup>1</sup> Not surprisingly, the maps of the Atlas of Karelian Dialects (KKM) do not extend to Murmansk Oblast.

Another reason for the lack of interest is that data from relatively new migrant settlements like Kolvitsa do not serve the major goal of the traditional historical linguistics – the reconstruction of proto-languages, -dialects, and specific linguistic forms. As the migrants came from different locations, the resultant micro-variety is secondary in relation to the (primary) dialects of Mainland Karelia. It can be regarded as a mixed dialect with split ancestry, although the ancestral varieties are close cognates. Instead of reconstructing an ancestor variety based on evidence from a variety with two or more antecedents, the rational choice of a historical linguist would be to keep it simple and base her reconstruction on varieties stemming from one immediate ancestor. Therefore, material from mixed varieties is rarely used for reconstructions and for establishing genealogical links between members of language families or dialect groups.<sup>2</sup>

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1. We searched for such data in Virtaranta's legacy materials in the Institute for the Languages of Finland, with no result.

2. This reason for lack of interest has been noted by Matti Punttila. Explaining why the Olonets Karelian variety spoken in Impilahti (in Border Karelia which Finland lost to the USSR in 1944) has been neglected by Karelian dialectologists, he writes (our translation from Finnish): "Linguists have not been particularly interested in Impilahti Karelian, as "purer" Karelian varieties have been available. Arvid Genetz, for example, the most prominent specialist in Karelian from the last century, did not collect any Karelian material from Impilahti even though it was his birthplace." (Punttila 1992: 6) Researchers from the University of Eastern Finland working on the so-called Border Karelian dialects have recently discussed the reasons for the lack of interest in these dialects. Traditional Finnic linguistics has been interested in invariant geographic varieties (in "pure" dialects) rather than in varieties with multiple roots (like Border Karelian) which are often characterized by excessive and irregular variation, especially at an idiolect level. (Uusitupa et al. 2017: 68; Koivisto 2018: 77-78)



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A third circumstance which reduces the appeal of Kolvitsa and other Karelian settlements in the south of Murmansk Oblast for researchers is the lack of ethnolinguistic activism in the area. Unlike elsewhere in northwestern Russia, in the Kandalaksha District Karelians are almost invisible and do not form a community even in the broadest sense of the term. The lack of community that could be mobilized explains the lack of interest of activists from Finland, Russia, or elsewhere, campaigning for preservation of indigenous languages. This, in turn, affects (and streamlines) the scholastic agenda of researchers working with minor Finnic languages. We are living in time in which language maintenance and revitalization activism is increasingly finding its way into the mainstream academic discourse. In the case of minor Finnic varieties, activism and academics are becoming intertwined to the extent that varieties not belonging to the agenda of the former tend to receive less attention from the latter.

The cumulative effect of these factors is that Karelian specialists and other students of Finnic languages have generally ignored Karelian as spoken north of the Republic of Karelia. A good illustration of this is that the most comprehensive overview of the present state of Karelian language in Russia (Karjalainen et al. 2013) does not even briefly mention the situation in Murmansk Oblast.

Approaching the issue from the opposite end, we may ask what the advantages are of studying the micro-dialect of Kolvitsa. We believe that it is a worthwhile endeavour, for the following reasons:

a) The geographical isolation and the mixed ancestry of this White Sea Karelian vernacular present various challenges to language change and variation research. In general, very few Karelian villages are located so far away from another Karelian village: the land-connection between Kolvitsa and Knyazhaya Guba, the closest Karelian settlement (on the opposite coast of the White Sea), is 82 km. The weak connection with other Karelian localities offers an environment suitable for investigating language variation and change without the impact of genetically close varieties in the neighbourhood. At the same time, due to its split ancestry and mixed nature, the vernacular of Kolvitsa manifests much of the inter-dialect variation characteristic for White Sea Karelian. An interesting research question is whether the language of the village at some point became homogenous, or whether the different dialect backgrounds of the migrants to Kolvitsa endured and are therefore still detectable in the speech of its contemporary inhabitants. Large and regular differences between idiolects would support the latter hypothesis, whereas small and irregular differences between idiolects would serve as evidence for consolidation of the language into a uniform vernacular. Answering this question,

however, is complicated, because in the last decades the natives of Kolvitsa have had restricted opportunities to speak the language; nowadays they live in the village only in summer. Due to a lack of practice, the idiolects could have begun to diverge from an assumed “standard” form of Kolvitsa Karelian, and their new lexical or structural differences might not be easily discernible from inherited dialectal differences. In this sense, endangered mixed varieties are a real challenge for research on language variation and change.

b) The language contact situation in Kolvitsa is somewhat different to the one in the northern part of Mainland Karelia. The cultural and linguistic impact of the Russian Pomor population has been greater than in Karelia, and the contact with Finns and Finnish much less intense. Unlike their kin in the titular republic, since 1938 (the year the Kandalaksha District was transferred from the Karelian ASSR to the newly established Murmansk Oblast) the inhabitants of Kolvitsa have not been exposed to Finnish in school education. This means that none of the individuals born in the village after 1931 has learned Finnish in school. This is an important factor for a variety of Karelian Proper which is relatively similar to Finnish and thus liable to levelling from Standard Finnish.<sup>3</sup>

Another issue related to language contact is that the inhabitants of the village have not been in contact with standardized versions of Karelian. As a rule, they are not even aware of the existence of a written standard of White Sea Karelian (i.e. northern Karelian Proper), to which their vernacular belongs. Their language is exclusively spoken, informal, and free from purist pressure. These circumstances together make Kolvitsa unique from a contact-linguistic point of view.

c) Kolvitsa Karelians live in a physical environment quite different from the one in Mainland Karelia, – a significant fact, if we assume that language reflects the extra-linguistic world. The differences from Karelia include landscape features (e.g. fell), different climate, and livelihood (reindeer herding, sea fishery, gathering seaweed and other economically important algae from the sea, etc.). These differences are a potential source of new vocabulary or semantic differentiation of words denoting the same thing but originating in

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3. Zaikov (2000: 134) has demonstrated how the acquisition of Finnish in school influences the grammatical conventions of Karelian. In the dialects of Karelian Proper, the simple past tense of the so-called contracted verbs has two morphophonemic variants: *-si/-zi* and *-i*; e.g. *makasi ~ makai* ‘s/he slept’, *rupesi ~ rupei* ‘s/he began’; see Section 5.4 below. The Finnish learned by pupils in school in Karelia supports the first variant (which is the only possible one with these verbs in Standard Finnish) to the disadvantage of the second variant.

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different dialects. For example, the words *čokka*, *termä*, *vuara*, *varaga*, *simča*, and *tundra*, all denoting high landscape features, have different origins and geographical distributions, but co-occur in the language of Kolvitsa. Considering the specific landscape around the village, especially the great variety of altitude compared to Karelia, it is possible that these words have adapted to co-occurrence through semantic differentiation leading to unique form-meaning correspondences. Such correspondences are valuable evidence for Karelian lexicology.

d) Kolvitsa is a challenge for language sociologists and anthropological linguists interested in the relationship between language and identity, especially for those working with Finnic people among which language is traditionally the strongest determinant of identity. The population on the northern and northeastern coast of the White Sea has developed a unique Pomor identity irrespectively of native language. This overarching identity co-exists with the language-based (Russian or Karelian) identities in the area and often seems to be stronger than the language-based ones.

We will shed light on all these issues although we will not be able to clarify any of them exhaustively. This study aims both at a description of the Karelian vernacular spoken in Kolvitsa and an explanation of its characteristics. We regard language as a dynamic system, and therefore are primarily interested in the way this vernacular varies in relation to time and space. We assess variation qualitatively and in case of frequent phenomena also quantitatively. We investigate the lexical, phonological, and grammatical (morphological and syntactic) variation in the data from a *diatopic* (geographical) and *diachronic* (historical) point of view. Certain speakers or their parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents, may have come from different places in Karelia, and may have been in contact with different languages and dialects while living or travelling to various places. We expect these differences to be reflected in the linguistic structure speakers produce on the tape. An ideal outcome of such research would be a genealogical stratification of the language of an individual consultant. Concerning the diachronic dimension of variation, it is important to say that we used all audiomaterial in Karelian recorded in Kolvitsa. We benefit from the large time intervals between the samples (from 1972, 1987, and 2017/2018) to analyse differences between generations in our search for paths of language change. In general, we do not aim at providing a complete image of the variation observed in the data. Instead, we focus on challenging phenomena, and often disregard expected, more predictable variation.

Three sorts of explanations for observed variation and change recur in this book:

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- i) Explanations in terms of the dialect background of the speakers and their ancestors, manifested as path-dependence in their linguistic output.
  - ii) Explanations in terms of local cohesion where the slightly different varieties spoken by the newcomers from Karelia and their descendants merge into a more uniform, conventional form of Kolvitsa Karelian. A cohesive factor is also language contact on the spot or in the surroundings of Kolvitsa (e.g. with the local Pomor Russian) affecting all Karelians in the village.
  - iii) Explanation in terms of language attrition, understood as a process of shrinkage of linguistic competence (within the life span of an individual speaker or across generations), leading to the extinction of Karelian in the village. Attrition is mainly realized as complexity reduction; in morphology, for example, by paradigmatic levelling, analogical extension, and loss of marked forms (e.g. diminishing use of the plural ending *-loi/-löi-*; e.g. PL.ABL *ukkoilta* instead of *ukkoloilta* ‘from the old men’).

Simplifying somewhat, we may recapitulate (i) as historical issues, (ii) as near past and present (i.e. the here-and-now) issues, and (iii) – given the fact that within ten years Kolvitsa Karelian will die out – as future issues.

We pursue our research program by monitoring non-linguistic variables and correlating these with observed linguistic variation. One group of such variables relates to the descent of consultants: when their forefathers migrated to Kolvitsa, how many generations back this happened, and where in Karelia they came from. Other variables relate to consultants’ biographies: places of residence, professional occupation, etc. A third group concerns ethnicity- and identity-related issues: self-declared and passport nationality of the consultants, of their parents, and spouses, self-declared native tongue, contacts with other ethnic groups in the area, or the answer to the question *Do you consider yourself a Pomor?* Yet another set of variables features linguistic practices of individuals: which language did the parents of the consultants speak with them and with each other, which language did brothers and sisters speak with each other, how often and with whom the consultants still speak Karelian, etc. We elicited information relevant to these variables during the expeditions in 2017 and 2018. The expeditions in 1972 and 1987 had not systematically collected such information, and therefore we could only hope it would come up during the interview; although this happened often, the information from these materials remains fragmentary.

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Before we begin with the analysis of the linguistic data and its non-linguistic correlates, we outline the history of Karelian population in the southern part of Murmansk Oblast and revisit previous works treating (or only touching upon) the Karelian language spoken in the area. Then, within this broader context, we narrow our scope and study the past and present of Kolvitsa. The more we approach the present-day, the less our account purports to be an objective representation of facts and events, the more it is perception-oriented, an experience of one's own life. In other words, we let our language guides depict the village and its inhabitants as they remember and perceive them.

At the beginning of this introduction, we mentioned that our book is a report of research project whose one aim was language documentation. Accordingly, recordings from Kolvitsa have been transcribed, translated, archived, and are accessible in the University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages.

The first appendix provides a list of Russian verb borrowings in Kolvitsa Karelian with information about their frequency in the source language and examples demonstrating their adaptation patterns in Karelian. The other appendices are immediate products of the documentary-linguistic part of the project. Appendix II is a glossary of rare words occurring in Kolvitsa material but missing from the Web-dictionary of Karelian Language (KKV), Fedotova and Boiko's Dictionary of the Dialects of Karelian Proper in Karelia (SSKGK), and Zaikov and Rugeeva's Karelian-Russian Dictionary: North-Karelian Dialects (KRS-SD). The third appendix presents a list of place names in and around Kolvitsa, and the fourth a sample of Kolvitsa Karelian texts recorded in 2017 and 2018.

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## 2. Karelians in the southern part of Murmansk Oblast: from the Middle Ages until today

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In Russia, Karelian has been traditionally spoken on the territory of contemporary Republic of Karelia, in certain parts of Leningrad Oblast, Novgorod Oblast, Tver Oblast, and Murmansk Oblast.<sup>4</sup> The last of these regions is by far the least studied in relation to its Karelian population, and in this section, we survey the history of the Karelian ethnic element in it.

Archeological excavations along Varzuga River in the southern part of Kola Peninsula suggest that during the Middle Ages the area has been populated by Karelians (Gurina 1984; Shakhnovich & Shirobokov 2013). Historical linguistics has provided evidence for the presence of Karelians also in other parts of Kola Peninsula. The Eastern Sámi languages have Christianity-related words which have been borrowed or calqued from Karelian before the second quarter of the 16th century, that is, before the missionary work of Theodoret of Kola and Tryphon of Pechenga, the baptists of the Sámi (Itkonen 1942: 53). This suggests that the Sámi of Kola Peninsula had their first contacts with the Christian faith via Karelians. Further proof for early Sámi-Karelian contacts in the area is provided by anthroponymic data, in particular, by Sámi personal names of pre-Christian Karelian origin (Kuzmin 2020).

The influx of Karelians to the Kola Peninsula should be viewed in the larger context of increased demand for peltry in Novgorod and Europe in the 13th century. Karelians assumed an important position in the fur-trade of Novgorod Republic and started expanding to the north. A concurrent migration of Norwegian peasants to Finnmark threatened Karelo-Novgorodian commercial interests in the region and led to recurring military conflict with Norway<sup>5</sup> (see Itkonen 1968 for details).

The earliest settlement designated as Karelian in the documents is the “half-Karelian” pogost *Vieljärvi* (Rus *Вялозеро*, also a lake name) in the southern part of Kola Peninsula, dated to the 13th century (Kirkinen 1999: 19). The Treaty of Novgorod from 1326 shaped the border between Norway and Novgorod Rus’, which in the given area roughly coincided with the tiny Vyala River (Rus *река Вяла*, also *Вела*, *Вила*), connecting Lake Vyalozero (see Map 1) with

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4. Before the 20th century, smaller groups of Karelians have been living elsewhere too, e.g., on the territory of contemporary Yaroslavl Oblast (see e.g. The Ethnographic Map of Central Russia, 1857, based on materials collected by Peter von Köppen).

5. According to some estimates, by the mid-13th century, Karelians had conducted 198 raids in Finnmark (Vahl 1866: 50).

the White Sea (Kaaran 1910: 28).<sup>6</sup> The 15th century began with a series of raiding expeditions from both sides; most notably, in 1419 Murmans (Normans) destroyed the “Karelian pogost” (*погост Корильский*) on the Varzuga River (PNLS: 108). Novgorod lost its independence in 1471 and the southern and eastern parts of Kola Peninsula came under the reign of the Grand Duchy of Moscow. A register of the Moskovite possessions compiled during the liquidation of Great Novgorod mentions the significant pogosts in the area with mixed Russian–Karelian population – Varzuga and Umba (*Корела Варзуйская и Умба*) (SMVL: 51). Their centres, Varzuga village and Umba (established in 1460), remain the most significant Pomor settlements on Kola Peninsula until today. At the head of the White Sea, in 1517 appeared the settlement of Kandalaksha which quickly grew around the newly established Kokuev Monastery.

From the 15th century on, Russian sources begin to identify individuals (especially merchants) as Karelians. This is partly related to the prominence of the “five clans of Karelian children” (Rus *пять родов [кланов] Корельских детей*) – a local gentry (Boyar scions) which was in vassal position to Novgorod. Members of this nobility and their representatives lived along the White Sea coast up to the mouth of Varzuga River (Itkonen 1943: 41; Ocherki I: 60–61; Badanin II: 66). After the dissolution of Great Novgorod, these clans partially retained their privileged status in the area. Commercial and census documents from the 16th and 17th centuries (*gramoty* and *perepisnye knigi*) enumerate inhabitants of Varzuga, Umba, and Kandalaksha volosts, among which we find individuals specifically designated as “Karelian (son)”; see Table 1. In other, rather numerous cases, the appellative “Karelian” is missing, but the last name of the person is Karelian or of Karelian origin. Examples include *Сенка Хавка* (cf. Kar *hawkka* ~ *havukka* ‘hawk’) in Umba Volost (Vyalozero) (*Sotnaya gramota* 1574/1575, accessed in SGKÉ I: 275), *Ивашко Степановъ Купноевъ* (cf. the Karelian male name *Kippo* from Russian *Kiprian*) in Kandalaksha Volost (*Perepisnaya kniga Kol'skogo ostroga, posada i uezda L'va Sekirina* 1678–1679, accessed in Badanin I: 235), *место Оксиньицы Григорьев[ой] дочери Тойватова* ‘the site of Oksin’itsa Grigor’eva, daughter of Toivator’ (cf. the Karelian male non-Christian name *Toivottu*) in Varzuga Volost (*Perepisnaya kniga Dvinskogo uezda* 1621–1624, accessed in Badanin II: 260).<sup>7</sup>

6. The treaty did not precisely delineate the border; rather, it created a buffer zone between Novgorod and Norway.

7. 16th century Varzuga is especially rich in Karelian names; records from 1563 include the family names *Нелсильмин* (cf. Kar *nellisilmäine* ‘with four eyes’), *Орава* (cf. Kar *orava* ‘squirrel’), *Юмаланда* (cf. Kar *jumala* ‘God’), etc. (SGKÉ I: 160–172), records from 1575 *Мечюев* (cf. Kar *teššo* ‘wood grouse’, *teššä* ‘forest’), *Ряка*

As can be seen in Table 1 and Map 1 below, Karelians are reported to have lived along the White Sea coast as far east as Tetrino (then a *slobotka*, now a village). While the Russian and Karelian population was concentrated along the coast, the hinterland remained a predominantly Sámi area, the only exception being the region around Lake Vyalozero where we find early references to individuals of Karelian origin. The first document mentioning the settlement (*volostka*) of Vyalozero (Kar *Vieljärvi*) at the western coast of the lake is the *sotnaya gramota* (a document for ownership) compiled by *d'yak* (a lower clerk in 14th–17th century Russia) Vasilii Agalin in 1574/1575 (SGKÉ I: 275–276). Besides individuals specified as Sámi (лопин ‘Lapp’, e.g. Барма Лопин, Тимошка Лопин), this document also mentions Karelians; an example is presented in the second row of Table 1. Documents from the next century keep designating individuals as ‘Lapp’; e.g., the receipt book of Uмба trade (*Prikhodnaya kniga umbskogo promysla*) from 1624 mentions лопин Данила ‘the Lapp Danila’ from Vyalozero (Nikonov 2013: 63). Later, probably in the 18th century, the Sámi inhabitants of the village Karelianized, leaving their endonym to their successors<sup>8</sup>, as well as a considerable linguistic substrate in the local Karelian, which we will discuss in Section 3.

The personal names of Karelian origin and the adjective or noun ‘Karelian’ are, of course, criteria too restrictive to determine the actual proportion of Karelians of the total population in the area. A typical Russian (Slavic) name occurring in documents says nothing about the ethnic or linguistic affiliation of its owner, who could have been also Sámi or Karelian. At the same time, explicit references to Karelians are not restricted to our area of interest, but also occur in the northern part of the Kola Peninsula; the *Pistsovaya kniga Alaya Mikhalkova* from 1608–1611, for example, mentions (among others) a Юшко кореленин living in Olenii ostrov (Kola Bay) and a кореленин Семейко Ондриев living along Rynda River in the central part of the northern Kola Peninsula (Kharuzin 1890: 429).

The Russian-Swedish War of 1656–1658 led to intensified Karelian migration to the north (KKoS). Not for long, however, as from the beginning of the 18th century the Karelian ethnic element on Kola Peninsula was in a general decline – a trend which lasted until the second half of the 19th century. On the Ter Coast for instance, the Karelian population retreated in direction from the southeast to the northwest. The Finnish scholar Daniel E. D. Europaeus,

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(cf. Kar *räkä* ‘snot, rheum’), *Халкуняев* (cf. Kar *halki* ‘through, broken in two’ and *peä* ‘head’), etc. (СМКР: 30–38). Further examples of personal names of Karelian origin can be found in Itkonen (1943: 43–44, 47–49) and Kuzmin (2020).

8. Karelian-speaking inhabitants of the area used to call themselves ‘Lapps’ (Virtaranta 1988: 124).

**Table 1. Inhabitants of the southern part of Kola Peninsula designated as “Karelian” in 16th and 17th century documents<sup>9</sup>**

Source	Name	Location
<i>Gramoty i kreposti Kirillo-Belozerskogo monastyrya (kopii)</i> (reporting on land trade in the second half of the 16th century, mostly from 1570s)	<i>Степан Карнов сын корелянин</i> (Badanin III: 346)	Umba Volost
	<i>Никита Дорофеев сын корелянин</i> (Badanin III: 346)	
	<i>Осиф Игнатъев сын корелянин</i> (Badanin III: 346)	
<i>Sotnaya gramota</i> (1574/1575)	<i>Конан Федотов сын Кавалева корелянин</i> (Badanin III: 347)	
	<i>Микитка Корелянин</i> (SGKÉ I: 275)	Umba Volost (Vyalozero)
<i>Perepisnaya kniga Dvinskogo uezda. Kniga 11. Podlinnik so skrepoi pod'yachih B. Stepanova i A. Podol'skogo</i> (1621–1624)	<i>Сенька Юрьев сын корелянин</i> (Badanin II: 262)	Varzuga Volost
	<i>Кирилко Демидов сын корелянин</i> (Badanin II: 262)	
	<i>Селиванко Иванов сын корелянин</i> (Badanin II: 263)	
<i>Perepisnaya kniga Dvinskogo uezda (kniga 15051) perepisi stol'nika Afanasiya Daniloviča Fonvizina i pod'yachego Fedora Zamyatina</i> (1678)	<i>Васка Тарасов сын корелянин</i> (Badanin II: 276)	Varzuga Volost
	<i>Федотко Иванов сын Корела</i> (Badanin II: 279)	
	<i>Симанко Степанов сын Корела</i> (Badanin II: 277)	(Tetrino)
<i>Perepisnaya kniga Kol'skogo ostroga, posada i uezda L'va Sekirina</i> (1678–1679)	<i>Якушко Корелянинь</i> (Badanin I: 234)	Kanda-
	<i>Мишка Корелянинь</i> (Badanin I: 234)	laksha
	<i>Климко Корелянинь</i> (Badanin I: 235)	Volost
	<i>Матюшка Алексеев сын Корелянинь</i> (Badanin I: 235)	
	<i>Агафонко Корела</i> (Badanin I: 239)	
<i>Герасимко Иванов Корела</i> (Badanin I: 239)		

9. This list of “recorded Karelians” is not exhaustive; it contains only names occurring in certain *gramoty* and *perepisnye knigi* from the 16th and 17th century, reprinted in Badanin I–III. Although Badanin’s history of Kola Peninsula in the Middle Ages is contentwise not always a scientifically reliable source, we refer to it because these reprints are easily accessible there, especially for researchers outside Russia who want to read the original documents, but do not have access to the archives.





**Map 1. Localities with reported Karelian inhabitants in the southern Kola Peninsula in the 13th–18th centuries**

who in 1856 visited Vyalozero (Kar *Vieljärvi*, Fi *Vieljärvi/Välj järvi*), probably the easternmost locality on Kola Peninsula where Karelian was spoken at that time, mentions that according to the locals 150 years ago (i.e. in the beginning of the 18th century) Karelian was still spoken in the village of Kashkarantsy, about 70 km to the southeast, on the Ter Coast of the White Sea (Virtaranta 1988: 119); see Map 1.

The situation changed drastically in the second half of the 19th century. Two major events provided an impulse for the inflow of migrants from Karelia. The first was the prohibition of slash-and-burn agriculture in Russia in the 1860s (Ocherki I: 263, 265, 274). Left without this extensive method for creating agricultural land, Karelians living around the lakes Pyaozero (Kar *Piäj järvi*, Fi *Pääj järvi*) and Topozero (Kar/Fi *Tuoppajärvi*), in the northern part of the present Republic of Karelia, started migrating to the valley of the Pechenga River, in the northwest of the Murmansk area (Sergejeff & Blåfield 1992: 15), and to the shores of the White Sea, where they could make a living with saltwater fishery and reindeer husbandry. The second factor was

the bad harvest at the end of 1860s and the beginning of 1870s in the northern parts of the present-day Republic of Karelia. Due to these consecutive crop failures, many Karelians migrated to the shores of White Sea (see Bernshtam 1983 for details); other moved to the Pechenga area, joining those who had already settled there in the beginning of the 1860s (Sergejeff & Blåfield 1992: 57). The next generations of colonists who had settled on the shores of White Sea in Kandalaksha area migrated further to different parts of the southern and central Kola Peninsula. We will discuss cases where Kolvitsa functioned as a source of such secondary migration to further locations at Kolvitsa and Kanozero lakes.

Many Finnish, Russian and western scholars, and travelers, who visited in the 19th century what is now the southern part of Murmansk Oblast, noted the presence of Karelians in addition to Russians and Sámi. Probably the earliest account from that century comes from Jakob Fellman, a Finnish priest interested in Sámi language and folklore, who visited the area in the 1820s. He observed Karelian influence in the customs and language of the Sámi living around Imandra Lake (Akkala Sámi) (Rantala 2008: 3-4). As already noted above, D. E. D. Europaeus visited the area in 1856 and gathered unique information about the “old Karelians” around Vyalozero. Eleven years later, in 1867, the Norwegian professors Jens Andreas Friis and Ludvig Kr. Daa visited the area and published valuable travel reports. Friis visited also Imandra, Zasheïka, Akkala, Kandalaksha, and Knyazhaya Guba (Friis 1871: 287-324), and published his impressions from these places. Daa’s report is more concise, but more informative, as he personally interviewed two self-declared “Lapps” in Umba whom he identified as Karelians from Vyalozero (Daa 1870: 117-124). We will discuss his small text sample in the Section 3; it is worth noting here that Daa correctly associated his informants with the “half-Karelians” (*Halv-Karelerne ved Veleaga*, *ibid.* 117) and “old Karelians” (*gamla Kareler*, *ibid.* 118) appearing in earlier sources. One of the men told Daa that his forefathers were Karelians mixed with Sámi (*Kareler blandede med Lapper*, *ibid.* 119), who had lived at Vyalozero for hundreds of years. The men said that their clan comprised 8-9 families, with 17 men and 24 women (Daa 1870: 118-119).

Only nine years later, in 1876, the Finnish linguist Arvid Genetz travelled in the southern part of Kola Peninsula. Europaeus, Friis and Daa’s findings had awakened his curiosity, but, just like Friis and Daa, he did not reach the village because already in Kuzreka (on the White Sea coast) he met three individuals from Vyalozero. Genetz reports that there were five families living on the shores of Vyalozero at the time, but his informants could not tell him where these had come from, and whether the Karelians living around the lake had been previously more numerous. In 1878 and 1879 Genetz published

the itineraries from his trips to Russian Lapland as an article series in *Suomen Kuvalehti*.<sup>10</sup> The end of his travelogue, which appeared in 1879, contains two short fairytales which he recorded with these informants. These texts have been reprinted by Virtaranta (1988: 125), and we will return to them in Section 3.

The American traveler and writer Edward Rae visited the Kola Peninsula in 1880. On the southern coast of the peninsula he visited Kuzomen, Varzuga, Umba and Kandalaksha. Although Rae travelled in the area fourteen years before the first migrants from Karelia settled down in Kolvitsa Bay, he writes that “[many] Karelians live eastward from Kandalaks, on the coast towards Umba and Kouzomen” (Rae 1881: 221). This is a surprising observation considering that the earlier Karelian population of the Kandalaksha and Ter coasts must already have been assimilated at that time; recall Europaeus’ estimate about the time Karelian was still spoken in Kashkarantsy. The only significant settlement between Kandalaksha and Umba in 1870s and 1880s was Por’ya Guba – a Russian Pomor village. Obviously, Karelians were permanent visitors if not inhabitants of the coast to the east from Kandalaksha in 1870s, and this, combined with the faint memory about the earlier Karelian population in the area, explains Rae’s account. At the same time, in 1895 (one year after Kolvitsa was established), the governor of Arkhangelsk A. P. Éngel’gardt’ took a trip to Kemsy and Kol’sky Uyezds of his governorate, but in the essay on this trip Kolvitsa is not mentioned, unlike other places in the area like Umba and Kandalaksha (Éngel’gardt’ 1895). Obviously, the settlement was still too small to attract the attention of high officials.

In the first decades of the 20th century, Karelians remained visible to the inquisitive stranger though they rarely shifted in the focus of his attention.<sup>11</sup> That famous student of the Arctic, the Soviet oceanographer V. Yu. Vize, was probably the first to pay specific attention to Kolvitsa. As a young scholar, he visited the Kandalaksha and Ter coast of the White Sea and

10. See Genetz (1878–1979: IV 379) for his trip to Umba and Kuzreka and the interviews with the Karelians from Vyalozero.

11. At the turn of the century, between 1887 and 1914, the Finnish geologist Wilhelm Ramsay made seven trips to Kola Peninsula. In 1892, he published the article “Om sjön Imandra och lapparna i Ras-njark” in which he discusses, among other things, the role of Karelians in the ethnogenesis of the Imandra Sámi (Rantala 2008: 93–104). One of the few scholars who travelled in the southern part of Murmansk and who was mainly interested in Karelians was the Finnish ethnographer and ethnomusicologist Armas Otto Väisänen. In 1915, he visited the Karelian villages Knyazhaya Guba (Kar *Knäžöi*, *Knäšöi*) and Kovdozero (Kar *Koutajärvenpiä*) south of Kandalaksha and recorded some joik-singing in the latter (Väisänen 1970: 42–43; Kallberg 2011: 137–138).

reported inter alia that in 1911 there were already seventeen Karelian households in Kolvitsa Bay; furthermore, Karelians were permanently living on the shores of Lake Kolvitsa where there were at least three one-family farms (Vize 1912: 742).

Map 2 presents the localities in the southern part of Murmansk Oblast, which had predominantly Karelian population in the first decades of the 20th century. As can be seen, the centre of the Karelian population in the area was Kandalaksha District which until 1938 belonged to the Autonomous Karelian Soviet Socialist Republic, and which encompasses the villages on the map to the west and southwest from Lake Kolvitskoe (henceforth: Lake Kolvitsa). Information about the ethnic (or linguistic) composition of these settlements from the early 20th century is available and below we will present respective data. Meanwhile, we will shortly discuss the other three villages on the map which belong to the Ter District of Murmansk Oblast (until 1938 Murmansk Okrug, and until 1927 Murmansk Governorate).

Unlike on Map 1, we see two villages called Vyalozero on this map – *Nizhnee* ‘Lower’ at the northwestern top of the lake and *Verkhnee* ‘Upper’ at the southern end of the lake. At the time Europaeus visited the area (in 1856), there were five houses in Lower Vyalozero, whereas Upper Vyalozero, a newer settlement established by former inhabitants of Lower Vyalozero, consisted of only two houses (Virtaranta 1988: 119). Map 2 reflects the situation as depicted by the Ethnographic Map of Murmansk Governorate (*Этнографическая карта Мурманской губернии 1921–1927*) where both villages are marked. While Lower Vyalozero was abandoned at the eve of WW2, Upper Vyalozero ceased to exist in the context of liquidation of the so-called “prospect-less” villages in the late 1950s, beginning of the 1960s.

Europaeus reports that Vyalozero Karelians belonged to two families – Mikiforoff (*Микофоров*) and Minin (*Минин*), but most of them were Mikiforoffs (Virtaranta 1988: 119). Even the oldest Karelians with whom Europaeus spoke did not remember that their ancestors would have come from somewhere else. Considering that an immigration within the last 150 years would have been remembered, Europaeus concluded that these Karelians had always lived in the area, i.e. were descendents of the indigenous Finnic population.

In 1962, the young folklorist Aleksandra S. Stepanova from Petrozavodsk recorded a song in Karelian from the female inhabitant of Vyalozero K. G. Nikiforkova; see Section 3 for more details. In 2018 we interviewed in Umba two individuals born in Vyalozero, and they mentioned E. A. Nikiforkova and V. Nikiforkov, residents of Umba, who were also from Vyalozero. It is probable that these individuals are descendents of the same Mikiforoffs clan which inhabited the shores of the lake 162 years ago, and obviously also

three hundred years ago.<sup>12</sup> This is a significant finding because it provides a sole exception to a tendency we already hinted at. The Karelian element in the southern part of Kola Peninsula is not chronologically coherent, i.e. Karelians reported in earlier periods had always assimilated into the local Russians (or Sámi) before new Karelian groups reached the area. This means that the offspring of earlier migration waves always disappeared culturally and linguistically before new migrants from Mainland Karelia appeared. In this case, however, we would have a Karelian lineage which extends over three centuries in the past.

It is not clear when Karelian was spoken last on the shores of Vyalozero. SNMAG (1922), a population statistical overview of Arkhangelsk Governorate, presents villages with the number of their inhabitants and the language spoken, as documented in the 1920 census. The two Vyalozero villages appear with the names Vyalozerskiĭ pogost Zimn. Kon. (*Вялозерский погост, Зимн. Кон.* ‘Vyalozero pogost, winter [northern] end’) and Vyalozerskiĭ pogost, Letn. Kon. (*Вялозерский погост, Летн. Кон.* ‘Vyalozero pogost, summer [southern] end’) (SNMAG 1922: 214). The first had 19 inhabitants and the second 29 – numbers similar to those reported by Daa fifty years earlier. According to this census, the population of both villages spoke Russian, but this information, not being based on individual interviews, is not reliable. Later censuses are more reliable in this respect, but unfortunately, they do not contain information about the native language and nationality of the inhabitants of the two villages. At that time, the villages were already too small to be identified by census enumeration. Our Vyalozero-born consultants in Umba (born in 1940s) told us that their grandparents’ generation still spoke Karelian.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, as attested by Aleksandra Stepanova, some knowledge of Karelian had survived until the early 1960s.

The same is true for the tiny Karelian village of Kanozero (Kar *Kanojärvi*, Fi *Kaanasera*, Kortesalmi 1996: 101) which emerged at the end of the 19th century by Kanozero Lake, at the mouth of the Umba River, and disappeared in the middle of the 20th century (Likhachëv 2010). This village does not occur in the 1920 census data, which does not mean it did not exist at that

12. The family names *Микуфоров* и *Нукифорков* derive from the Russian male name *Нукифор*. Given the inconsistency and oscillation between *n* and *m* in the northwestern dialects of Russian, we are probably dealing with versions of the name of the same family (extended family, or clan).

13. This information receives support from other sources. In 1914, the Finnish writer Ilmari Kianto, on a boat from Kovda to Solovetsky Monastery, met a pearl fisher from Umba who spoke Karelian, much to Kianto’s surprise (Vaara 2021). Given the fact that Vyalozero was the only village in Umba area where Karelian could have been spoken at that time this individual must have been from Vyalozero.





Map 2. Karelian villages in the first decades of the 20th century in Kandalaksha and Ter districts

time; the grandfather of our consultant NVI<sup>14</sup> was born (and probably raised) in Kanozero before the family moved to Kolvitsa.

Map 2 presents the Karelian villages (or villages with a significant Karelian population) in the southern part of the present Murmansk Oblast; the map reflects the situation in the first decades of the 20th century; the district capital Kandalaksha and the oblast capital Murmansk are also shown.

Kandalaksha District was formed in 1927 by joining Kandalaksha, Knyazhaya Guba, Kovda and part of Oulanga Volosts of Kemsy Uyezd. Some census data is useful here to illustrate the size of Karelian population in the area. The list of settlements in the Karelian ASSR (SNMKA) is based on 1926 census and provides information about the ethnic composition of each village (or other type of settlement) in the area. For reasons of space, we will limit ourselves to the statistical snapshot presented in Table 2 where we find all

14. Here and elsewhere, we have semi-anonymized the consultants by using abbreviations consisting of the initials of their three names: the given name, the patronymic, and the last name.

settlements in Kandalaksha District in which Karelians were the largest ethnic group.<sup>15</sup> The location of these settlements is shown on Map 2.<sup>16</sup>

Most of the settlements in the table are no longer inhabited. The exceptions are Kolvitsa, Knyazhaya Guba, Luvenga and Kovdozero; only in the first two are there certainly speakers of Karelian today. However, individuals born in the villages in Table 2 are living in nearby settlements (mostly urban-type settlements and rural localities) which emerged in 1950s, and which are missing from Map 2 and Table 2. In Section 3 (Table 4), we list the settlements in the southern part of Murmansk Oblast from which recordings in Karelian can be found in the Karelian Research Centre in Petrozavodsk. The places absent from Map 2 but present in Table 4 are such late residential localities to which Karelians moved from their villages in the second half of the 20th century. For example, the urban-type settlement Zelenoborsky was founded next to Knyazhaya Guba in 1951. Further settlements to the southwest, now parts of Zelenoborsky, are Podtaibola (*Подтайбола*), Zaton (*Затон*), Lesobirzha (*Лесобиржа*) and st. Knezhaya (*ст. Кнежая*). Another major settlement, which emerged near Kovdozero at the turn of 1950s and 1960s, is Zarechensk (*Зареченск*). Zashkek (*Зашек*) is a locality at the southern coast of Imandra Lake (once a Sámi area), which gained importance in connection with the construction of the Kola Nuclear Power Plant.

In May 1938, Murmansk Oblast was formed as a new territorial-administrative subject of the Soviet Union, comprising the former Murmansk Okrug of Leningrad Oblast and Kandalaksha District which formerly belonged to the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The new oblast did not acquire its present shape until 1944, when Finland ceded the Pechenga District<sup>17</sup> to USSR.

Table 3 illustrates the decrease of the Karelian population in Murmansk Oblast since WW2. These census data should be taken with a pinch of salt, however, as many individuals speaking Karelian as their native language tended to report themselves as Russians, and in some cases as Finns. The last census also counted ‘Pomors’ as a (sub-)ethnic group, and considering the overarching use of this term, some of the 235 individuals who declared themselves as Pomors in 2010 could be native Karelians.

15. Map 2 and Table 2 do not include smaller hamlets and farmsteads with Karelian inhabitants, such as e.g. Kyrelä (or Kyrrölä) (see SNMKA: 6).

16. Figures about the ethnic composition of the respective volosts of Kandalaksha District in 1920 can be found in Zolotarëv (1926: 27).

17. In the Pechenga area, which belonged to Finland in the 1920s and 1930s, Karelians made up a significant part of the population: in 1927, there were 311 Karelians in Pechenga (Fi *Petsamo*) municipality, which was 15% of the entire population (Sergejeff & Bläfield 1992: 25).

**Table 2. Karelian villages on the territory of Kandalaksha District (established in 1927) and their ethnic composition according to 1926 census (SNMKA: 6)**

Village	Name in Cyrillic	Karelian name, Finnish name	Total	Karelians	Russians	Finns
Kolvitsa	<i>Колвица</i>	<i>Kolvičča, Kolvitsa</i>	207	183	12	12
Luvenga	<i>Лувеньга</i>	<i>Luivinka, Luvenga</i>	23	22	1	–
Pinozero	<i>Пинозеро</i>	–	45	17	15	13
Кнызхая Guba	<i>Княжая Губа</i>	<i>Knäžöi, Knäšöi/ Ruhtinaanlahti</i>	752	389	327	33
Lyakh- komina	<i>Ляхкомина</i>	<i>Läkköminä/ Lähköminä, Läkköminä</i>	65	48	16	–
Kovdozero	<i>(Конец) Ковдозеро</i>	<i>Koutajärvenpiä/ Järvenpiä/ Kanani, Koutajärvenpää/ Kananen</i>	164	117	22	25
Olenii ostrov	<i>Олений остров</i>	<i>Poronšuari, Poronsaari/ Oleniansaari</i>	75	49	26	–
Pazhma	<i>Пажма</i>	<i>Puašma, Paasma</i>	32	32	–	–
Mosha	<i>Мош(ш)а</i>	<i>Mošša, Moššola/ Mos(s)a</i>	90	69	20	–

**Table 3. Ethnic identification in Soviet censuses: Karelians in Murmansk Oblast<sup>18</sup>**

	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002	2010
Karelians in Murmansk Oblast	3 766	3 577	3 482	3 505	2 203	1 376

18. For the period 1959–1989, see Demoskop (<http://www.demoscope.ru>), for 2002 (Perepis' 2002), and for 2010 data (Perepis' 2010).

### 3. Evidence about Karelian varieties in the area: available material and focus of the study

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Interestingly, all primary data in Karelian as spoken in the southern part of Murmansk area before the 20th century come from the most distant and marginal location in the area – Vyalozero. Although the Karelian variety of this village (or, rather two villages) is poorly documented, it is the only Karelian variety in the contemporary Murmansk Oblast that has gained the attention of linguists. This is not surprising, as the language of Vyalozero displays some peculiarities which deserve a short discussion.

D. E. D. Europaeus has left five hand-written pages of linguistic materials from Vyalozero Karelian, including a list of about 400 words with explanations. L. Kr. Daa published a list of numerals (1–10, 100, 1000) and a short bear killing story (Daa 1870: 121–122); his materials are not very credible, though, as neither he nor his transcriber (a Sámi man) spoke Karelian. Finally, the two fairytales published by Genetz and reprinted by Virtaranta (1988: 125) constitute a reliable sample of Vyalozero Karelian as spoken in the second half of the 19th century. Virtaranta has carefully analysed these sources, especially the first and the third (Virtaranta 1988), for he considered Daa's sample unreliable. Some characteristics of Vyalozero Karelian may look odd from a historical and dialectological point of view, but can be explained in terms of language contact. Such features are syncope and apocope, the Sámi-like pronunciation of vowels, and the loss of vowel harmony which cannot be expected in a dialect related to Karelian Proper but can be accounted for as Sámi and/or Russian influence (Virtaranta 1988; Rantala 2008: 60–61). Overall, Genetz associated the Vyalozero vernacular with the northern Karelian Proper spoken around Lake Pyaozero (Rantala 2008: 61).

At the same time, some characteristics of Vyalozero Karelian cannot be easily explained in dialectological terms, nor in contact-linguistic ones. The word *naiklainen/naikkalain* 'Russian (person)', also *naikan kieli* 'Russian language', as well as the word *poru* 'blood' do not occur in White Sea Karelian, but do not seem to be Sámi or Russian loans either (Virtaranta 1988: 118, 120).<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, neither Virtaranta nor his predecessors found it strange that

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19. The first word could be related to the Karelian word *naikoi* (or *naikkoine*) '(intimate) woman, wife' and semantically motivated by the fact that many Karelian men had Russian wives, i.e. wife's language was Russian (see Castrén 1839 and Kuzmin 2007: 48 for further details).

Europaeus' informant uses the verb *paissa* to express 'speak' (e.g. *pakai nainkan kieleh* 's/he speaks Russian', *mie pakan vieljärven kielen ki* 'I speak the language of Vieljärvi', Virtaranta 1988: 123) and not *poajie*, which is the typical verb for 'speak' in the northernmost dialects of Karelian Proper. The farthest civil parish (*pitäjä*) in the north for which KKV presents examples with *paissa* is Kiestinki (see also SSKGK), whereas for *poajie* this dictionary presents examples also from Oulanka, Kieretti, and KiestinkiP<sup>20</sup>, all further to the north. Matching these geographic facts, our Kolvitsa material reveals only occurrences of *poajie*. Another peculiar word choice can be found in the sample of Daa which contains the comitative-instrumental postposition *kans* (*leksin koiran kans* 'I went there with the dog', Daa 1878: 122) which is characteristic for Finnish, but not for Karelian. In a variety stemming from Karelian Proper, we would expect *kera* or *keral/keralla* to express this adpositional meaning (see KKM: map 133 and the discussion in Section 5.4 below). In the sample of Genetz, we find *kera(l)* morphologized into the case suffix *-ke* (*tüttären-ke* 'with [their] daughter', Virtaranta 1988: 125).

The only linguistic source from Vyalozero Karelian from the 20th century was the previously mentioned recording from 1962 which has unfortunately been lost. The young folklorist Aleksandra Stepanova from the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk participated in 1962 in a field trip to Kola Peninsula lead by the folklorist Dmitriï Balashov and the musicologist Juliya Krasovskaya. The trip lasted over a month, from December 1962 to the beginning of January 1963. Among other locations, the expedition visited Vyalozero where Stepanova recorded a couple of songs in Russian and one lyrical wedding song in Karelian sung by K. G. Nikiforkova and A. S. Butorina (UIKF: 87). This recording is catalogued in the archive of the Institute of Language, Literature, and History at the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk (henceforth ILLH-KRC), but seems to have been lost. Stepanova told us in 2020 that she met individuals in Vyalozero who understood and spoke Karelian. Hers is the last testimony of Vyalozero Karelian.

A major linguistic source for the Karelian vernaculars spoken in the southern part of Murmansk Oblast from the 20th century are the materials recorded by folklorists from ILLH-KRC. These recordings in Karelian are archived at the Phonogram Archive of the Institute and are available for research with permission of the Karelian Research Centre. The interviews by Stepanova, Lavonen, and Konkka were designed for the purposes of cultural

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20. KiestinkiP 'Kiestinki-North' is a variety spoken by migrants (and their decedents) from Kiestinki to Pechenga area.

studies (folkloristics, ethnography). Pekka Zaikov is the only linguist among the scholars who gathered Karelian material in the area, although, as can be seen in Table 5 below, he recorded only 38 minutes of speech.<sup>21</sup>

Information about the time and place of interview, and the interviewer is presented in Table 4. Aleksandra Stepanova and Nina Lavonen have published a small part of their recordings from Knyazhaya Guba, Lesobirzha, and Kolvitsa. To our knowledge, these are the only publications of Karelian oral materials from the Kandalaksha District of Murmansk Oblast.

The materials collected by the scholars from the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk are the only ones that in terms of size, structure, content, and quality are of real use for linguistic research. The list of other records of connected speech in Karelian from the southern part of Murmansk Oblast is very short. It includes the above-mentioned materials from Vyalozero Karelian from the 19th century (the bear-killing story published by Daa and the two fairytales published by Genetz and reprinted by Virtaranta 1988: 125), as well as materials from Knyazhaya Guba and Kovdozero recorded by two expeditions (in 2006 and 2013) of the Juminkeko information centre (Kuhmo, Finland) with a focus on folk music.

Recapitulating the above facts, most of the materials available are not suitable for studying the living speech of local Karelians. The 19th century materials from Vyalozero are too scarce, and in the case of Daa not reliable as the transcriber did not have any knowledge of Karelian. Most of the recordings available in Petrozavodsk were originally meant to serve the purposes of other disciplines. They contain folklore genres with archaic formulaic language; in addition to those mentioned in Table 4, also riddles, laments, spells, fairy tales and joiks. The same can be said about the materials collected by the Juminkeko expeditions.

Karelian can be currently heard only in two traditional villages in Murmansk Oblast: Knyazhaya Guba and Kolvitsa. Knazhaya Guba is halfway between Kandalaksha and the border of the Republic of Karelia. This village was the northernmost of a sequence of villages, including Lyakhkomina,

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21. While working on the second draft of this book, we found a remark by Matti Pöllä saying that in 1974 the Finnish onomast Viljo Nissilä had collected place names in Luvenga; his consultant Mikko Lankujev was from Kolvitsa but was living in Luvenga at that time (Pöllä 1996: 256). Nissilä's materials are available in his personal archive and in the Names Archive of the Institute for the Languages of Finland. These names (41 entry slips) mostly refer to places around Kandalaksha and Luvenga, and do not add anything new to the toponymic material which we gathered and which we discuss in Section 5.1.



**Table 4. Materials in Karelian from the southern part of Murmansk Oblast: ILLH-KRC<sup>22</sup>**

Settlement	Year	Interviewer	Published materials
Kolvitsa	1972	Aleksandra S. Stepanova & Nina A. Lavonen	Two wedding songs (Lavonen 1989: no. 94, 104; Stepanova 2009) and one <i>zagavor</i> (a short magic text, Fi <i>loitsu</i> ) (Lavonen 1989: no. 67; Stepanova 2009)
	1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	–
	1987	Aleksei P. Konkka	–
Knyazhaya Guba	1972	Aleksandra S. Stepanova & Nina A. Lavonen	Two <i>zagavors</i> (Lavonen 1989: no. 57, 64) and two children's songs (Lavonen 1989: no. 182, 17)
	1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	–
	1987	Aleksei P. Konkka	–
Podtaibola (Zelenoborsky)	1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	–
	1987	Aleksei P. Konkka	–
Zaton (Zelenoborsky)	1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	–
	1987	Aleksei P. Konkka	–
Leso-birzha/Birzha/Knezhaya (Zelenoborsky)	1972	Aleksandra S. Stepanova & Nina A. Lavonen	Two wedding songs (Lavonen 1989: no. 97, 105), six <i>zagavors</i> (Lavonen 1989: no. 58, 61, 76, 78, 80, 86; Stepanova 2009), one <i>schitalka</i> (counting rhyme) (Lavonen 1989: no. 161) and four children's songs (Lavonen 1989: no. 174, 175, 177, 178; Stepanova 2009)
	1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	–
	1987	Aleksei P. Konkka	–
Konets-Kovdozero	1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	–
Zarechensk	1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	–
Mosha	1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	–
Zasheek	1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	–

22. Stepanova and Lavonen's interviews have been transcribed; the transcriptions can be found in the library of the Karelian Research Centre. The recordings of Konkka and Zaikov have not been transcribed.

Konets-Kovdozero<sup>23</sup>, o. Oleniĭ, Poyakonda, Pazhma and Mosha (see Map 2 above), which reached southwards across the border into further Karelian-speaking regions in the titular republic. Whether this geographic contiguity with the Republic of Karelia is exactly reflected as linguistic contiguity, i.e. whether the dialect spoken in Knazhaya Guba smoothly fits into the continuum of northern Karelian Proper (White Sea Karelian) needs to be studied. At least nothing indicates the opposite. Crucially, however, this contiguity makes Knyazhaya Guba less challenging from a variation- and contact-linguistic point of view than the other village where Karelian still survives – Kolvitsa. Therefore, we decided to narrow the scope of the project and to focus on Kolvitsa.

Though we study Kolvitsa Karelian, we recorded Karelian speech also in other locations; these recordings include 2:49 (two hours and forty-nine minutes) audio from Kandalaksha with a male born in Konets-Kovdozero and 2:36 hours from Knyazhaya Guba with two females born there. We also recorded interviews with 21 consultants in (or predominantly in) Russian; these interviews comprise 18:52 hours of audio from various places: Kandalaksha, Kolvitsa, Knyazhaya Guba, Zelenoborsky, Umba, Kuzreka, Murmansk, and Murmashi.

Table 5 presents information about the audio data from Kolvitsa Karelian available in 2022. Clearly, our material is more than three times larger than the earlier materials combined. Considering that Stepanova and Lavonen's and Konkka's materials contain folklore forms which tend to diverge from actual language usage, and thus cannot be used by modern dialectological or contact-linguistic research, the disproportion is even larger. Our materials comprise almost only free narratives – spontaneous or semi-controlled monologue and dialogue.

The material from altogether seventeen speakers (the total of language guides in Table 5) recorded at three moments of time within 46 years is a promising tool for studying Kolvitsa Karelian. Furthermore, the available data lets us observe the development of the language of a specific individual in time, as well as language change within families. The male consultant MIP was interviewed and recorded by Pekka Zaikov in 1972 and fifteen years later by Aleksei Konkka. The female consultant MAA was interviewed in 1972 by Stepanova and Lavonen, and in 2017 we had the chance to interview her granddaughter AAG. Likewise, the female consultant AEM was recorded in 1987 by Aleksei Konkka and in 2017 and 2018 we recorded several hours of her daughter LEZ.

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23. The Karelian village Konets-Kovdozero is now under Lake Kovdozero which in 1950s was risen and expanded by 60 km<sup>2</sup>; the contemporary rural locality Kovdozero is nearby.

**Table 5. Audio recordings in Karelian from Kolvitsa<sup>24</sup>**

Time of interview	Interviewers	Quantum of recorded speech (hours: minutes)	Number of language guides <sup>25</sup>
1972	Aleksandra S. Stepanova & Nina A. Lavonen	6:48	6
1972	Pekka M. Zaikov	0:38	2
1987	Aleksei P. Konkka	2:53	3
2017	Petar Kehayov & Denis Kuzmin	24:19	8
2018	Petar Kehayov & Denis Kuzmin	7:03	

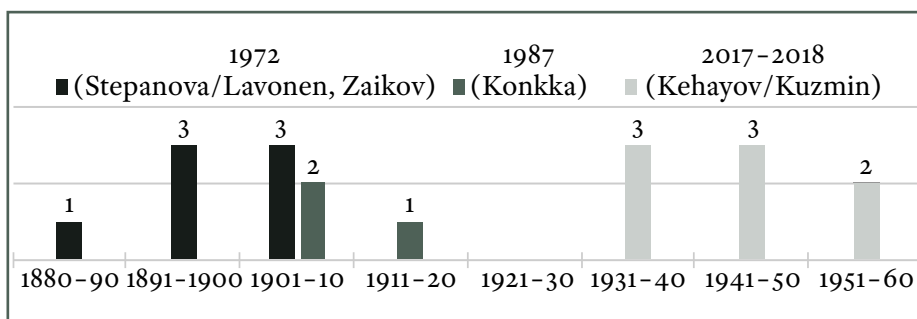
During the expeditions in 2017 and 2018, we used a special questionnaire to collect biographical information from each consultant.<sup>26</sup> In order to obtain information about the geographical origins of the inhabitants of the village, we also asked about the name of each Karelian family and whether the consultant knew where in Mainland Karelia they came from. This way we elicited the genealogical information discussed in Section 4.2 below.

The distribution in Figure 1 shows that the individuals interviewed in 1972, 1987, and 2017–2018 belong to different generational cohorts; there seem to be overlap between the 1972 and 1987 data, but this is only seemingly

24. In 2017 and 2018, we carried out some of the interviews in Luvenga and Kandalaksha, where individuals from Kolvitsa now live.

25. One of Pekka Zaikov's consultants was also interviewed by Aleksandra Stepanova and Nina Lavonen; Zaikov's other consultant was interviewed fifteen years later by Aleksei Konkka. Thus, the researchers from ILLH-KRC have interviewed and recorded nine speakers of Karelian in the village.

26. The questionnaire contained the following items: first name of the consultant, patronymic, family name (previous family names, if relevant), time and place of birth, place of residence, education, professional occupation, ethnicity (declared in census and self-declared during the interview), native language, other languages spoken by the consultant, when did her/his family emigrate from Karelia, how many generations back did the migration take place, place of birth of the ancestors that migrated to the village, father: name, time, and place of birth, ethnicity, first language, mother: name, time, and place of birth, ethnicity, first language, sisters/brothers: names, time of birth, language of communication between parents, language of communication with parents, language of communication with sisters/brothers, language of communication with the spouse (partner), with whom and how often does the consultant communicate in Karelian, who are the Pomors, and does s/he consider her-/himself a Pomor.



**Figure 1.** Number of consultants in relation to the decade in which they are born in each piece of data: 1972, 1987, and 2017/2018

so. One of the language guides interviewed in 1972 by Pekka Zaikov was also interviewed by Aleksei Konkka in 1987. This is the only case where the material allows us to study the same idiolect at distant points of time. This consultant is counted twice in the data sheet for the figure. Otherwise, the comparison of data collected in 1972, 1987 and 2017/2018 is basically a comparison of the language of different generations of Kolvitsans. In addition to the interval (decade-based) scale in Figure 1, this can be demonstrated by comparing the timespans between the birth years of the oldest and the youngest consultant in each piece of data. The oldest person interviewed in 1972 was born in 1887, the youngest in 1910. The oldest consultant interviewed in 1987 was born in 1907, the youngest in 1914. The oldest consultant interviewed in 2017-2018 was born in 1934, the youngest in 1956.

We listened to all our tapes from Kolvitsa and wrote down everything we heard on the tape. The size of the transcript of 2017 interviews is 27 196 words, and the size of the transcript from 2018 interviews is 26 469 words. These transcripts are searchable for information necessary for a synchronic study of Kolvitsa Karelian. The temporal aspect of linguistic variation could be studied, however, only by amending the 2017/2018 data with the data from 1972 and 1987. Based on the information extracted from the transcripts from 2017 and 2018, we compiled a list of relevant parameters that can be studied in time and excerpted from the recordings from 1972 and 1987 the respective information.

The audio material from 2017/2018 was reduced to a sample of good-quality recordings, each maximally 12 minutes long, transcribed and translated using the software program ELAN developed in Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. These texts are presented in Appendix IV.

## 4. Kolvitsa and its people

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### 4.1. History of the village

The permanent Karelian settlement on the Kolvitsa River was established in 1894, but Kolvitsa has been an important location for the people living around long before the first colonists appeared. The name *Kolvitsa* is mentioned for the first time in 1599 when Mitrofan Kukin (a tsar's tax collector) donated two pieces of taxable land (Rus *два лука*<sup>27</sup>) in Kolvitsa to Kandalaksha Monastery<sup>28</sup>. This information comes from Alaï Mikhalkov's cadaster books (Rus *писцовые книги*) from 1608–1611, which also mention that the monastery had two salterns in Kolvitsa Bay (Kharuzin 1890: 459–461). A document from 1705 mentions a saline, cells, and a yard with eight horses and three milk cows in Kolvitsa Bay (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 8). V. V. Nikol'skiï, who studied the local life and economy at the coast of the White Sea in 1921, noted that the settlement of Kolvitsa appeared on an empty monastery clearing located at the mouth of Kolvitsa River and formerly belonging to Kandalaksha Monastery (which existed until 1742) (see Nikol'skiï 1927: 14–15). The modern village apparently arose on these former monastery clearing-mows which were used for feeding the livestock.

These reports are corroborated by firsthand evidence. The female consultant NAL (born in 1907) recalled in 1987 that there used to be remnants of human settlement on the territory of the village – ruins of houses and old graves. Most likely, these were traces of the population employed at the salt-works at the mouth of Kolvitsa River.

The place was not suddenly discovered by Karelians looking for a spot to settle down. Many consultants assert that for years (if not for decades) people used to go there at a certain time of the year, catch fish, mine pearls, or hunt, and then return to Mainland Karelia: *no prosto tänne tullah, kešä tiälä promisloijah i männäh järelläh* 'they would just come here, do their business, and go back again' (AKA 1972). This seasonal migration kept going on even after a permanent settlement had appeared on the bank of the river. AEM, born in 1914 in Vuonninen, reports that her parents had been to the village many times, temporarily employed in logging works, before they moved to

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27. *Luk* (*lukovladienie*) was a taxation unit of land – a conditional share of a peasant's ownership in the general fund of the community's trading grounds.

28. The monastery was also known as Kokuev Monastery, named after its *ktetors* (founders), the mighty Kukin (or Kokuev) family.

Kolvitsa; this must have been in the 1910s or 1920s, i.e. decades after the village was established.

Ethnographic evidence lets us reconstruct the course of events in the 1890s. In summer of 1894<sup>29</sup>, three Karelian families from the villages of Vartielpampi and Kankahainen in Oulanka area headed northeast, to Knyazhaya Guba. Once they reached the coast, they sailed over the White Sea to Kolvitsa Bay and then into the mouth of the Kolvitsa River. They settled down in a place obviously known to them from earlier visits to the area. Most sources agree that the first settlers were Kirill Petrovich Artem'ev (from Vartielpampi), Kuz'ma Savel'evich Arkhipov (from Kankahainen), and Eliseĭ Fedorovich Arkhipov (from Vartielpampi), with their families. They settled down on the right bank of the river which was later named *Šuuripuoli* 'Big Side' (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 10–11). According to the son of Kuz'ma Arkhipov, interviewed in 1972 by Stepanova and Lavonen, the three men burned the boats to prevent themselves (or their wives) from changing their minds and returning to Karelia (AKA 1972) – a common legend among colonists. A year later, in 1895, two other Arkhipovs – Lupp(a) Evseevich and Anton Fedorovich (brother of Eliseĭ) – arrived in Kolvitsa (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 10–11, 126).<sup>30</sup>

It is difficult to determine how quickly the village grew in the first two decades of its existence. According to the retrospective sources of Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova, and Goryashko (mostly diaries and oral information), the growth accelerated in the first decade of the new century. In 1902, the families of Egor Yakovlev (5 individuals), Ivan Timofeev (9 individuals), and Nikolaĭ Prokop'ev (8 individuals) settled in the village, and from 1906 the population grew annually by 2–3 families. In 1910, the village comprised 10–20 households with about 100–150 inhabitants in total, and in 1916 there were already 32 families (215 individuals), among these three Finnish families (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 11). Census reports and other published sources from the beginning of the 20th century are, however, more conservative in their estimation of the population of Kolvitsa in this period; see the figures in Table 6. SNMAG, SNM, and DR are published collections of quantitative data (the first two of census data and DR of parish membership), whereas Vize (1912) and Nikol'skiĭ (1927) are subjective sources based on real-time observation.

29. Some of the informants of Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova, and Goryashko (2014: 11) claim that the *pervozhiteli* 'pioneers, first settlers' arrived to stay in Kolvitsa already in 1892, but the majority agrees on 1894. Accordingly, the hundred-year anniversary of the village was celebrated in 1994.

30. According to some sources, Lupp(a) Evseevich Arkhipov was among the first settlers who came in 1894 (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 10, 126).



**Table 6. The population of Kolvitsa 1905–1933 according to contemporary sources**

Year of enumeration	Number of households	Number of inhabitants	Number of Karelians <sup>31</sup>	Source
1905	5	25	*25	SNMAG 1907: 188
1910	8	48	*48	DR 1910: 325–327
1911	17	NA	all	Vize 1912: 742
1918	33	158	*158	SNMAG 1918: 6
1921	37	189	189	Nicol'skii 1927: 17
1922	40	180	180	SNMAG 1922: 188
1926	51	207	183	SNM 1928: 20
1933	NA	278	237	SNM 1935: 12

When taking a closer look the figures in the table do not seem to be especially reliable. For example, according to DR (1910: 325–327) the village comprised eight households in 1910, but only one year later Vize (1912: 742) counted seventeen households. Moreover, families like Yakovlev and Timofeev, which according to Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova, and Goryashko showed up in the village already in 1902, do not occur in the list of families in DR (1910: 325–327). It is possible that some sources have missed the emerging settlement at the left bank of the river (the so-called *Pienipuoli* ‘Small Side’<sup>32</sup>) which would explain the absence of Yakovlevs and Timofeevs; according to our consultants, these families were mainly living on this side of the river. Further sources increase this suspicion. According to the Finnish geographer Johannes Gabriel Granö, in 1909 3 500 casks of herring were salted in Kolvitsa (Homén 1921: 39–40). Salting such an amount of fish would have been impossible for the population numbers presented in SNMAG (1907) and DR (1910);<sup>33</sup> the actual numbers were probably closer to Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova, and Goryashko’s retrospective estimates.

31. In cases marked with asterisk (\*), the source does not provide information about the ethnic composition of the village.

32. Another name of this part of Kolvitsa is *Joventaka* (also *Joventakuana*) ‘Behind-the-river’ (LEZ 2017).

33. Although seasonal work migration from Mainland Karelia could have provided additional helping hands.

The reasons for the exodus from Karelia vary, but the main reason mentioned by the consultants is that in Kolvitsa, unlike in Mainland Karelia, one was not dependent on agriculture. After the prohibition of slash-and-burn and the crop failures mentioned in Section 2, the life in Karelia became difficult. Northern Karelians who were already familiar with Kandalaksha Coast of the White Sea grew more and more dependent on the fishing and trading opportunities the sea offered, and slowly warmed to the idea of migrating and settling down there. For example, the parents of MKA, born in Niska (Rus *Зауеек*) in 1905, came to Kolvitsa because one did not depend on corn there – cereals did not grow in Kolvitsa. At the same time, one could catch herring, sell it in Arkhangelsk, and buy flour and other foodstuffs for the whole year (MKA 1972).<sup>34</sup> The following quotations describe in greater detail the opportunities Kolvitsa and its surroundings offered to settlers.

MAK (born in 1898 in Kolvitsa): *Ka kun kešähallat tultih, vet ennen vet kaškie kuattih ta leipyä iče kašvatettih, ta siitä kun halla pani kaikki: eikä rot'utun potakkua, eikä rot'utun ni šitä leipyä. Ta hyö tultih tänne, a tiälä kun t'üikkoita oleenua, ... hirvie ajettih, lihua šuatih kyllitel'len, ... A šomkua, kun tämä mosta on, ni kun šiih pannah merta, nin kun še on venehlašittuan šomkua. Šiitä kun ollou mitä staija, kun Koutah vietih ta šielä myötih.* 'And when the summerfrost came, you see, before they used to slash and burn and get their bread, and then the frost destroyed everything: the potato didn't grow, the bread did not come. And then they came here, and here ... wild reindeer ... they hunted elk, people got enough meat here ... And salmon, there's a bridge now, they used to put a trap there, got a boat-full of salmon. They got enough salmon to bring it to Kovda and sell it there.' (MAK 1972<sup>35</sup>)

NAL (born in 1907 in Kiestinki): *Tiälä oli kepiempi elyä. Lovitih kalua, vietih Arhangelih. Talvella ei ollun kalua, piti tukin ajua.* 'Life was easier here. People caught fish, and brought it to Arkhangelsk. In winter, there was no fish, they had to log in the forest.' (NAL 1987).

In general, the natural conditions (the storms, the rocky and barren soil, etc.) and the lack of roads were less of a challenge for the first settlers than the resistance of the surrounding population. The Pomor fishermen in Kandalaksha did not like the idea of Karelians settling down in Kolvitsa Bay and using their fishing places there: *Kannanlahen ukot protestuidih, ei tahottu heitä laškie elämäh. Arhangel'skoih guberniah annettih prošeñe, jotta heillä razreššittais* 'Kandalaksha men protested, they didn't want to let them live

34. The only vegetables grown in Kolvitsa in MKA's childhood were turnip and potato.

35. Stepanova & Lavonen 1972: transcription, 2 tetrad, koll-53\_184.

there. They (the Karelians) sent a petition to Arkhangelsk Governorate to get a permission to settle.’ (AKA 1972<sup>36</sup>). Until 1900, the settlers were not allowed to fish in the sea (Kolvitsa Bay) or in Kolvitsa River; only the freshwaters of Tiksha River and Lake Kolvitsa were available to them. In 1900 Kolvitsans were granted the permission to use two herring piscaries in the bay which Kandalakshans rented to them (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 15–16).

Forced away from saltwater, the settlers established dispatch-settlements like Veres-Rucheĭ (*Bepec-Ручей*, Kar *Katajaoja*, *Verešoja*) at the southern shore of Lake Kolvitsa which appeared already in the 1890s (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 15; Nikol’skiĭ 1927: 17).<sup>37</sup> Another such settlement further away was Kanozero. According to Vize (1912: 741), Karelians were active in river pearl hunting on the Muna and Umba Rivers, and the appearance of the Kanozero settlement must be related to the fact that they had to stay away from the sea and to the earning opportunities these rivers offered. As noted in Section 2, Kanozero did not survive long as a permanent settlement; nevertheless, it continued to play a role for Kolvitsans as a seasonal place of residence and fishing place (Kortessalmi 1996: 101). According to our consultant AAG (2017), the female MIB (born in 1895) whom Stepanova and Lavonen interviewed in 1972 used to spend her summers in Kanozero during the 1950s and 1960s; she had a small fishing hut there. Other such secondary settlements emerged on Lake Kolvitsa as a consequence of the British intervention of 1918–1919 which we will discuss below.

Kolvitsa quickly had the appearance of a village; already the first settlers built solid houses, some of which have remained until today. The Artem’evs were a wealthy family, kulaks, “but of the good sort” (AAG 2017), who provided employment and otherwise took care of poor families in difficult times. Their once large house, now in ruins, could still be seen on the main street of *Šuuripuoli*. The locals call it *Timo-ukontalo* ‘the house of Timo (Timofei Kirilovich Artem’ev, son of Kirill Artem’ev)’ or *Kreml’* ‘Kremlin’ because of its shape and representative look (LEZ 2017, AAG 2017, SSA 2017). The village must have reached its maximal size in the beginning of the 1930s when it had 60–65 houses (AKA 1972). AKA took part in a small inventORIZATION of the housing stock of the village in 1957–1958, and by that time the number of inhabited houses had decreased to 34–36 (AKA 1972).

36. Stepanova & Lavonen 1972: transcription, 1 tetrad, koll-53\_027.

37. According to Pentti Keynäs, men from Mainland Karelia had been regularly fishing on Lake Kolvitsa and built fishing cabins, even before Kolvitsa was founded (Keynäs 1989: 180).

The population of Kolvitsa grew not only via immigration of entire families; a common practice until WW2 was that when a boy reached full age his family went to Karelia *svaataimah hänelle akkua* ‘to look for a wife for him’ (AAG 2017). Bride import prevented incestuous marriages and sustained the Karelian character of the village.<sup>38</sup> As can be seen in Table 6 above, the number of individuals from other ethnic groups started to increase in the 1920s. In 1933 for example, there were 23 Russians and 18 Finns in addition to the 237 Karelians living in Kolvitsa (SNM 1935: 12). However, even in 1972 when Aleksandra Stepanova and Nina Lavonen “discovered” the village, more than half of its population were Karelians (Stepanova 2009: 48).

Already in the first two decades of the 20th century, Kolvitsa assumed an important position in the trade networks on White Sea. River pearls were sold in Kandalaksha (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 13), but for all other goods the major trade centre and transshipment point was Arkhangelsk. Kolvitsans used to build *karbas* boats (Rus *ка́рбас* ‘large Pomor sailing-rowing boat’) and used them to ship mostly fish (herring, salmon etc.) but also salt and tar to Arkhangelsk. With the money earned there they bought spirits, flour, wheat, sugar, soap, tea, furs, etc. and returned with the boat just as full as it used to be when they left Kolvitsa. The trip to Arkhangelsk and back took at least two weeks (AAG 2017, GAB 2018). Although Kolvitsans came from the forest land of Mainland Karelia, they quickly became experienced seamen, expanding their commercial range to the waters of Barents Sea: *Norvékan puolešša tiältä käytih kalaštelemašša näillä venehillä, kakš ukkuu käytih, Onto ta Jelissei, trjoskua pyytämäššä* ‘They were fishing at the Norwegian side with these boats, two men, Onto (Anton) and Jelissei (Elisei) were fishing cod there.’ (NAL 1987).

War, occupation, or evacuation do not play the same role in the collective memory of Kolvitsans as they do among the population of Mainland Karelia. The only significant event in the military history of the area is the “British intervention” of 1919. In the context of the allied intervention in the Russian Civil War, a British aircraft carrier coasted at Kandalaksha in September 1919 and landed troops which ran into an ambush of local partisans by Luvenga and were defeated. In revenge, the British sent troops to Kolvitsa at the beginning of October, but these found almost only women and children there, as the men had managed to escape to the forests in the hinterland and join the partisans. The Englishmen (Kar *angliččanat*) interrogated the women to

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38. At the same time, according to our consultants (e.g. GAB 2017), exogamy, i.e. marriages with Russians or Finns, was never seen critically by Kolvitsans.

find out where the men were, then burned down most of the village and left. (Ocherki II: 129–130; Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 17–26). The spring of 1919 left a deep imprint on the collective memory of the village, not so much because of the military conflict itself, but because of its consequences. As the village was burned down, instead of the men returning to Kolvitsa, the women and the children followed them, leaving their property, and settling down on the shores of Lake Kolvitsa. For some individuals, this exile lasted only a couple of months, for other a year or longer, and for some it never ended. The family of MKA, then a thirteen- or fourteen-year-old girl, returned to Kolvitsa before the winter began<sup>39</sup>. MIP was an eight- or nine-year-old boy who spent one year with his parents at Lake Kolvitsa, 12 km away from the village (MIB 1972). Likewise, the family of NAL, an eleven- or twelve-year-old girl at that time, spent a year in the woods: *myö elima vuuvven mečässä, kalapirtissä myö elimä* ‘we lived for one year in the woods, in a fishing hut we stayed’ (NAL 1987). Finally, our consultant SSA told us in 2017 that the parents of her father never moved back to Kolvitsa, and spent the rest of their lives in Sosnovyĭ Navolok (Kar *Honkaniemi*) at the northwestern coast of the lake where they are buried: *kaikin tultih kyläh elämä, a hyö sielä iätih, sielä i pirti oli i kyly* ‘everyone came back to the village, but they stayed, there was a cottage there and sauna’. Other one-house settlements at Lake Kolvitsa which arose at that time were *Rissinšuari* (Rus *остров Рущев*) and *Ant’uhanlakši* (from the Russian personal name *Артюха* or *Антюха*) (LVS 2017).

It is difficult to say until when people were actually living in these one-house settlements, but the relatively rich toponymy around the lake suggests that some of them have been inhabited for decades – permanently perhaps until the 1930s, but seasonally (in summer) probably until 1960s or 1970s. *Tat’ananniemi* (Rus *Татьянов мыс* ‘Tat’yana’s cape’) was named after SSA’s grandmother Tat’yana; it still has this name (LVS 2017). To a more or less permanent settlement point the island name *Lammaššuari* ‘Sheep Island’ and the turnip field *Issakanpelto* ‘Isaks field’ on Laivašuari island. “Sheep islands” in the area owe their name to the habit of peasants to bring their sheep to an island for the summer and retrieve them in autumn; the island was naturally surrounded by water and this way the sheep could move freely and eat the vegetation around without getting lost. The fact that an island on Lake Kolvitsa was used for this purpose suggests that some sheepowners lived in the vicinity, i.e. somewhere by the lake, and not in the faraway village. Likewise, it did not make sense to plant turnip on an island so far away from Kolvitsa if one was living in the village. The stability of such toponyms indicates that they

39. Stepanova & Lavonen 1972: transcription, 1 tetrad, koll-53\_143.

have been perceived for long time as semantically motivated by the local population. This, in turn, is a clue to the persistence of such secondary settlements in the decades after WW2.

In this part of Russia, the Civil War ended, and the Soviets consolidated their power in 1920 when Kolvitsa, together with the rest of Kandalakshkaya Volost, entered the newly formed Karelian Labour Commune. At the same time, part of the hinterland of the village and about half of Lake Kolvitsa became part of Murmansk Okrug of Leningrad Oblast. In 1923, the Commune was transformed into the Autonomous Karelian Soviet Socialist Republic, and in 1927 the Kandalaksha District of the Republic was formed. The district was part of AKSSR (from 1936 KASSR: Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic) until 1938, when together with Murmansk Okrug it formed the new Murmansk Oblast. The former border between Karelia (KLC, then AKSSR, and then KASSR) and Murmansk Okrug cuts Lake Kolvitsa in two, and remains the administrative border between Kandalaksha and Tersky Districts of Murmansk Oblast. This border seems to at least partially coincide with the border of the so-called “Lapp quarter” known from the 17th century (see Section 5.1 on toponymy), thus mirroring the long-term historical structure of the region.

The Soviet rule brought radical changes in the economic life and introduced facilities which were unthinkable before the revolution – public elementary school, small library, club, canteen, first-aid post, hydroelectric power station<sup>40</sup>, etc., but also prison camps where detainees were ordered to hard labour in the woods.

The local kolkhoz “Red North” was established in 1928 or 1929. According to MIP, who was a young man at that time, and saw firsthand the collectivization in the village, the campaign did not run smoothly. In the beginning, 46 households joined the kolkhoz; the wealthiest however (e.g. Artem’evs and Yakovlevs) *kotva ei lähetty kolhosah* ‘did not immediately go to the kolkhoze’ (MIP 1987). At some point, many families which initially had joined the kolkhoz left it disappointed (see Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 32 for details)<sup>41</sup>, before the officials forced them to return. The kolkhoz made significant achievements in the following decades, but when taking a closer look we usually see private initiative behind the décor of collective enterprise. An anecdotal example is the success of a local cabbage

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40. The power station on Kolvitsa River was opened in 1948 and functioned until 1965 (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 49–52).

41. The shortlived possibility of leaving the kolkhoz was probably related to Stalin’s article in the 2 March 1930 issue of *Pravda* with the title “Dizzy with Success” in which he called for a temporary interruption of collectivization.



at the VDNKh (*Выставка достижений народного хозяйства* ‘Exhibition of Achievements of National Economy’) in the 1930s in Moscow. To demonstrate the miracles of collective farming behind the polar circle, Kolvitsa presented itself with cabbage which weighed 16 kg (LEZ 2018). The cabbagehead (Kar *kočana*) caused a sensation and won a prize despite the embarrassing fact that it came from a private garden, under the personal care of the mother of our consultant GAB (GAB 2018; see also Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 35).<sup>42</sup>

Logging and timber rafting used to play an important role in the local economy. In the beginning of the 20th century, a sawmill was established in the village (Keynäs 1989: 181, 183), which tempted families to emigrate from Karelia and settle down in Kolvitsa. The role of forestry, which demanded a collective effort, only increased after the introduction of collective farming. The trees were cut and processed in the woods to the north, northeast of the village, and then were floated down along Tiksha River into Lake Kolvitsa, from there into Kolvitsa River ending in Kolvitsa Bay where they were packed in rafts (Rus *кошель*) – *siitä koššelih laetih, i Kannanlahteh* ‘then they were put in rafts and transported to Kandalaksha’ (GAB 2018).

The temporary forced-labour camps, established in the late 1920s and closed in 1931, brought additional resources to the logging industry; three of the five camps in the vicinity of Kolvitsa were along Tiksha River, the most famous one at a place called *Ukonrevittämänkanta* (or *-kankaš*), one on Tiksha Lake (*Tiiksjärvi*) and one at *Šuuri Valkiejärvi* (see a map in Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 39). Our consultants recalled that barracks were still standing when they were children, but the camps were already deserted. LEZ was hired as a young girl (in the mid-1950s) to mark trees and logs in the forest, and she saw pictures which were feeding her imagination for decades: *heposilla myö kävimä meččua merkittämä, i milma otetih, heposilla mie varain selässä ajua i sinne piti, i miul näyteti, sitä laakeria näyteti, näytetih hautoja, miä nävin luita, nävin kakš vielä puuta oli, jo hapattu näin sruby, venčet pantu, suuri parakki oli oikein, siitä yheššä valjautu risti, jo hapattu risti* ‘We were on horses, we were marking the trees, and they took me with them; I was afraid riding on the back of the horse, but we had to go there, and they showed me, they showed me the camp, showed the graves, I saw bones, I saw two planks there, already rotten, log cabins, with timber-floor, the barrack was quite big, in one of them a cross was lying about, a cross already rotten.’ (LEZ 2018).

42. Less successful but more extravagant was the idea of planting maize in 1950s; the plants reached 10 cm before they died (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 33).

After WW2, the major temporary settlement for logging workers was Pustaya Guba (*Tyhjälakši, Tyhjäkupa*) near Lake Kolvitsa (LEZ 2018). Timber rafting ended in connection with the construction of the Kandalaksha–Kolvitsa road in 1962–1963 and with the appearance of timber trucks, which provided a faster and more convenient means of transportation (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 47, 65).

The only more important source of income for Kolvitsans than the forest was the water. Most of the population was involved in fishery, and even in 2018 our consultant GAB (born in 1940) sailed her boat almost every day into Kolvitsa Bay to catch fish. Saltwater species fished in the area include Atlantic salmon (Kar *śomka, śonka*), Atlantic herring (Kar *hall'ii, hall'ei*), Atlantic cod (Kar *tröskä, tyršky, portuja*), common dab (Kar *kampala, kampalo*), and recently also pink salmon (Rus *zopbyua*) which was brought from Siberia and stocked in the White Sea in 1960 (Keynäs 1989: 182); euryhaline fishes, which inhabit both salt- and freshwaters, include *Gasterosteidae* like *Kit'ikala* (also *ĭit'ikala*) and *kulmakka* (*Salmo trutta*). Most of our consultants have an impressive knowledge of fish species as well as personal encounters with very rare ones; for example, GAB (2018) reported having caught sea perch (Kar *meriokuń*) whose existence in the area is debated (see also Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 72). During the Soviet period, fish (mostly salmon and herring) was delivered to the fish trading post (*faktorija*) near the village: *pyyvetih kalaa, a siitä sitä sinne staettih, t'iällä šuolatih, Arhangelskah vietih* 'Fish was caught, and then it was delivered there, it was salted here, and transported to Arkhangelsk' (SSA 2017). It was also common in Soviet times to work on the trawlers in the Barents Sea, and thus many Kolvitsans have seen and sailed open seas. Twice a whale (probably a northern bottlenose whale) appeared in Kolvitsa Bay; once during WW2 and once recently, about 20 years ago. Our consultants recalled how the whale approached the narrow mouth of the river and how it could barely turn around, before it swam back and disappeared (LEZ 2017, GAB 2018).

The knowledge about freshwater fish diversity is rapidly disappearing because Kolvitsans no longer fish in Lake Kolvitsa. Fresh water species extensively fished include common perch (Kar *ahven, okuń*), whitefish (Kar *śiika*), pike (Kar *śčuka, hauki*), brown trout (Kar *kumša*), Arctic char (Kar *galets, nierieš*) and burbot (Kar *nalima*). These occur in our recordings mostly with their Russian names, often as raw (unadapted) transfers.<sup>43</sup>

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43. The lack of Karelian freshwater fish names in our material can also be explained by the fact that we had predominantly female informants (we had only two male informants), but fishing in more distant places (outside the immediate vicinity of the village), such as Lake Kolvitsa, was predominantly a men's occupation.

But the sea did not offer only fish. Kovitsa Karelians quickly learned to make use of marine plants which were unknown to them before they settled down on the shores of White Sea. Gathering seaweed for different purposes was a female task. Seaweed names most frequently occurring in the recordings are *tuura* (also *merentuura*) and *akarkaara* (also [*a*]kangaara). The first occurs also in the local Pomor dialects where *тыра* (also *морская тыра*) typically refers to fucus or related brown algae (Merkur'ev 1979: 164; Durov 2011: 411; SRGK-SO VI: 537). Our Karelian consultants (GAB, LEZ, AAG, SSA) seem to designate with it laminaria which was salted and used as cattle food (typically for cows and sheep). It was gathered on *torka* (large sea boat with a flat bottom) *konša vesi lankieu kuibakalla* 'when the water was at lowest during low tide'. Women pulled it by hand (some used *čirppa* 'sickle') and once having it transported to dry land, they stamped on it to stretch and flatten it in order to then store it at home (LEZ 2017, LEZ 2018).

The word *akarkaara* designates gelatinous substance derived from red algae (*ahnfeltia* or *furcellaria*) which seem to have disappeared now from Kolvitsa Bay (LEZ 2017) and which were used for cooking marmalade and *kisel* (LEZ 2017, GAB 2018). LEZ described in 2018 how *akarkaara*-algae were picked and utilized: *hän oli šemmoñi niiku hivukšet, ruškea s koričnevatom. Mie iče keräsin niitä. Tošša luuvon luona, myö daže venehillä kävimä, nu muamon keralla, hän meitä otti jotta konša vesi lankeu, myö palhei jaloin sielä, i niitä keresimä, niitä akarkaaru keräsimä, miula muamo keitti niistä marmeladua, ii kiiselii, en muissa kuin keitti. No hän pitälti keitti i myöhä näin leikkasime veičellä* 'It is like hair – red, a bit brownish. I picked it myself. There, at the shoal; we even went there on boat sometimes, with mum, she took us there at low tide, and we picked them barefoot, those *akarkaru* plants, my mum cooked jam from them, and *kisel*; I don't remember how she cooked them. But she cooked them long and then we cut them like this with a knife.' (LEZ 2018).

Another important component of the livelihood of Kolvitsans were reindeer. The first settlers which came from Oulanka parish might have been familiar with reindeer as in the 1890s reindeer herding was still practiced in the northernmost parts of Karelia (Kapitsa 1928). In their new homeland, due to the lack of roads, the low density of population, and the vast territory which Kolvitsans exploited economically (because of poor plant cultivation opportunities), reindeer were mostly used for transportation. The number of reindeer in the village increased until the beginning of WW1; in its heyday, there were about 550–600 animals, but in 1918 their number had already fallen to 400, and the decrease accelerated after the collectivization in the end of the 1920s (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 53–54). For a short period of time (from the early 1930s until 1942), there was a reindeer herding sovkhos in a location called *Kippoiha* on Kib(e)rinskiy Shore (Kar *Kiiperinranta*) at the

White Sea, 25 km south from Kolvitsa. Sámi herders and probably even Izva Komi worked there (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 58–59). According to our oldest language guide LVS (2017), they were from Lovozero, and probably most of them returned there after the herding farm was closed.

In Kolvitsa, reindeer (held by the kolkhoz or by families) started to disappear in the 1950s. At that time, they were used exclusively for transportation of goods and people; e.g. fish caught in Lake Kolvitsa or hay mowed far away was transported to Kolvitsa by reindeer (GAB 2018). The semi-domesticated reindeer which were not taken care of, and which spent summers released in the forest merging with the wild deer, gradually became wild (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 54). The last kolkhoz reindeer were apparently slaughtered for meat around 1962–1963, and the last private reindeer died in the second half of the 1960s (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 61). Soon, also the wild reindeer began to disappear. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the state did not effectively sanction illegal hunting, and wild reindeer were killed in large numbers. In the past 10–15 years wild reindeer have been sporadically seen on the other side of Lake Kolvitsa; e.g., LEZ's son had seen a deer there in 2016 (LEZ 2017).

The increase of the population and the economic development in the beginning of the 20th century brought to the village major social institutions, most importantly the school. It is not clear when exactly Kolvitsa school was established, but according to a report from Wasili Keynäs in 1915 the village had a two-class ministerial school, whereas in 1907 the school did not exist yet (Keynäs 1989: 181). Soon, the school grew into a four-class school, and the school building was constructed in 1926–1928 (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 46). Along with the policy of *finnizatsiya* ('Finnicisation') of the school education in Soviet Karelia in the 1920s (Klement'ev 2009), Finnish was introduced as a language of instruction in Kolvitsa; some of the teachers in that period were native or acculturated Finns.<sup>44</sup> The situation changed, however, in 1938 when Finnish lost its official status in Soviet Karelia, and was replaced (at least on paper) in press, administration, and school by Karelian (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 36). However, in 1938 Kandalaksha District was transferred to Murmansk Oblast where neither Finnish nor Karelian had any

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44. This was the case with a female called Outi or Dusya (full name Evdokiya Savel'evna Arkhipova, maiden name Mikkonen). According to the locals, she was born in Luusalmi rural settlement (possibly in the village Luomajärvi) and educated in Uhtua pedagogical seminar. She met the uncle of our consultant AAG in Finland, married him, and came in 1934 to Kolvitsa where she became a teacher at the Finnish school (AAG 2017, LEZ 2018; Keynäs 1989: 183). Although she was a native Karelian, she was regarded by the locals as a Finn (AAG 2017, LEZ 2018).

official status, and Russian became the only language used in Kolvitsa school (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 28–29). While Karelians in Karelia witnessed a further wave of Finnicisation of school education after WW2 (in 1945–1954), and since 1960s could and in many cases had to learn Finnish in school (Klement'ev & Kozhanov 2009), Kolvitsa Karelians remained unaffected by these processes. Since 1938 they have been living in sweepingly Russian linguistic environment. The school was closed in 1969 (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 45), and later the school building burned down, having been set on fire by accident by drunken *visokovol'tniki* 'high current electricians' (LEZ 2017).

In July 1972, the folklorists Aleksandra Stepanova and Nina Lavonen from the Karelian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk were on a field trip in the northernmost villages of Mainland Karelia (Stepanova 2009). Having arrived in Kandalaksha, they decided to go to the town council and ask for information about the local population. To their great surprise, they heard that there was a village called Kolvitsa about forty kilometres to the east from town, at the mouth of Kolvitsa River, where “the majority of the population are Karelians”. Stepanova and Lavonen had never heard of this village before, and it seems that neither had anybody at their institute, which was the main centre for research on Karelian culture, language, and history in the Soviet Union. The two young scholars left for Kolvitsa where they stayed for five days. Judging from the reactions of the people whom they met in the village, they concluded that they were the first researchers to work with the local Karelians. At the end of her memories from the village Stepanova writes: “I do not know anything about the present situation in Kolvitsa. Does it still exist, are there still Karelians there?” (Stepanova 2009: 53)

The answers to her questions reveal both good and bad news. Kolvitsa is definitely alive, but after the dissolution of the Soviet Union it has developed into a dacha settlement – and a quite popular one. New houses have been built, and an entirely new residential area has appeared in the former forest southeast from *Pienipuoli*. However, only four or five houses in the village are inhabited in the winter (GAB 2017).<sup>45</sup> There are still speakers of the local Karelian dialect, but all of them live elsewhere and only spend summer (or part of the summer) in Kolvitsa: as of 2017, four of our eight Karelian-speaking language guides resided in Kandalaksha, two in Luvenga, one in Zelenoborsky, and one in Murmansk.

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45. The Finnish engineer Pentti Keynäs reports that in 1988, when he visited Kolvitsa on a fishing trip, the village had about 200 inhabitants from which only about ten were living there the whole year round (Keynäs 1989: 181).

## 4.2. Sweet home Karelia: family lineages of Kolvitsa Karelians

The names of the first families to settle down in Kolvitsa were mentioned above. Arkhipov continues even now to be a common name in the village. Both on the Big and the Small Side of the village (on *Šuuripuoli* and *Pienipuoli*) there were a couple of larger families whose names spread over time, while the other family names remained restricted to one or two households. Our consultants AAG and GAB, for example, told us that in their childhood (in the late 1940s, early 1950s) half of the village on the Big Side were Arkhipovs, the other half Prokop'evs, and the rest were smaller families. According to LEZ, the major families at the Small Side were Mitrofanovs and Timofeevs. Other family names of Karelians living in Kolvitsa are Artem'ev, Bogdanov, Fomin, Egorov, Ivanov, Yakovlev, Kalliev (and/or Kolliev)<sup>46</sup>, Kas'yanov, Kelevaev, Kolleev (also spelled Kalleev), Kundozerov, Languiev, Malygin, Palokangas (or Palakangas) (probably of Finnish origin), Pivoev, Potapov, and Smolennikov (see also Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 126).

The origins of many of these families remain unknown. Nevertheless, for 33 consultants (interviewed in 1972, 1987, 2017 and 2018), or their ancestors, we could determine a specific location (mostly birthplace) in Mainland Karelia serving as a point of departure of the migration to Kolvitsa; see Table 7 and Map 3. It was interesting to find out that all Kolvitsa lineages which we could pinpoint geographically stem directly from the territory of the contemporary Republic of Karelia; see Map 3. The Karelian villages in Kandalaksha visible on Map 2 above were not even mentioned as intermediary points of residence on the way to Kolvitsa. This suggests that the migrants have followed the shortcut and sailed across the Gulf of Kandalaksha, rather than following the land road around the gulf. This assumption is supported by historical evidence; see Section 4.1 above. The closest place of origin of an ancestor of a Karelian born in Kolvitsa is Nilmijärvi which is 160 km away around the Gulf and over 100 km away across the Gulf. Table 7 presents the villages from which the ancestors of Kolvitsa Karelian come from – altogether seventeen locations.<sup>47</sup>

46. We could not determine whether Kalliev and Kolliev are variants of the same family name or separate names. Kolliev might be the Russian version of the Karelian *Kolloni*; cf. the village *Kollola* (also Tiiro, Rus *Тупозеро*) in Pistojärvi parish. It is possible that Kolliev was Kalliev written incorrectly.

47. In one case we could identify an earlier place of origin. The father of our consultant NVI was from Kiestinki, but according to the family legend his ancestors came from Kemijärvi in Finland.



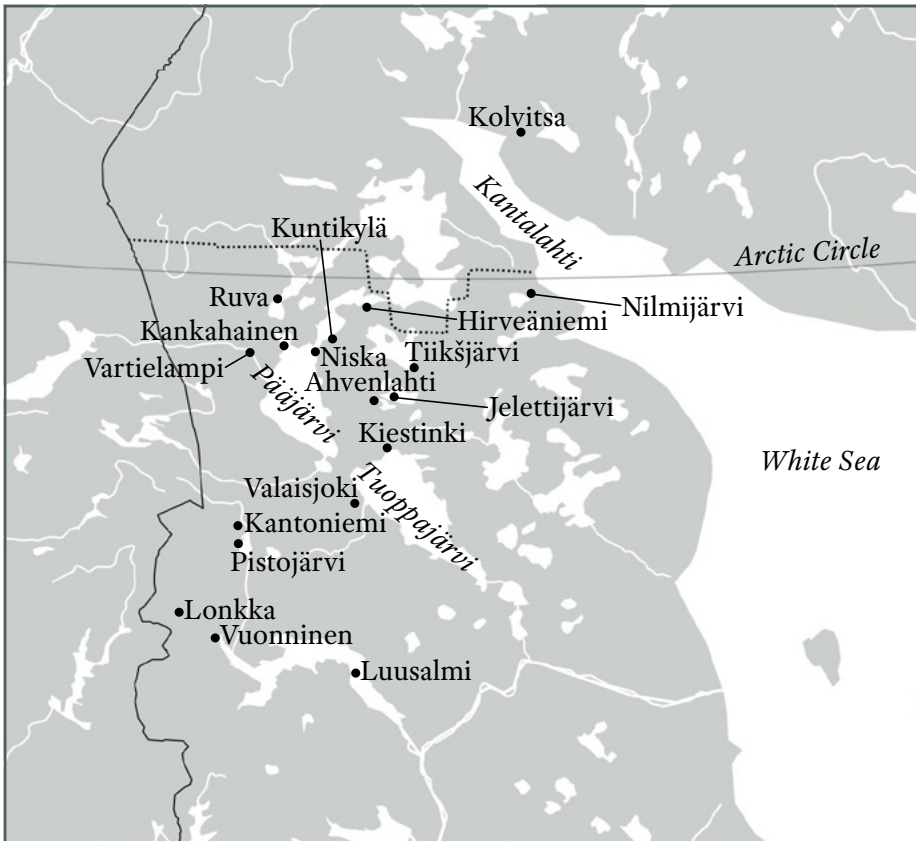
**Table 7. Places of origin of the ancestors of Kolvitsa Karelians in Mainland Karelia**

Source location: Finnish (Karelian)	Russian name of the location	Civil parish ( <i>pitäjät</i> <sup>48</sup> )	N individuals <sup>49</sup>
Ruva (Ruva)	<i>Рува/Рувозеро</i>	Oulanka	2
Kuntikylä/Kuntijärvi (Kuntikylä)	<i>Кундозеро</i>	Oulanka	2
Niska (Niska)	<i>Зашеек</i>	Oulanka	1
Kankahainen (Kankahaini)	<i>Боровская</i>	Oulanka	1
Vartielampi	<i>Вартиоламби/ Варталамбина</i>	Oulanka	5
Hirviniemi/Hirveäniemi (Hirvieñiemi)	<i>Хирвинаволок</i>	Kiestinki	1
Tiiks(i)järvi/Särkiniemi (Tiikšjärvi/Šarkiñiemi)	<i>Тикшозеро</i>	Kiestinki	1
Jelettijärvi (Jelet' t'ijärvi)	<i>Елетозеро</i>	Kiestinki	1
Ahvenlahti (Ahvenlakši)	<i>Ахвенлахти</i>	Kiestinki	1
Kiestinki (Kiestinki)	<i>Кестеньга</i>	Kiestinki	4
Valaisjoki (Valaisjoki)	<i>Валазрека</i>	Kiestinki	1
Nilmijärvi (Ñil'm(i)järvi)	<i>Нильмозеро</i>	Kieretti	1
Pistojärvi (Pistojärvi)	<i>Тихтозеро</i>	Pistojärvi	7 <sup>50</sup>
Kantoniemi (Kantoniemi)	<i>Кандонаволок</i>	Pistojärvi	1
Lonkka (Lonkka)	<i>Лонка</i>	Vuokkiniemi	1
Vuonninen (Vuonñiñi)	<i>Войница</i>	Vuokkiniemi	2
Luusalmi (Luušalmi)	<i>Луусалми</i>	Uhtua	1

48. *Pitäjä* is a Finnish-Karelian administrative unit roughly corresponding to the Swedish *socken* and the Russian *volost*.

49. Some of the migrants from the same location were relatives. This table should give an idea about the relative weight of different places in Karelia within the genealogical stock of Kolvitsa Karelians. Therefore, in the table we counted as separate units only first-generation migrants that are horizontally related (i.e. have a common ancestor; e.g. cousins or brothers/sisters) and thus produce different descent lineages, and accordingly, we did not count separately relatives who descend from each other (e.g. mother and daughter); e.g., the female consultant NAL and her father were both born in Kiestinki and migrated to Kolvitsa; these are counted together, because they are part of a single descent lineage.

50. It is possible that some of these seven individuals are from other settlements in Pistojarvi parish, and not from its centre. Kortessalmi (1996: 101) reports that at the turn of the 20th century 11 families came to Kolvitsa from Pistojarvi. Here again, it is not



**Map 3.** Villages in Mainland Karelia from which the ancestors of Kolvitsans have migrated (the map displays the present borders of Finland, Republic of Karelia, and Murmansk Oblast)

It is generally assumed that the subdialectal differences of Karelian follow the *longue durée* boundaries of historical parishes (see e.g. KKM). Map 4 displays the relative prominence of different parishes in the genealogical (and presumably also linguistic) stock of Kolvitsa Karelian.

We were able to determine the time of migration to Kolvitsa for only 21 individuals. This evidence is insufficient to determine the time, magnitude, and geographic sources of migration waves, but the information extracted from the biographies of these individuals allows for some broad generalizations, presented in Table 8 below.

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clear whether he means the village of Pistojärvi or the parish of Pistojärvi, although the latter seems more probable. In any case, information like this does not directly account for the roots of the contemporary Kolvitsans because we do not know how many of the migrants from Pistojärvi settled in Kolvitsa and how many returned to Karelia.

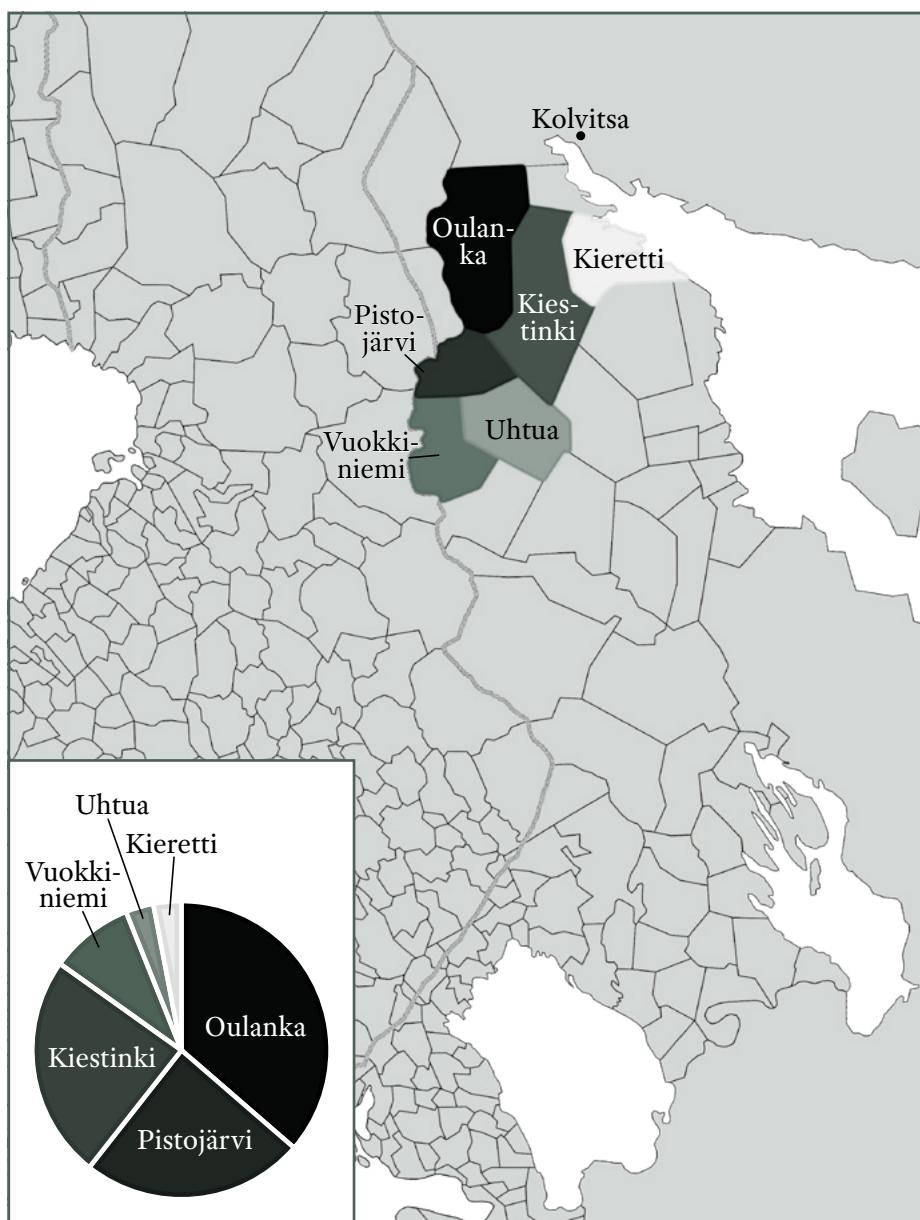
**Table 8. Geographical origins of migrants (administrative parish) relative to the time of migration to Kolvitsa; bold font indicates the decade with the highest number of migrants from the given parish**

Decade	Oulanka	Pistojärvi	Kiestinki	Vuokkiniemi
1890s	✓			
1900s	✓	✓		
1910s			✓	
1920s	✓	✓		✓
1930s		✓	✓	✓
1940s				
1950s			✓	

The founders of the village (Arkipovs) were from Oulanka parish (*volost*). The inflow of people from this area began first, but also stopped first, as can be seen in the table. The migrants from Oulanka were followed in the first decade of the 20th century by migrants from the Pistojärvi area which in turn were followed in the second decade of the century by migrants from the Kiestinki area. In the 1920s–1930s, individuals from further areas to the south (Vuokkiniemi parish) settled in Kolvitsa.

The evidence from our expeditions in 2017 and 2018 suggests that the later the migration has taken place, and the shorter the genealogical links to Karelia are, the greater the chances that an individual has preserved the language. Most of the language guides were third-generation migrants from Karelia (some were even fourth-generation migrants), but our best guide LEZ is a second-generation inhabitant of the village; her parents came from Karelia in the 1930s.

The connections to relatives in Karelia generally broke up after WW2, whereby the decade in which mutual visits stopped seems to also correlate with the time of migration: the earlier one settled in Kolvitsa, the earlier her/his descendents stopped keeping connection with their relatives in Karelia. The descendents of the latest migration waves, on the other hand, have kept sporadic contacts with their Karelian relatives in the second half of the 20th century. LEZ, for example, told us that when she was eighteen (in 1959 or 1960), she was eager to see the birthplace of her father who had died when she was two. She took a long trip with her younger brother to Vuokkiniemi. Interestingly, in 1987 her mother AEM told Aleksei Konkka that two years before the interview (i.e. in 1985) she had visited Vuonninen (see Map 3 above) where she was born, and that this was only the third time she visited Vuonninen since they migrated to Kolvitsa in the 1930s.



**Map 4.** Relative proportion of administrative parishes in Mainland Karelia in the descent of Kolvitsa Karelians: displayed via color intensity on the map and as a pie chart

### 4.3. Entangled identities and language attitudes

*Only our mistakes were Karelian*

We will focus on two issues in this section. First, we will consider the group identity of our Kolvitsa consultants with Karelian roots; in particular, we will discuss their ethnic identity in relation to their official nationality, declared in census interview and/or marked in passports. We will also investigate the role of one competing local identity, which has been recently officialized; the 2010 census provided the option ‘Pomor’. Secondly, we will discuss our consultants’ attitudes related to language and language use. We will discuss discrimination experiences which, as we will see, are mostly related to language. The issues of identity and language attitudes boil down to different patterns of alterity, i.e. to the perception of ‘Self’ and ‘the Other’ among different groups living in the area.

Most of our consultants of Karelian descent are self-declared Karelians. We interviewed twenty individuals of Karelian descent born in Kolvitsa, of which seventeen provided an answer to the question about their ethnic identification. In sixteen cases the consultant said that s/he considers her-/himself Karelian and in one – both Karelian and Russian; interestingly, this last consultant was one of the eight individuals who spoke Karelian. The interviews themselves revealed, however, a more varied picture. SSA for example, one of the best language guides, initially answered that she was Karelian, but later mentioned that her parents spoke Russian and at the age of three she already spoke both languages; referring to the official nationality of the inhabitants of Kolvitsa, she said – *venäläiset olimä* ‘we were Russians’, adding that they were also officially called *karelofinny* ‘Karelofinns’ (SSA 2017), a nationality invented by the Soviet authorities who sought the incorporation of Finns into the Soviet supranation. The consultants were often reluctant to tell us which nationality was marked in their Soviet passports<sup>51</sup>; we got definitive answers to this question only from four Karelian-born individuals of whom two were marked as Karelian and two as Russian. The information about ethnic denomination in census is also incomplete; in the 2010 census, three consultants declared themselves ‘Karelian’ and two ‘Russian’. However, one of those enumerated as ‘Russian’

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51. In the Soviet passports, the so-called *pyataya grafa* (‘the fifth column’) stood for ethnic denomination; in the 1990s, however, the practice of marking nationality in passports was abandoned, and since then the passports of Russian citizens do not contain such information.

(LVS 2017) told the enumerator explicitly that she was Karelian, but the enumerator nevertheless marked her as Russian. Overall, it seems that whether an individual is Karelian in passport or in the census does not correlate with her/his command of the language.

Kolvitsa Karelians are very much aware of the existence of other ethnic groups in the area and clearly delimit themselves from these. Ethnonyms recurring in the recordings are *lopařat* ‘Lapps’, *uřmurat* (or *uřmurat*) ‘Udmurts’ and *ćikanat* ‘Gipsies’. All these tend to be associated with negative attitudes. In the 1970s, an old woman of Lapp descent, nicknamed *Ćipirikki-Muarie* or *Vuařřilan Marju* (both from *Maria*), was living in the village; she was poor, considered bizarre, and was often mocked by children. There is some disagreement among the informants as to whether she spoke Sámi, but her eccentricity appears to have been associated with her being a Sámi; note also that the word *lopar(i)* means ‘muddle-headed, stupid’ in the local Karelian (LEZ translated it in 2017 with the Russian word *безтолковый* ‘muddle-headed’). Our Kolvitsa consultants often emphasized the mutual unintelligibility with Sámi: “we didn’t understand their language and they didn’t understand ours” (LVS 2017). Nonetheless, there seem to have been inhabitants of the village who were not Sámi but understood the language. Our consultant LEZ (2018) recalled a woman who was often visited by a Sámi; she not only understood, but obviously also spoke Sámi: *Tulo(u) Karpovnan taloh, dak myö kaććomä näin, mitäše hiän puaju. A Karpovna malto.* “S/he (the Sámi) comes to Karpovna’s house, and we are staring – what is s/he speaking. But Karpovna understood.” Such knowledge of Sámi is surprising considering that the individual referred to by LEZ is most likely A. Karpovna Prokop’eva, born in the first decade of the 20th century in Ahvenlahti, Kiestinki area; she must have learned Sámi in Kolvitsa or in the surroundings, but it is unclear why and how.

The Udmurts constituted a significant part of the population in the adjacent Luvenga (Kar *Luivinka*), the closest village to the west. In the 1970s–1980s Luvenga was considered an Udmurt village. Udmurts came as logging workers, apparently some of them settled there already before WW2. Despite the close connections and the mixed marriages with Kolvitsans, which resulted in Karelian women moving to Luvenga (e.g. Languevs), Udmurts were sometimes referred to as “lazy” and “dirty” by our consultants (e.g. LEZ 2017). Obviously, this also explains why the collective nickname of the inhabitants of Luvenga was *likaperšiet* ‘dirty asses’. As for the Romani, although the area never had a domiciled Romani population, Roma beggars were often mentioned by our consultants. Interestingly, wandering Roma always came from the east (from Uмба) and passing Kolvitsa left in the direction of Kandalaksha.

A fourth group clearly regarded as ‘Other’ are Finns (*š uomel aizet*). Unlike the groups already discussed, Finns and Finland invoke almost exclusively positive reactions. As mentioned above, the village had Finnish residents until the eve of WW2: there were at least three Karelian-Finnish mixed marriages, the language of instruction in the school was Finnish, and some of the school teachers as well as the local baker were Finns (LEZ 2017).<sup>52</sup> The situation changed in 1940 when most of the Finns (at least the males) were expelled from the village, never to return (Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova & Goryashko 2014: 29). Finns were associated with education, civilization, and modern life. Finnish songs were sung at parties, and the generation of the parents of our consultants used to read in Finnish; e.g. LEZ’s mother AEM ordered journals (*vypisivaichi žurnaloja*) in Finnish (LEZ 2017). Some consultants (LVS, SSA, OAP) have been in Finland and have only positive impressions from their visits.<sup>53</sup>

There are two groups, however, to whom Kolvitsa Karelians have an ambivalent relation, and which are regarded in different contexts and by different consultants both as ‘Other’ and as ‘Us’. The first are Russians. On the one hand, many individuals of Karelian descent consider themselves to be Russians – more often culturally than ethnically or linguistically. ‘Karelian’ and ‘Russian’ are not exclusive sets anymore especially because some consultants have Russian fathers (see below). Almost all our consultants have spent decades away from Kolvitsa, living in towns and cities among Russians who do not regard them as different; in a sense, they have spent most of their lives disguised as Russians. The consultant LVS, for example, has been living in Murmansk for already 56 years. Nowadays her friends there know she is Karelian, but when she was young none of her friends in the city knew she was not Russian. She might have been ashamed of her nationality (in the Soviet sense of the term), and respectively, afraid of possible exclusion, but this does not explain entirely why she used to remain silent about her Karelianness. Many Kolvitsa Karelians became aware of how similar culturally they are to Russians only after they moved to cities like Murmansk (and even to

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52. Finnish names occurring in the material are Palokangas (or Palakangas) and Kovelainen, but also individuals with Russian last names, such as Timofeev, Yakovlev, and Arkhipov (apparently acquired through marriage), were referred to as Finns (NAL 1987, AAG 2017, GAB 2018, LEZ 2018).

53. We observed only one negative reference to ‘Finn(ish)’: there was a Finnish woman in the village called Maira, who put spells on cows; she used to go to cowsheds of other people (*vierahih liävih*) and milk their cows, after which cows stopped giving milk and could not give birth anymore.



towns like Kandalaksha) where they encountered representatives of nationalities who were strikingly different from Russians and themselves. In this new environment, their Karelian ethnic background became an exotic but irrelevant fact.

On the other hand, Kolvitsa Karelians have inherited from Mainland Karelia the tradition of demarcating themselves against Russians. Some of our consultants consider Russians different, often in a negative way, e.g. *ryššät oike ollah laizat, laizat ihmiset* ‘Russians are very lazy, lazy people.’ (LEZ 2017). Moreover, Russia is often perceived on Kola Peninsula as a place somewhere else, and this regardless of ethnicity. In 2017, the consultant AAG told us about a local man who married and “moved to Russia” as if Kolvitsa was not in Russia. Margje Post has observed the same phenomenon among the inhabitants of Varzuga: “Although the Pomors consider themselves to be Russians, they are hardly part of Russia: in the conception of the *Varzužans*, *Rossija* is ‘the land behind Karelia.’” (Post 2004: 74). Although Karelians and Russians have been living as neighbours in Kolvitsa for at least 70–80 years, the delimitation against Russians is nowadays experiencing a revival, evoked by the resentment toward newcomers (*dachniki* ‘summer residents’) who massively buy land and houses in the village; the locals call them *okupanty* ‘occupants’ (GAB 2017).

The second, even more ambiguous designation are ‘the Pomors’. As already mentioned in the introduction to this book, language-based identity is prevailing among Finnic people. In Kolvitsa, however, the Karelian identity is contested by a local cultural identity. The population living on the coast of the White Sea, especially along Kandalaksha and Ter coasts, has developed a unique Pomor identity which partly overrides linguistic boundaries.<sup>54</sup> There is some disagreement among our consultants whether they are Pomors or not. Aleksandrov, Aleksandrova and Goryashko (2014: 27) write that one of their consultants, who is born in Kolvitsa and has Karelian descent, claimed that Kolvitsa Karelians (including herself) are not Pomors. The first individual we interviewed in 2017 (before having visited Kolvitsa) was the Russian NGB, an autochthonous inhabitant of Old-Kandalaksha, who considered herself “a pure Pomor”. She told us that the inhabitants of Kolvitsa are not happy when they are called Pomors. Our ensuing interviews in the village revealed, however, that the issue is more complicated. The following reactions of our consultants display the array of attitudes of Kolvitsa Karelians toward the Pomor issue.

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54. The “genuine” Pomors are a distinct ethnographic group descended from Russian settlers, mainly from Novgorod lands.

After having told us that she was marked as Karelian in the census, and in the passport as Russian, AAG (born in 1938) added, “This means I’m probably a Pomor”, implying that ‘Pomor’ is something between Russian and Karelian. Later she specified: “Pomors are all those who have been born and live by the sea.” When asked whether a Karelian can also be a Pomor, she answered: “No. Karelians came from Karelia, there is no sea over there and only since they settled down at the seacoast, some people have started to call them Pomors. But Karelians and Pomors are different folks.” (AAG 2017)

The language guide GAB seemed to have spent more time in Kolvitsa during her life than the other guides. Despite her age (77), she still fished daily with her boat in Kolvitsa Bay and had a strong emotional connection to the sea. She told us that she considers herself Karelian, and when we asked whether one can be Karelian and Pomor at the same time, she answered positively. “If you live around the sea, you are a Pomor, regardless of whether you are Russian or Karelian”. Then we asked whether Kandalakshans consider the inhabitants of Kolvitsa to be Pomors. “Yes”, she said, “Kolvitsans are Pomors, Kandalakshans themselves are Pomors, and those in Knäžöi [Knyazhaya Guba] too” (GAB 2018).

Our best guide, the female LEZ (born in 1941) told us that all Karelians living at the seacoast are considered Pomors and are called this way. However, she does not consider herself to be a Pomor. (LEZ 2017)

The female guide VVB (born in 1947), whose mother was Karelian and whose father Russian, said that she is *čista karjalainen* “pure Karelian”, and added *tiäl’ ei ollu pomoroi* “there were no Pomors here (in the village)” (VVB 2017).

The male consultant OAP (born in 1952), a semi-speaker of Karelian, seemed to be aware of the ambivalence of the Pomor issue, and answered our questions hesitantly and with irony. At the question who the Pomors are, he answered, “Pomors (grinning), there were Karelian Pomors, there were Russian Pomors, I don’t know.” Are you a Pomor? “Well, I am a Pomor ... what Pomors are we?” Are you Pomor and Karelian at the same time? “Yeah (shrugging), Karelian and Pomor.” (OAP 2018)

These reactions of our consultants illustrate the tension between the Karelian and Pomor identity in Kolvitsa. The overarching Pomor identity co-exists with the “blood-” and language-based identity in the area and seems to present a challenge not only to Russian-speaking population but also to Karelians.

Let us now briefly analyse the patterns of language usage in relation to language attitudes. Our Karelian guides are all bilingual, in other words, they have learned Russian already as children. Another important fact is that none of the eight individuals whom we interviewed in Karelian in 2017 and

2018 speaks, has learned, or uses Finnish as an L2. Linguistic practices can be examined on the time axis (across generations) and on the axis ‘domestic vs. public sphere’. The responses to the questionnaire discussed in Section 3 provided information about the language of communication between our consultants and their parents, between our consultants and their brothers and sisters (i.e. between relatives from the same generation), and between the consultants and their children – altogether across three generations.

As already mentioned, we interviewed twenty individuals born in Kolvitsa and from Karelian descent. Asking about the nationality of their parents (which coincides in our data with the native tongue of their parents), we received the information presented in Table 9. Checking these facts against the knowledge of Karelian of our consultants, we conclude that the native language of the mother is the major factor in the transmission of the language. The Russian father does not decrease the chances that the individual speaks or understands Karelian. The consultant VVB had a Russian father but was one of the eight individuals (among twenty) speaking Karelian. On the other hand, many individuals with Karelian parents from both sides of the family did not speak the language. An example are the brothers NPA and SPA and their sister SPK (descendants of the first-settlers Arkhipovs) who reported that they have spoken always Russian with each other, though they remembered words and individual phrases in Karelian.

**Table 9. Nationality ( $\approx$  native language) of the parents of the consultants interviewed in 2017/2018**

	Father	Mother
Karelian	14	20
Russian	5	–
Finnish	1	–

In many cases, the grandparents and not the parents have played a crucial role for the transmission of the language. The grandparents of the last generation of speakers – those born in the 1940s and 1950s – often spoke Russian poorly and spoke Karelian to their grandchildren even though the grandchildren understood them poorly as they were growing up in a Russian linguistic environment. As a rule, the grandparents were first-generation immigrants; they were born in Karelia and had spent a significant part of their life in an entirely Karelian linguistic environment. For example, the grandmother of OAP (born in 1952) barely spoke Russian, and if it were not her, OAP would not have been able to speak Karelian with us, just like most of his age-mates:

*Myö kasvoma ... ämmön luo kasvoma, hiän venejäkši pahoin pu- pahoin puaji, kaikki karjalakši* ‘We grew up, we grew up at our grandma’s, she spoke bad Russian, everything (she used to say) was in Karelian’ (OAP 2018).

Judging from the answers to the questionnaire, the language conventionally used among our language guides from 2017–2018 and their brothers and sisters is and in the most cases has always been Russian. For example, the guides SSA and GAB are among the best speakers of Karelian among our consultants, but both reported Russian as the basic language of communication with their siblings. In families with many children and with large age differences between the children we sometimes observe language shift within the same generation. Our oldest consultant LVS had nine sisters and brothers; while she spoke Karelian with the older ones, the language of communication with the younger was mostly or exclusively Russian. Today even the best speakers are very hesitant when asked whether they speak Karelian with each other. Some of them speak only Russian, other predominantly Russian.<sup>55</sup> At the same time, some consultants (e.g. GAB and LEZ) told us that they try in full awareness to speak with each other Karelian as a public demonstration of their ethnic identity.

Our language guides are born between 1934 and 1956. Practically all marriages within these age cohorts were mixed, i.e. none of our consultants was married to another Karelian. This, among other things, promoted the exclusive use of Russian as domestic language in the village. Regarding the next generation, LEZ (our best language guide) is the only individual in the village who said that she has spoken Karelian to her offspring; we did not have the chance to meet her daughter, who passed away in 2017, but allegedly she understood Karelian. This has probably to do with the supportive attitude of LEZ’s husband, who was a Russian from Arkhangelsk Oblast, but who learned a little Karelian from his wife and was able to understand a simple conversation. According to the other surviving wives, the Russian husbands generally had a negative attitude toward Karelian language and culture, and even used to forbid them to speak Karelian to the children. AAG, for example, was married twice and both her husbands forbade her to speak Karelian with the children (or with anyone else in their presence). Conversely, since husband and children were factors imposing Russian as a language of communication, the lack of own family seems to have had a language maintaining effect. SSA is a revealing example in this respect; she never married and did not have

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55. For some reason telephone calls are handled exclusively in Russian; AAG, for example, told us that she has a sister who speaks Karelian, but on the telephone, they speak only in Russian (AAG 2017).

children, and she was one of our best language guides (the only one able to tell us an entire fairytale in Karelian).

Other, equally important factors contributing to the extinction of Karelian lie outside the private sphere, most importantly in public school. All consultants with whom we discussed the issue said that in school the language of communication between Karelian children from Kolvitsa was Russian. The typical educational path of our consultants led from the four-class elementary school in Kolvitsa to the internat-school in Knyazhaya Guba. In Knyazhaya Guba, children were not only studying but were also living together, often with children from other Karelian villages, such as Mosha, Konets-Kovdozero and Knyazhaya Guba itself. Nevertheless, even in informal situations Karelian children used to speak Russian with each other. Speaking Karelian was disapproved of by tutors and teachers – by some indirectly, by others quite directly. Our consultants disagree on whether speaking Karelian was actually forbidden, but they do agree that they were ashamed of their native tongue. SSA, for example, told that they were not really afraid of speaking Karelian, but they were ashamed (SSA 2017). In contrast, GAB remembered that children were told in school that they should speak Russian even at home (GAB 2017). LEZ, who later became a teacher herself, said that *neruskie* ‘non-Russians’ were regarded with contempt in the boarding school, and therefore they did not dare to openly speak Karelian. However, when they went to sleep, they used to exchange dirty proverbs and songs in their secret language (LEZ 2017). The following statements by the female consultants AAG and IAM illustrate the imprint school experience has left in the language attitudes of Kolvitsans. AAG said *hyvin opaššuin, hot’ olin karelka* ‘I was learning well even though I was Karelian’ (AAG 2017). IAM, who barely speaks Karelian, said in Russian “in school we made only mistakes in Karelian; only our mistakes were Karelian” (IAM 2017).

At the same time, it is striking that although school was the most repressive institution regarding Karelian, our best language guides LEZ and SSA became schoolteachers and worked until their retirement at the school in Knyazhaya Guba. It seems thus that one could adapt to the system without losing one’s Karelian identity and dignity. LEZ and SSA left the impression that they have always been downright proud of their Karelianness.

Another interesting phenomenon is the collective guilt in relation to Karelian language manifested by the expression *paha karjalainen* ‘bad Karelian’ which features dozens of occurrences in our material. Consultants use this expression to refer to other residents of the village, but also to themselves. Our oldest language guide LVS referred to her younger relative IVZ who has only a passive knowledge of Karelian by saying *hän on paha karjalaine* ‘She is a bad Karelian.’ (LVS 2017). The male consultant VAP, who does not speak Karelian

anymore, referred to himself in Russian as “bad Karelian” (VAP 2017). We asked what exactly it means when someone is bad Karelian, and LEZ answered: *Hän ei tiijä kaikki karjalan šanoja, ei tiä kaikki šanoi mitä pitäis, jota hän šanoo ryššän šanoja eikä karjalan šanoja*. “S/he doesn’t know all Karelian words, doesn’t know all necessary words, s/he uses Russian and not Karelian words.” (LEZ 2018). The semi-speaker OAP put it in a nutshell: *Tot ken karjalakši ei puaji* ‘One who does not speak Karelian’ (OAP 2018). But even LEZ, despite speaking fluent Karelian, often referred to herself as a “bad Karelian”, especially when she could not recall the Karelian word for a concept and used the Russian one. She remembered how bitterly she felt herself a bad Karelian when as a young woman she visited Vuonninen, the birthplace of her parents. Everybody there, including the children on the street, spoke Karelian. The expression can be used with more specific meaning in the sense of speaking “wrong Karelian”, e.g. with wrong pronunciation. AAG, for example, remembered a female individual in the village whom she called *pahua karjalua* ‘bad Karelian (in Partitive case)’ (*ñiiñ i kučuti heitä – pahat karjalat* ‘this way they were called – bad Karelians’) because of her soft and voiced pronunciation of certain consonants, e.g. *labju* ‘spade, shovel’ instead of *lapie* (AAG 2017). We could not determine whether this pronunciation was due to Russian interference, or the individual was from another Karelian dialect area (e.g. Olonets Karelian). AAG seemed to believe the latter, but we could not find independent evidence that a Karelian family from outside the area of Karelian Proper has been living in Kolvitsa.<sup>56</sup>

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56. This does not mean that inhabitants of the village have not been in contact with (or influenced by) speakers of other Karelian dialects. The consultant AMV who is an ethnic Russian (born in 1932) gave us an illustrative example of such contacts (AMV 2017). As a child he spent a couple of years in Petrozavodsk where his parents rented a room from a Lude family. Since his parents were at work most of the time AMV, in his words, learned to speak Lude; both the landlady and her children communicated among themselves and with him in this language. When in 1938 his father was transferred to Kolvitsa, AMV began to use the Karelian he learned in Petrozavodsk, but the local children laughed at the way he spoke, and therefore he stopped speaking the language. He tells us, however, that he still understands “the simplest conversation” in Karelian and exemplified this with a couple of words and expressions.

## 5. The language of Kolvitsa Karelians

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### 5.1. Toponymy

Due to the lack of written or oral sources, geographical names are precious evidence for the history of the area. They designate specific but salient features of the environment, they are constantly used by the inhabitants of the area to refer to these features, and therefore are time-resistant and have a long life expectancy. In this section, we discuss how place names in and around Kolvitsa reflect the past of the area; toponymy is the proper topic to link the overview of Kolvitsa history to the purely linguistic part of this study.

Until the arrival of Karelians on the shores of Kolvitsa River in the end of the 19th century, the coastal line was inhabited by Russian Pomors and the hinterland by the Sámi. The logical point of departure will be to seek how this junction of ethnic populations is mirrored in the toponymy of the area. The contemporary toponym *Lapinniemi* ‘Lapp Cape’ at Lake Kolvitsa probably marked the boundary of the areas of commercial interest of the newly arrived Karelians and the Sámi at the turn of the 20th century. Place names with such attributive ethnonyms usually emerge through contact of different ethnic populations, and their function is to demarcate the border between the groups and the spheres of their hunting, farming, and trading interests. Of course, this frontier is much older than the contemporary Karelian settlement in the area. A donation to Kandalaksha Monastery from 1687 testifies that a certain Onton Koz’min inherited from his parents two pieces of land, one of which by Lake Kolvitsa in *Lopskaya chetvert* ‘Lapp quarter’ (*chetvert*’ is an obsolete land measurement unit in Russia) (Nikonov & Pushkina 2013: 175). Evidence that the area was familiar to the Sámi, and was within the perimeter of their commercial interest, is that they had their own name for the fell (a type of barren mountain massif) near Kolvitsa – *Kolwtundar* (Rus *Колвицкие тундры*), documented in the end of the 19th century (Itkonen 1958b: 981). Based on the name of this mountain range, we can reconstruct the Sámi name of Lake Kolvitsa – *\*Kolwjawr*. In these names we see the Sámi geographic term *kuálv*, *kuálvâš* ‘a (flat) area covered by scarce forest with reindeer moss; woodland covered with lichen and heather’ (Neahttadigisánit; Itkonen 1958b: 864) which evolved into *kolvič-*, and from which the village has its name.<sup>57</sup> Obviously, this geographical term had also been used by the extinct Sámi population

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57. Compare the river *Vuonnisjoki* (Rus *Войнуца*) in Karelia exemplifying the model assumed here: *Vuonnisjoki* > *Войнуца*, *\*Kolvisjoki* or *Kolvašjoki* > *Колвица*. The



of Mainland Karelia<sup>58</sup>; it is attested there in toponyms like the lake *Kolvazjärvi* in the former Repola and Rukajärvi parishes in central Karelia, and the river *Kolvasjogi* (also *Kolvahanjogi*, now *Kollasjogi*) in the former Viitele parish in southeastern Karelia.<sup>59</sup>

On the other hand, it is interesting that in the whole area between Kandalaksha and Varzuga there are no place names containing the ethnonym *Карел* (*ьскый*) ‘Karelian’. This can be considered as evidence for the linguistic and cultural homogeneity of the area. Given the dominance of the (linguistically) Russian population in the area, “Karelian” (designating a place name) is an exonym – an external ascription which presupposes abrupt boundaries<sup>60</sup> between linguistic and/or ethnic groups. The absence of such toponyms suggests that Karelians living in the area have not been perceived by Russians as different enough to deserve such external ascription. This in turn suggests that their assimilation into the Russian population has been a slow process, where several generations have been fully bilingual, and in this sense linguistically and culturally invisible to the Russians. In contrast, such toponyms are amply attested in those parts of Kola Peninsula which are or until recently were inhabited by the Sámi. On the Uмба River north of Kanozero, for example, we find a rapid which the Russians have named *Карельский* ‘Karelian’, which seems to be a translation loan (a calque) from Sámi. Moving southwards, we find fully Sámi toponyms around Kanozero; e.g. the small river *Каврельйоок*<sup>61</sup> flowing into the river Kitsa (*Куца*). Generally, the Sámi territories on Kola peninsula, i.e. the central and the northern part of the peninsula, feature several toponyms referring to Karelians: *Gorjela-tunturi* ‘Karelian fell’, *Karjeljavr* ‘Karelian lake’, *Karjalluht* ‘Karelian bay’, *Karjalhark* ‘Karelian headland, peninsula’ etc. This indicates that Karelians have been culturally and linguistically enough eye-catching for the Sámi to name landscape features after them.

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names of the river and the lake are in our opinion secondary; they are based on the name of the mountain range *Kolw(tundar)*.

58. The Sámi of the northernmost Mainland Karelia probably became extinct in the beginning of the 19th century (see Pöllä 2001: 97).

59. A possible example from White Sea Karelia is the meadow name *Kolvičču* attested near the defunct village Kurgievo (Kar *Kurenkylä*) in the former Paanajärvi parish (Kartoteka toponimov KarNTS). Unfortunately, we do not know the exact location of this meadow and thus have no information about the surrounding nature.

60. Whether actually abrupt or only perceived as abrupt.

61. Russian topographic maps contain a lot of misprints, especially in areas inhabited by non-Slavic population. Since the Cyrillic letters *a* and *в* are next to each other on typewriter keyboards, it is plausible that the actual name of the river was \**Карельйоок* (‘Karelian River’).

It has already been mentioned that after the closure of Kandalaksha monastery in the mid-18th century all land possessions of the monastery were transferred to the village community of Kandalaksha. When Karelians settled in Kolvitsa, Kandalakshans refused to let them use their piscaries on the White Sea and catch salmon in Kolvitsa River; the permission came only in 1900 (Nicol'skiĭ 1927: 14). The fact that Kolvitsa Bay and the surroundings belonged to the commercial and administrative authority of Kandalaksha, whose population was Pomor Russian, is extensively reflected in the geographical names in and around the present village. It seems that arriving in the area, Karelians came upon a rich Russian toponymy which they adapted to their sound system or calqued. Typical examples are names of surrounding high landscape features (hills, fell, etc.) and sections of the seacoast in direction Kandalaksha (northwest) or Por'ya Guba (southeast). Moving away from the sea to the hinterland (e.g. along Kolvitsa River), such Russian toponyms become rarer.

Names calqued or borrowed from Russian include the gulfs *Kolvičanlakši* (Rus *Колвицкая губа*), *Kannonlakši*<sup>62</sup> (also *Kannanlakši*, Rus *Кандалакша*), *Kločihina* (Rus *Клочихино*), *Miitrevskoilakši* (Rus *Дмитриевская губа*), *Porjakuira* (Rus *Порья Губа*), *Saššeikka* (also *Niška*, Rus *Зашеек*), *Liäkä* (Rus *Ляга*), the fishing grounds *Vuarničča* (Rus *Варница*), *Ivanovskoi* (Rus *Ивановка*), *Lepetihä* (Rus *Лебедиха*), the shores (coast sections) *Kiiperinskoi(ranta)* (also *Ki[i]perinranta*, Rus *Киберинский берег*), *Kiproiha* (Rus *Кипрочуха*), the rivers *Kolvičanjoki* (Rus *Колвица*), *Tiikšijoki* (Rus *Тикшарека*), *Umtanjoki* (Rus *Умбарека*), the brooks *Kločihinan-oja* (Rus *Клочихинский ручей*), *Verešoja* (also *Katajaoja*, Rus *Вересручей*), *Voñičiojoja* (Rus *Вонючий ручий*), the lakes *Luiveñkajärvet* (Rus *Лувеньгские озера*), the islands *Vlasovanšuari* (also *Lamphanšuari*, Rus *Власов остров*), the fell *Jolkitunturi* (also *Kuušitunturi*, Rus *Ёлжитундры, Ёлжитундры*), *Lepetihä* (Rus *Лебедиха*), *Luiveñka(n)tunturit* (Rus *Лувеньгские тундры*), *Okaťevoi* (Rus *Окатьевская варака*), and the hill *Kardona* (Rus *Кардон*). Some of these toponyms have in turn been borrowed by Russians from their Sámi neighbours; e.g. the gulfs *Колвицкая губа* (see above), *Порьягуба*<sup>63</sup> (obviously a half-calque from Kildin Sámi \**Porjasliŋt* [Minkin 1976: Chapter 6];

62. The Russian name of the town *Кандалакша* (Kar *Kannanlakši*) is fixed in the contemporary language, and therefore the occurrence of *Kannonlakši* in our Karelian material was surprising. It is possible that this form is based on an earlier parallel form *Кандолакша*, mentioned e.g. in 1627 (KBCh 1838: 172) and in 1760 (Lomonosov 1955: 219).

63. On the map of the “Book of the Big Draft” from 1627 (KBCh 1838: 171) we find the form *Порые губа* which looks like the assumed Karelian spelling \**Porie-*.

cf. Kildin Sámi *porjas* ‘sail, rag’ plus *лй̄т* ‘bay’ [Itkonen 1958a: 396a, 224a]<sup>64</sup>), the lakes *Лувеньгские озера*, resp. the river *Лувеньга* (cf. Kildin Sámi *луввр<sup>δ</sup>* ‘shake, rock’, Minkin 1976: Chapter 11; Itkonen 1958a: 231), the mountain ranges *Лувеньгские тундры* and *Йолгитундры*<sup>65</sup> (*jolgi-*, cf. Skolt Sámi *jōđlgōs* ‘open flat place or larger territory’ [Neahttadigisánit]), and the rivers *Колвица*, *Умба* (cf. Kildin, Ter Sámi *от̄р-* ‘closed, locked; whole’; Itkonen 1958a: 311b), and *Тукша* (cf. Kildin Sámi *tjks* ‘haddock [*Gadus aeglefinus*]’ Itkonen 1958a: 580b; Pineda 2004: 36). All these are large objects which for centuries have topographically dominated the landscape and have been economically significant for the population in the southwestern part of Kola peninsula. It is not surprising, therefore, that they had Sámi names even if there were no Sámi settlements in their immediate vicinity.

The toponyms of Russian origin in and around Kolvitsa (including those with ultimate sources in Sámi) amount to about 7% of all documented place names in the area (see the full list of toponyms in Appendix III). The actual proportion of such Russian-based toponyms from the total is probably higher, around 10%, as in some cases a name is attested exclusively in Karelian although it seems to be calqued from Russian. In many cases, a Russian source can be suspected based only on indirect evidence.

Toponyms occurring further away from the village, on the way leading to another (Russian) settlement, can be assumed to have been adopted by Karelians after their arrival in Kolvitsa from the surrounding Russian population which already had names for these places; cf. the brooks *Ivananoja* (Rus *Ивановский ручей*), *Maksimanoja* (Rus *Максимовский ручей*), the bay *Levielakši* (a full calque, apparently from Rus *Широкая губа*), the shoal *Jermakanšarvet* (Rus *Ермаковы рога*), and the cape *Pänteleinniemi* (Rus *Пентельский наволок*). Some of these names are known from the study of Nikol’skiĭ (1921) who presents a list of fishing places in Kolvitsa with their Russian names; e.g. the fishing ground *Синий Камень* ‘Bluestone’

64. Minkin himself is not entirely sure of this etymology; another option would be that the attributive element *порья-* comes from Kildin Sámi *pōr<sup>e</sup>* ‘(rock) bank, high embankment’ (Itkonen 1958a: 398b).

65. The elevation forms belonging to the mountain range *Йолгитундры* have their individual names such as *Избная Йолга*, *Баранья Йолга*, *Рисовская Йолга*, and the range is conceived of as a sum of individual *jolga*, which can be seen in the plural marker (*-u-* [i]) on the attributive part of the Russian toponym *Йолги-*. We also find the variant *Ёлки-* nowadays, which can be explained in terms of folk etymology. The Karelians in the area misinterpreted the element *йолга* (originally from Sámi) relating it to the Russian *ёлка* ‘spruce’. This folk etymology was then reproduced in the Karelian name of this mountain: *Kuušitunturi* (Kar *kuuši* ‘spruce’).

(Kar *Šinikivi*), the cape *Высокий наволок* ‘High cape’ (Kar *Korkienietti*), the bay *Темная губка* ‘Dark liplet’ (Kar *Muštalakši*) (Nikol’skiĭ 1927: 155). Some of these may be translations of etymologically transparent Karelian names into Russian. For some full calques like the river rock *Šinikivi* ‘Bluestone’ (Rus *Синий камень*) and the gorge *Rautaveräjät* ‘Irongates’ (Rus *Железные ворота*) a translation from Russian into Karelian is more likely because in the end of the 19th century (when Karelians settled in Kolvitsa) the given toponymic models were not productive in Karelian anymore, though they had been used earlier; cf. the rock *Šinikivi* (Miinoa village, Rukajärvi parish), the cleft (crevice) *Rautaveräjät* (Akonlakši village, Kontokki parish) (see below).

In some cases, it is not clear which of the two recorded forms, the Karelian or the Russian one, is the original, and which is a translation from it. In the Russian varieties spoken on Kola Peninsula, many geographical terms have been borrowed from Karelian, whereas the opposite – borrowing of geographical common nouns from Russian into Karelian – is rarer. Karelian borrowings to Russian are e.g. *варака* (Kar *vuara*) ‘high hill’, *ламбина/ламба* (Kar *lampi*) ‘small forest lake, pond’, *корга* (Kar *korko*) ‘shoal, wash’, *луда* (Kar *luoto*) ‘islet; a larger rock appearing above the water during the ebb’, *падун* (Kar *patuna*) ‘waterfall’. But which of the languages is the primary source of a place name in which one of these common nouns occurs is often difficult to determine. For example, we cannot say whether the following names are originally Russian or Karelian coinages: *Muštavuara* (Rus *Черная варака*) ‘Blackmountain’, *Kiärmišvuara* (Rus *Змеиная гора*) ‘Snakemountain’, *Nekotnoilampi* (also *Pahalampi*) (Rus *Негодная ламбина*) ‘Useless lake’, *Kultakorko* (Rus *Золотая корга*) ‘Golden shoal’, *Kultaluoto* (Rus *Золотая луда*) ‘Golden islet’, *Muštapatuna* (Rus *Черный падун*) ‘Black waterfall’.

In most cases, however, existing Russian place names have been adapted by Kolvitsa Karelian; they have undergone specific changes conditioned by Karelian phonotactics and word formation rules. The result are hybrid compounds and other complex toponyms which consist of a Russian place name (proper name) and a Karelian common noun designating a natural form. In such cases, the toponym is a compound of two words only in Karelian; e.g. the shore *Kippoihanranta* (Rus *Кунноуха* + Kar *ranta* ‘shore, coast’), the aspen forest *Lepetihänhuavikko* (Rus *Лебедуха* + Kar *huavikko* ‘group or forest of aspen trees’), the raspberry thicket *Kločihanmalinnikko* (Rus *Клочиха* + Kar *malinnikko* [< Rus *малинник*] ‘raspberry thicket’), the cliff *Simčankallivo* (Kar *Simč(č)a* [< Rus *зимéц*] + Kar *kallivo* ‘cliff; rock’), the island *Rissinšuari* (literally ‘cross-island’, Kar *rissin* ‘cross:GEN’<sup>66</sup> + Kar *šuari*

66. This word might be related to the family *Пищев* (also *Пищев*) from Fedosevka, a new migrant village near Kandalaksha. It is possible that members of this family

‘cross-island’). Further outcomes of adaptation are half-calques, such as the shoal *Jermakanšarvet* (Rus *Ермаковы Рога*, lit. ‘Jermakov’s horns’), the brooks *Verešoja* (Rus *Вепесручей*, lit. ‘heather-brook’) and *Voñučoioja* (Rus *Вонючий ручей*, lit. ‘Stinking brook’), as well the full calques *Šinikivi* (Rus *Синий камень* ‘Bluestone’) and *Rautaveräjät* (Rus *Железные Ворота* ‘Iron gates’).

The gradual Karelianization of the Russian toponymy (the examples above illustrate different patterns of adaptation and transition stages) stopped before it was completed. The population of the village turned from monolingual Karelian in the first half of the 20th century to bilingual (roughly between 1940 and 1970) and finally into monolingual Russian. Those born in 1960s are the first generation in which nobody speaks Karelian.<sup>67</sup> These circumstances influenced the development of place names with a certain time lag, as toponymy generally endures time better than common nouns. It is often the case nowadays that locals who do not speak Karelian at all use Karelian place names and are even aware of their compositional character and the meaning of their components. At the same time, the instability of the Karelian equivalents of Russian toponyms shows that the replication process was interrupted before the Karelian form conventionalized. Vacillation occurs, for example, in the hill name *Октябрьская варака* (also *Октябрьево*); in 2017 and 2018 we recorded the variants *Okat’ivanvuara*, *Okat’i*, *Okat’te(v)skatunturi*, *Okat’teva*, *Okat’tevoi*. Other such examples are the brook *Вонючий ручей* for which in Karelian we have *Voñučoioja*, *Haisuajajoki* (Kar *haisuja* ‘smelling’) and *Happanuojja* (Kar *happanu* ‘something that has turned sour’), and the bay *Козья губа* ‘goat bay’ which seems to correspond both to *Kosjakupa* (phonetic adaptation) and *Kossolakši* (half-calque) in Karelian.

The loss of place names is not only related to the language-shift, but also to general changes in people’s way of life. Nowadays, most of the natives visit the village only in summer, only a few locals (whether permanently or seasonally living in Kolvitsa) still fish at sea, and no one fishes on Lake Kolvitsa. Cattle and reindeer have disappeared from the village, and the hayfields and pastures have been deserted. Accordingly, fishing places, pasture names, etc. are easily forgotten, and can be elicited only in stories about the youth of the consultants or about the lives of their parents and grandparents.

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have had a land property in the surroundings of Kolvitsa before the arrival of Karelians in 1890s. It remains unclear whether *Rissinšuari* is merely a phonological adaptation of the Russian name of the island *Пищев* (or *Ряцев*) *остров* or is an outcome of erroneous association (folk etymology) of the word with the Karelian *risti* ‘cross’.

67. It is possible, of course, that there are people born in the 1960s who speak Karelian, but whom we are not aware of because they do not visit Kolvitsa.

Despite these unfavourable circumstances, we elicited about 400 toponyms in or around the village. A circumstance favouring the persistence of such names is the fact that during WW2 the population was not evacuated inland, but remained in the village, which ensured continuity in the usage of local toponymy. At present, such a number of toponyms can be elicited only in linguistically vibrant villages in Karelia. Another factor favouring the persistence of microtoponymy is that the village was rather big (up to 64 houses) and remains inhabited despite turning into a dacha settlement. Although only few of its inhabitants speak Karelian, Kolvitsa has the critical mass of people necessary for the retention of knowledge about place names. We questioned both permanent and seasonal inhabitants of the village, recording not only Karelian but also Russian geographical names, and then systematically confronted our Karelian-speaking consultants with the latter asking them to name their Karelian equivalents. Our aim was to elicit as many Karelian toponyms as possible. It turned out that only twenty of all place names in the data did not have a Karelian equivalent. Some of these Russian toponyms seem so new that they probably never had a Karelian equivalent. These toponyms refer to man-made objects in the village that were introduced in time its inhabitants were already bilingual and could do without a Karelian word; examples include *Гигантский ручей* (lit. ‘Giant’s brook’) and *Гигантское поле* (lit. ‘Giant’s field’) which according to the local people were next to a carousel called *гигант* ‘giant’ (or *гигантские шаги* ‘giant steps’<sup>68</sup>). Other such examples seem to be *Макшеевский Городок* ‘town of Maksheev’ where the barracks of logging-workers were located, and *Ресторан-скала* ‘Restaurant rock’, next to the local shop, where Kolvitsans gathered after work to socialize and have a drink. All in all, the proportion of toponyms with exclusively Russian variants amounted to less than 6% of the total. This suggests that the Karelians had managed to appropriate almost the entire pre-existing toponymy before Russian became the dominant means of communication in the village.

Typologically, one of the largest classes of geographical names in our data are toponyms composed of anthroponyms – 27% of the total. The attributive element, the so called ‘specific (part of the toponym)’<sup>69</sup> usually refers

68. ‘Giant Steps’ was a device consisting of a fixed pole with a spinning ring on the top to which ropes were tied; the loops at the end of these ropes were used by children for “riding” around the pillar.

69. Binomial place names are composed of a specific and a generic. The specific is the part of the toponym which identifies the geographical feature in question, whereas the generic identifies the general class to which the specific geographical feature belongs. In *Okat’ivanvuara*, for example, *Okat’ivan* is the specific encoded as genitive modifier and identifying the particular object of reference, whereas *vuara* is the generic assigning this object to the class of hills.



to the given name of an inhabitant of Kolvitsa; see Appendix III for examples. A smaller but significant group are lexemes referring to classes of humans, e.g. *akka* ‘old woman’ → *Akanšuari* (lit. ‘Old woman’s island), *Akanšalmi* (lit. ‘Old woman’s strait), *kuolie* ‘dead, deceased person’ → *Kuolienlampi* (lit. ‘Dead man’s lake’), *lappi* ‘Lapp, Sámi’ → *Lapinniemi* (lit. ‘Cape of the Lapp’), *ryssä* ‘Russian’ → *Ryssänniemi* (lit. ‘Cape of the Russian’<sup>70</sup>). The proportion of place names based on anthroponyms is almost twice as high in Kolvitsa as the proportion of such place names in White Sea Karelia (from which Kolvitsans migrated), where it is 15%. This can be explained by the fact that Karelians migrated to the area in waves, coming from different places in Mainland Karelia. It was probably easier for strangers to mark natural micro-features of the area by referring to the family already living there or whom the given piece of land belonged. The control over a natural feature (and its exploitation) has always been a common criterion for nomination, especially in micro-toponymy, but in this case, it was practically the only available method for differentiation of such small natural features. The (nick)names or the family names occurring in the data are mostly male because the man was the head of the family and the owner of family property. But this changed, especially after WW2, in which many Kolvitsa men died. Kolvitsa women not only started to give their names to houses, but also to micro-toponyms (creeks, rocks, bays etc.) around them; an example from the Small Side of the village are the creek *Anninoja*, the meadow *Anninnurmi*, the bank *Anninranta*, the clay pit *Annin Šavihauta*. All these were situated close to the house of Anna E. M., whose husband died in 1941 in the war. Altogether 31 men did not return from the war, which led to an increase of micro-toponyms based on a female name; further examples are the spring *Aniśśanhete* (← *Анисья*), the small lake *M(u)akrinlampi* (← *Макрида*), the hayfield *Malaniennurmi* (← *Маланья*), the hillock *Matrontermä* (← *Матрена*), the bank *Motkanranta* (← *Матрена*), the islet (or just a big rock emerging from the water) *Muari(e)nluoto* (← *Мария*), the cape *Tat’ananniemi* (← *Татьяна*), the field *Ullananpelto* (← *Ульяна*), the small birch forest *Tuarienkoivikko* (← *Дарья*). Places named after the patronymic or the husband’s name of a female are rarer; cf. the hillock *Karpovnantermä* (← patronymic *Карповна*) and the hayfield *Ontonakannurmi* (← husband-name *Антон*, lit. ‘meadow of Anton’s wife’).

Place names based on a surname (last name) are less common than those based on a first name; the rule of thumb is that naming after the family is more likely to occur, if the name is unique, i.e. if there is only one family in the village carrying this name. Such unique last names were more common

70. During WW2, there was a barrack at this place where evacuated Russians were temporarily living.



among Russians in the village, as Russians came from various places at different time and in small (nuclear) families which were not relatives among each other. Toponyms derived from names of Russian families include the Karelian *Fufajevanoja* ‘Fufaev’s creek’ (← *Фуфаев*), *Sosinantermä* ‘Sozinov’s hillock, slope’ (← *Созинов*), *Tarabarinahete* ‘Tarabarin’s spring’ (← *Тарабарин*), and the Russian *Подымниковский ручей* ‘Podymnikov’s creek’ (← *Подымников*, in Karelian *Aniśšanoja* ‘Anisiya’s creek’). Toponyms based on names of Karelian families include *Malignanranta* ‘Maligina’s shore’ (← *Малыгина*<sup>71</sup>, also *Anninranta*), *Kelevajevanranta* ‘Kelevaev’s bank’ (← *Келеваев*), *Kallijevanpuoli* ‘part of the village, where Kallievs were living’ (← *Каллиев*)<sup>72</sup>, and the Russian toponym *Яковлевская горка* ‘Yakovlev’s hillock’ (← *Яковлев*, in Karelian *Jyrkilänčokka*).

We also asked our consultants about house names and recorded more than 70 such names (see Appendix III). If we count these together with the other de-anthroponymic place names, the proportion of toponyms whose specific part refers to a human being raises to 38% of the total of toponyms in and around Kolvitsa. Since the village was established in the last decade of the 19th century and Russian became the dominant language only half a century later, it is logical that houses carry the name of the first-generation migrants (the settlers) or of their children, and very rarely of the third-generation migrants. As already mentioned in Section 4.1, the first settlers in Kolvitsa were Arkhipovs and (one family) Artem’evs; the heads of these families were Kuz’ma Savel’evich Arkhipov (born in 1860), Elisei Fedorovich Arkhipov (born in 1851), and Kirill Petrovich Artem’ev (born in 1852), possibly also Lupp(a) Evseevich Arkhipov (born in 1862). Their given names still occur in house names: *Kusmal’antalo* (← Kar *Kuśma*, Rus *Кузьма*), *Jelesseiläntalo* (← Kar *Jelessei*, Rus *Елуцей*), *Luppo’antalo* (← Kar *Luppo*, Rus *Лунн*) and *Kiriläntalo* (← Kar *Kirilä*, Rus *Кирилл*). An attestation for the higher age of these house names compared to others in Kolvitsa is the locative suffix *-la/-’la/-lä* (*Kusma-la-*, *Jelessei-lä-*, *Luppo-la-*). We know from earlier research (Kuzmin 2003: 67) that Karelians formed oikonyms with this suffix to

71. A. E. Malygina, who came to Kolvitsa from Vuonninen (Rus *Войница*), belonged to the famous family of rune-singers Malinen. The Russian form of the Karelian name was *Маликин*, but when the family arrived in Kolvitsa, it was written down in the register as *Малыгин*, and thus was russified. Such unintended russification of Karelian family names was quite common in the record management of local administration in Karelia and the surrounding areas.

72. Unlike in Mainland Karelia where we frequently find genuine Karelian family names, most of Kolvitsa Karelians had usual Russian last names; the only exceptions are Kalliev (*Каллиев*), Kelevaev (*Келеваев*), Kolleev (*Коллеев*), Languev (*Лангуев*) and Pivoev (*Пивоев*).

designate the ancestral house of the family; i.e. the suffix was attached to the name of the founder of the house. In Oulanka and Kiestinki rural municipalities, where the majority of Kolvitsa families came from, this model of coining house names has been productive until the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore, it is not surprising that in Kolvitsa it occurs in the names of the first settlers' houses which were built in the end of the 19th century.

The oikonym *Kiriläntalo* 'Kirill's house' only formally belongs to the class of *-la/-lä* derivatives because the Karelian version of this name *Kirilä* already contains *-lä* in auslaut; adding the locative *-la/-lä* could have been perceived as redundant, especially if the derivational suffix was already losing its productivity. Nevertheless, this model was still applied in the beginning of 1910s when the house of Kirill's son Timofeï Kirilovich (born in 1886) was built; cf. *Timol'antalo* (← Kar *Timo*, Rus *Тимофей*). Further house names of second-generation migrants (the sons of the settlers) include *Ort'olantalo* (← Kar *Ort'õ*, Rus *Артемий [Елисеевич Архипов]*, born in 1886) and *Pekkal'antalo* (← Kar *Pekka*, Rus *Петр [Антонович Архипов]*, born in 1891). In names of houses built in the 1920s this pattern does not occur anymore, the only exception being cases where the oikonym contains reference to a house of an earlier generation of the same family, e.g. *Timol'an Stepanantalo* was the house of Stepan Timofeevich, son of Timofeï Kirilovich Artem'ev. The geographic distribution of the *-la/-lä* house names mirrors the history of Kolvitsa. The first migrants came from Oulanka area and settled at the Big Side of Kolvitsa River. In the first decades this quarter grew extensively, until houses on the other bank, at the Small Side, began to appear. Accordingly, almost all house names with the locative suffix are on the Big Side; in addition to those already mentioned, such are *Vaskol'antalo* (← Kar *Vasko*, Rus *Василий [Филипович Иванов]*) and *Issakkal'antalo* (← Kar *Issakka*, Rus *Исаак [Васильевич Проконьев]*). The only names containing this suffix at the Small Side are *Jyrkiläntalo* (← Kar *Jyrki*, Rus *Егор [Яковлев]*) and *Hotatta'antalo* (← Kar *Hotatta*, Rus *Федот [Митрофанов]*). In addition to the time of migration, the absence of *-la/-lä* oikonoms at the Small Side can also be related to the geographical origins of migrants. As mentioned in Section 4.2, the individuals who arrived in the 1920s and 1930s came from areas further to the south (Vuokkiniemi, Uhtua) where the house-name derivation with *-la/-lä* became unproductive already in the end of the 19th century, earlier than in Oulanka and Kiestinki.

Although the locative oikonym derivation lost its productivity, the existing derivatives were so salient that some of them survived even the language shift. We can see it in contemporary Russian family nicknames which are based on house names, e.g. *исакалёвские* 'residents of *Issakkal'antalo* (Isaak's house)', *некалёвские* 'residents of *Pekkal'antalo* (Petr's house)'.

Toponyms are an excellent source of evidence for the livelihood and material culture of the local population. Below we will present observations about the traditional livelihood and employment of Kolvitsa Karelians, and about the economic profile of the region, based exclusively on onomastic data.

The local population compensated for the limits which the subarctic climate poses to agriculture and cattle breeding by putting greater focus on hunting, and especially fishing. The latter supplied local Karelians and Russians with strong and healthy food and saved them from famine in critical times. The first settlers had an experience with freshwater fishing as this type of fishing had century- if not millennia-long tradition on the lakes and rivers of Mainland Karelia. Their new home in Kolvitsa provided excellent conditions also for saltwater fishing. The main places for freshwater fishing were Kolvitsa River and Lake Kolvitsa, and, for saltwater fishing, Kolvitsa Bay and the open sea behind it. Judging from Nikol'skiĭ's notes, in the last years of the 19th century the locals practiced freshwater fishery mostly on Lake Kolvitsa and on the Tiksha (a small river flowing into the lake). This has to do with the pending permission for using the herring places at the sea (Kolvitsa Bay) and for setting up a salmon weir at Kolvitsa River, for which the settlers had to wait until 1900 (Nicol'skiĭ 1927: 14).

This main occupation of Karelians in their new home is amply reflected in the toponymy around the village; e.g. the fish reception point *Faktorija* (Rus *Фактория*), the fish-loading and -shipping place *Нижняя лакша* (the Karelian variant is not attested, but can be reconstructed as \**Ala[ni]lakši*), the waterfall with a side-channel for the fish to move upstream for spawning *Kalapatuna* (lit. 'fish-waterfall'), the fishing grounds *Kločihiina* (Rus *Клочихино*), *Korkieniemi* (Rus *Высокий Наволок*), *Lepetihä* (Rus *Лебедиха*), *Luoto* (Rus *Луда*), *Okat'ėvoi* (Rus *Окатьево*), *Pirttikivi* (lit. 'cottage-stone'), *Šinikivi* ('Bluestone', Rus *Синий Камень*) etc. In 1921 V. Nikol'skiĭ wrote down names of ten fishing grounds around Kolvitsa: *Долгая корга*, *Высокий наволок*, *Ямка*, *Под Тальцем*, *Клочихино*, *Новый крест*, *Лебедиха*, *Темная губка*, *Синий камень*, and *Окатьево* (Nicol'skiĭ 1927: 155). Most of these are still remembered by the inhabitants of the village, but in some cases – e.g. *Долгая корга* (Kar *Pitkäniemi*) and *Темная губка* (Kar *Muštalakši*) – the memory about their function as fishing grounds is lost; only the name and the place it refers to are remembered. A notable class of toponyms related to fishing in the inner waters around Kolvitsa are fishing huts (Kar [*kala*]pirtti) like *Ant'uh(h)anpirtti*, *Issakanpirtti*, *Korkieniemepirtti*, *Kossolahenpirtti*, *Lammašsuarenpirtti*, *Ristišuairenpirtti*, *Saššeikanpirtti*, *Tat'ananniemepirtti*, *Tiikšinpirtti*.

Hunting, next to fishing, used to be an important source of subsistence for the population. Of commercial significance was forest hunting, especially

of bear, wild reindeer, and moose. To catch the animal hunters dugged deep pits and erected special barriers; the latter were usually set up on narrow places surrounded by water, on peninsulas and isthmuses between lakes and rivers. The Finnic word for this hunting device *hankas* (or *hankaš*) can be seen in the toponym *Hankašlakši* (*lakši* ‘gulf, bay’). Wild reindeer and moose hunting places are often nearby lakes and ponds; e.g. *Petralampi* (Rus *Петраламбина*) (Kar *petra* ‘wild reindeer’ + *lampi* ‘small lake’) and *Hirvilampi* (Kar *hirvi* ‘moose’ + *lampi* ‘small lake’). Stoat and otter were apparently also hunted, giving names to hills, e.g. *Kärppivuara* (Kar *kärppä* ‘stoat’ + *vuara* ‘hill’), and to small lakes, e.g. *Šuarvalampi* (Kar *šuarva* ‘stoat’ + *lampi* ‘small lake’). The hunting of wood grouse is evidenced by toponyms referring to places where the bird could be caught during its reproduction period: *Kotilamminkiima* (‘house-pond mating-place’), *Kiiperinskoirannankiima* (lit. ‘Kiberin-bank’s mating-place’), where *kiima* means ‘mating-place (during this period)’.

Based on onomastic evidence, we can claim, however, that compared to fishery hunting has always been of secondary importance for Kolvitsans. On the other hand, our view is probably distorted by the fact that most of our consultants were women who have been engaged in fishing, but never in hunting.

For a location north of the polar circle, agriculture was surprisingly important. Nikol’skiĭ mentions that despite being in the so-called risk zone for agriculture (Rus *зона рискованного земледелия*) peasants had large vegetable gardens (Nicol’skiĭ 1927: 15). Typically potato and cabbage, but also onion, turnip, and other vegetables were cultivated. In the harsh climate and upon shortage of natural cattle food due to the stony soil, people enlarged the hayfields and arable land by clearing the ground from shrubbery, young forest, and swamps. Mowing places, potato and cabbage fields are amply reflected in toponymy; e.g. the meadows *Ańtuh(h)annurmet* ‘Ant’yuha’s meadows’, *Klementeinšuonnurmet* ‘meadows at Klementi’s swamp’, *Ontonakannurmi* ‘meadow of Anton’s wife’, *Mot’kan Alankomua* ‘Mot’ka’s low-land’, *Muarin Alankomua* ‘Maria’s low-land’, *Muštajovennurmet* ‘Blackriver meadows’, *Malaniennurmi* ‘Malania’s meadow’, *Mitrofanovanšuonnurmet* ‘meadows at Mitrofanov(a)’s swamp’, *Šuarvašuonnurmet* ‘Stoat-swamp meadows’, *Valkiejovennurmet* ‘Whiteriver meadows’, the fields *Arošuoņpellot* ‘Marshy-place fields’, *Kolhosanpellot* ‘Kolkhoz fields’, *Końušńanpelto* ‘Horse stable field’, *Laivašuaņpelto* ‘Shipisland field’, *Leontinpelto* ‘Leonti’s field’, *Potakkamua* ‘Potato land’, *Sańkanpelto* ‘San’ka’s (Alexander’s) field’, *Timonšuoņpelto* ‘field at Timo’s swamp’. Fields featuring only Russian names are *Вьдраполе* ‘Stoat field’ and *Гигантское поле* ‘Gigant’s field’. Among field names we also find reference to the land belonging or used by the founders of the village; e.g. the name *Kuśmal’anpelto* refers to Kuz’ma Savel’evich Arkhipov, and *Jelesseilāņpelto* to Eliseĭ Fedorovich Arkhipov. At a relatively developed

agriculture point also toponyms referring to storehouses and other farm buildings; e.g. the ponds *Riihilammit* (Rus *Ризаламбиньы*) (cf. Kar *riihi* ‘treshing cabin; barn’) and the granary *Saššeikanaitta* (Rus *зауеек* ‘rapids; isthmus’ + Kar *aitta* ‘granary’).

Livestock farming was a constant companion of plant cultivation. It partly satisfied the need of the local population for meat and milk, but its main task was to provide organic fertilizer for fields and meadows. This was observed already by Nikol’skiĭ, who noted that Kolvitsans regularly fertilized the soil of their agricultural land with manure (Nicol’skiĭ 1927: 155). The local population kept cattle, sheep, as well as horses and poultry. As of summer 1921, there were 51 heads of cattle, 77 sheep, and 4 horses in the village (Nicol’skiĭ 1927: 57).<sup>73</sup> Accordingly, the toponymy contains vocabulary associated with cattle breeding; e.g. *Maitopirtti* (also *Moločnoi*) refers to a milk collection point, *Koñušñanpelto* was a field close to a horse stable (cf. Rus *конюшня*), *Kuuričanniemi* was a cape with a henhouse on it (cf. Rus *курица* ‘hen’), and the island names *Lampahanšuari* (Rus *Власов остров*) and *Lammašsuari* (Rus *Овечуѝ*) (cf. Kar *lammaš* : GEN *lampahan* ‘sheep’) can be explained by the tradition to bring the sheep to an island for the summer, where they could pasture freely, and to bring them back to the village in the autumn.

Reindeer husbandry has a centuries long tradition in the northern parts of White Sea Karelia, and it is not surprising that the inhabitants of Kolvitsa used to have a lot of domestic deer.<sup>74</sup> The toponymy around the village contains names referring to this important branch of the local economy; e.g. the deer corrals (Kar *poroaitta* ‘deer corral’) *Kaunismuanporoaita* ‘Pretty land corral’, *Kaivošlamminporoaita* ‘Well-pond corral’, *Muššanjoenporoaita* ‘Blackriver corral’, *Valkiejoenporoaita* ‘Whiteriver corral’, *Vaša-aita* ‘Fawn corral’, the island *Porošuari* lit. ‘Domestic-deer island’, the place where reindeer moss was harvested *Jäkäläharju* (Kar *jäkälä* ‘reindeer moss’ + *harju* ‘esker’).

Of course, agriculture and animal husbandry could not provide everything a local household needed, and therefore the population engaged in seasonal work away from the village, most typically in logging, pearl diving<sup>75</sup>, and trade. *Hiršilammit* (*hirši* ‘log’) were obviously lakes around which logs were harvested. The ties of the local population with Russian settlements

73. The Karelian nicknames of domestic animals are almost forgotten by contemporary Kolvitsans. We recorded only the names of cows (*Kaunikki*, *Kirjo*, *Muššukki*, *Muštikki*, *Ruško*), a sheep (*Mañu*), a ram (*Pokko*), and of a dog (*Nerka* < \**Nero*).

74. A resident of the village called *Kirilä* (probably Kirill Artem’ev) had about 300 reindeer (Kortesalmi 1996: 101).

75. According to our consultant GAB (2018), pearl shells were typically obtained from the *Kotijoki* river.

show up in the names of the winter roads: *Ummantalvitie* to Umba and *Kannanlahentalvitie* to Kandalaksha (Kar *talvitie* ‘winter road’). In addition, there was a river dam nearby the village called *Plotina* (< Rus *плотина* ‘dam’), and a water measuring station located next to one of the stretches of Kolvitsa River and called *Vesimiäränpl’ossa* (lit. ‘water quantity reach’; generic part < Rus *плёс* ‘section of the river with a quiet current’). Other, minor economic activities reflected in the toponymy of Kolvitsa are excavation of clay and distillation of resin<sup>76</sup>; see the places *Anninšavihauta* (‘Anna’s clay pit’), *Makarientervahauta* (‘Makari’s tar pit’) and *Vuarničantervahauta* (‘tar pit at Varnitsa’).

The toponyms of Kolvitsa and its surroundings have utilitarian orientation, i.e. they are related to the economic activity of the population. In the choice of name for a place, the geographic reality was reduced to its economic value. In terms of compositional semantics, most of the toponyms are differentiating: the specific part individuates the name from the set of place names in the area sharing the same generic part.

The concept of “model” is fundamental in the Finnic onomastic research. Apace with language acquisition, everyone must master the system of toponyms in the environment. This system becomes a model for speakers, which they apply to new geographical objects in new regions. New place names are created based on existing morphological types, lexical topobases, and semantic classes. Such models are valuable for ethnolinguistic and ethnohistorical research because they tend to be temporally and geographically constrained. In other words, such models have areal distribution, which follows migration routes of population groups, formation of ethnic territories, political borders, etc.

In Section 4.2 we presented the departure points of migration – the villages in Mainland Karelia from which Karelians emigrated to settle down in Kolvitsa. The toponymy of the village shows that Kolvitsans came from different parishes in the northern part of Karelia. A revealing example are the landscape terms *termä* and *čokka* which in Kolvitsa are used as near-synonyms with the meaning ‘hill, hillock’. We will discuss them in the next section but suffice it to say here that *termä* is typical for the entire area of Karelian Proper (with the possible exception of Oulanka), but particularly for the western parts of the White Sea Karelia where it is very common in place names. The word *čokka*, on the other hand, is typical for the northernmost subdialects of Karelian Proper, and specifically for Oulanka. Both words are amply attested in micro-toponyms of Kolvitsa. On the Small Side, for example, Egor Yakovlev’s house stood on a hill named *Jyrkiläntermä*, which suggests that

76. Resin was used for boat and ski pitching, and in folk medicine.



Egor might have come from the western part of White Sea Karelia. Other inhabitants of the village, probably descendents of migrants from Oulanka area, called the hillock *Jyrkilänčokka*. At the same side of the river, parallel forms of another hillock are attested: *Muari(e)nčokka* and *Muari(e)ntermä*. Otherwise, names with *-termä* as a determinant (i.e. as generic part of a name) prevail at the Small Side of the village; see *Karpovnantermä* (based on the female *Karpovna*), *Kuuričantermä* (*kuuričča* ‘chicken, hen’), *Mitrofanovantermä* (*Mitrofanov[a]-*), *Kalmismuantermä* (*kalmismua-* ‘cemetery’). Toponyms with *-termä* occur also at the Big Side, e.g. *Palotermä*, *Pekkalantermä*, *Aniśśantermä*, *Keškikyläntermä*, *Kiriläntermä*, *Kotitermä*, but here we also find many toponyms with *-čokka*: *Kivičokka*, *Kotičokka*, *Kusmalančokka*, *Vaskolančokka*, etc. This should not surprise us, given the fact that the Big Side was founded by migrants from Oulanka area, and on average the roots of the families on this side of the river are more northern (i.e. are from further to the north in Mainland Karelia) than the roots of inhabitants of the Small Side; recall the relationship between time axis and geographical source of migration discussed in Section 4.2.

Larger and higher landscape forms are designated by the terms *vuara* and *tunturi*. We will discuss their meaning difference as common nouns and their geographic distribution in the next section; here we only introduce them as components of proper names. In all dialects of Karelian Proper *vuara* refers to a high hill covered by forest, whereas *tunturi* is typical for the northernmost dialects of Karelian Proper where it designates a high hill with barren summit, or a range of such hills. Despite the inherited semantic difference, *vuara* and *tunturi* often occur as alternants referring to the same hill in the toponymy of Kolvitsa and the surroundings; cf. *Kivivuara* and *Kivitunturi*, *Kotivuara* and *Kotitunturi*, *Jelovaja vuara* and *Kuušitunturi* (Rus *ель* = Kar *kuuši* ‘fir, spruce’), *Okat’ivanvuara* and *Okat’te(v)skatunturi*, *Valkievuara* and *Valkietunturi*. Toponyms attested exclusively with *-vuara* as generic part are *Kiärmesvuara*, *Muštavuara*, *Pyörievuara* and *Metikkovuara* (also *Mečikkovuara*), and such exclusively with *-tunturi* are *Meritunturi*, *Kolvičan tunturi* and *Sili(e)tunturi*. In the absence of more information, we can only speculate about the significance of the original semantic difference, the actual physical properties of the denotata, and the geographic distribution of these two words in Mainland Karelia for their occurrence in the toponymy of Kolvitsa. We refrain from such speculation, but we believe that the locations in Mainland Karelia from which the inhabitants of Kolvitsa stem are a factor in the choice of determinant for such place names.

If we did not know where the ancestors of Kolvitsa Karelians came from, toponymic evidence would go a long way in narrowing down the probable area of origin. The swamp names *Suuri Arošuo* and *Pieni Arošuo*



(the Russian collective name for them is *Ароболома*) illustrate this. In Kolvitsa, the geographical term *aro* has the meaning ‘swamp, damp place’. On the territory of Karelia this lexeme is limited to the vernaculars spoken in the northern and the western parts of White Sea Karelia (Oulanka, Kiestinki, Pistojärvi, Uhtua, and Vuokkiniemi), where it has apparently been borrowed from Finnish. In these Karelian dialects, the common noun *aro* means ‘meadow in a damp place; open grassy swamp; damp dell in pine woods; shallow river bay overgrown with grass’ (cf. Fi *aro* ‘wet meadow on a lake or river; marshy swampy hollow; open place on the swamp; bog’). The term is attested also in place names of these parts of White Sea Karelia; e.g. *Aronkankaš* (Kar *kankaš* ‘ground covered with a thin layer of organic topsoil; forest type [usually pine] growing on such soil’) in the village Koštovuara (Rus *Костоварка*, Oulanka parish)<sup>77</sup>. The term *loma* (or *lomo*) ‘ravine; dell, marshy lowland between hills; cleft’ has a similar geographic range in White Sea Karelia (see the dells *Čihmuloma* [Oulanka] and *Poikkiloma* [Kiestinki]), and we find it in Kolvitsa too, in the cleft name *Kivilomo* ‘Stonecleft, Stonedell’.

The term *kentti* (or *kenttä*) ‘lawn or meadow on a flat, dry place; sandy place by the river; barren piece of land’ covers a somewhat broader area in White Sea Karelian. It is attested in the toponymy of the former Oulanka parish (*Kentti* [Oulanka], *Hikentti* [Koštovuara]) and, likewise, in the road name *Kentti(tie)* (Rus *Нижняя дорога*) in Kolvitsa. *Hete*, another word occurring all over the dialects of White Sea Karelian with the meaning ‘spring’, is also attested both in Oulanka area (cf. *Šuolahete* [Koštovuara]) and in Kolvitsa. In Kolvitsa, it occurs in four spring names: *Aniśśanhete* ‘Aniśśa’s spring’, *Kotihete* ‘Home-spring’, *Leontinhete* ‘Leonti’s spring’, and *Muarienhete* ‘Maria’s spring’.

The term *tanner* (also *tantere*) ‘trodden flat earth; dry meadow; field’ has a broader geographic distribution than the terms discussed so far. It occurs throughout the Karelian language area, although it is infrequent in toponymy. It is attested only in names of village playgrounds in the former Repola and Porajärvi parishes in the dialect area of southern Karelian Proper; e.g. *Beśodatanner* (cf. Kar *beś(ś)oda* ‘village gathering, village party’) (Repola), *Kuritandere* (cf. Kar *kuri* ‘traditional Karelian outdoor game resembling skittles’) (Lupasalmi [Rus *Лубосалма*], Porajärvi parish). In Kolvitsa, the games venue of the youth is also called *Tantere*. We assume that the same sports terminology existed on the territory of those parishes where the first settlers in Kolvitsa came from, although the toponymy of these areas does not provide a proof for this assumption.

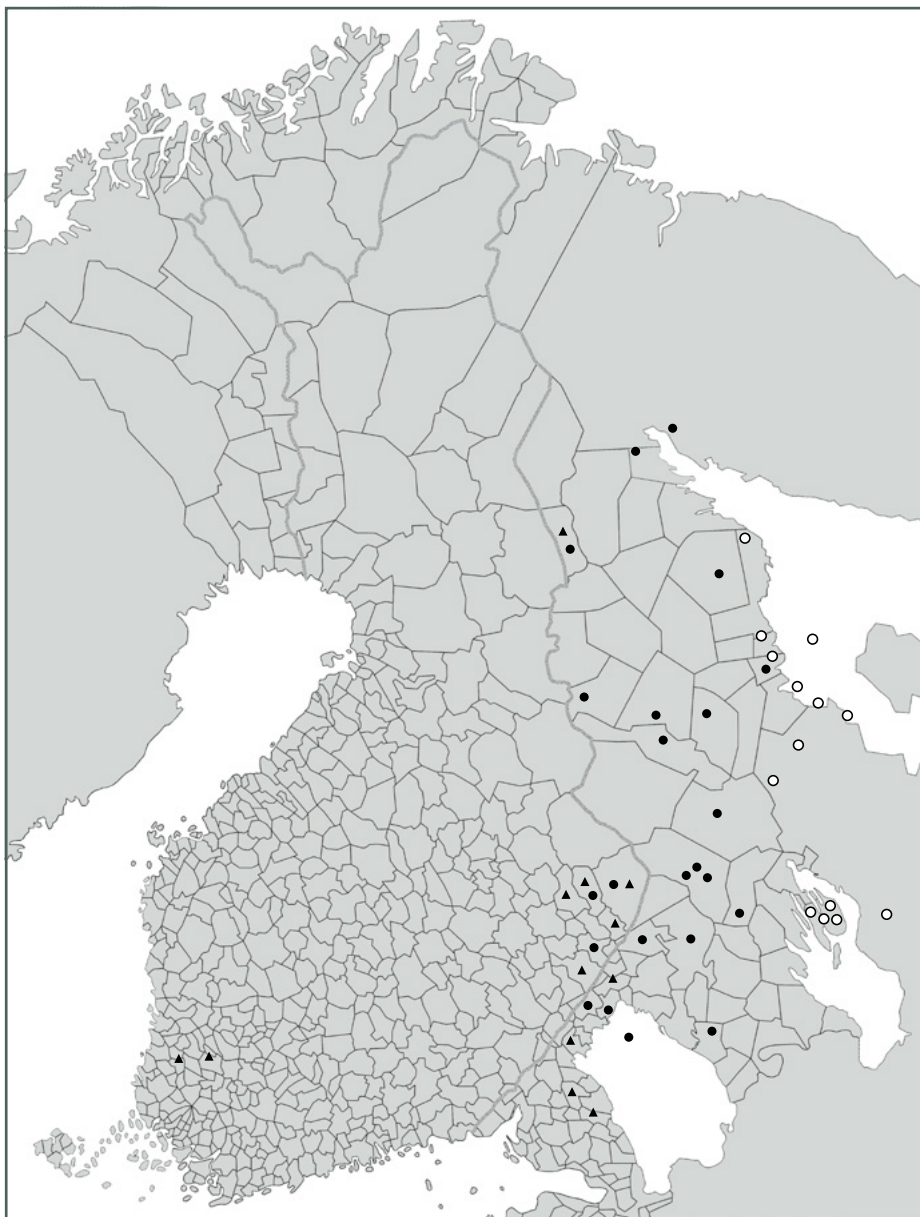
77. This village is only four kilometres away from the village *Kankahaiini* (Rus *Боровская*; see Map 3 above) from which some of the founders of Kolvitsa came.

The noun *lato* ‘barn, shed’ is not a landscape term, but it demonstrates the difference between the native dialects of settlers. It is attested neither in the lexicon nor in the toponymy of the former Oulanka parish where the first settlers and a significant number of later migrants came from. At the same time, *lato* occurs in the Karelian varieties of the former Kiestinki, Pistojärvi, Vuokkiniemi, and Uhtua parishes. We can, therefore, assume that the appearance of the toponym *Latoniemi* ‘Barncape, Barnspit’ in Kolvitsa is related to migration from these parishes where the word is represented both as appellative and in toponymy.

Older toponymic models can also be geographically restricted and provide information about routes of migration. Figurative toponyms, for example, are often unique to particular regions. We mentioned above the gorge name *Rautaveräjät* ‘Irongates’ (Rus *Железные ворота*). This name has equivalents in the areas around Kola Peninsula with Karelian and Russian population. Based on the geographical range of this toponymic model, we can draw some ethnohistorical conclusions. In particular, its distribution allows us to trace from where and how (i.e. following which routes) Karelians colonized Kolvitsa-Kandalaksha area in the Middle Ages. The metaphorical designation ‘Iron gates’ is used in toponymy to name specific natural forms: either narrow and rocky rapids of rivers or places where the road passes between two rocks or rocky hills. *Rautaveräjät* in Kolvitsa refers to the latter kind of natural form.<sup>78</sup>

The geography of this model, shown on Map 5, suggests that Kolvitsa is a point on a range that follows the route of medieval Karelian expansion from the shores of Lake Ladoga via central Karelia (the area around Segozero and Vygozero) to the White Sea, White Sea Karelia and further to the north. It is not clear whether the occurrences of *Железные ворота* in Karelia are translation loans from Karelian to Russian or instantiate a Russian model which is attested deeper in Northern Russia. The first scenario (calque from Karelian) seems more probable since we know that Vygozer’e and the entire White Sea coast of Karelia, together with Solovetsky Archipelago, were still Karelian-speaking areas in the end of the Middle Ages (Kuzmin 2016). Apparently, because of the colonization of the southern coast of Kola Peninsula by Karelians in the Late Middle Ages (see Section 2), the model *Rautaveräjät* spread there as well. Later, with the assimilation of the Karelian population, this etymologically transparent compound was translated into Russian, and with the advent of Karelians in the area in the end of the 19th century it took

78. Consultants describe *Rautaveräjät* near Kolvitsa as follows: It is a rocky gorge, with steep walls here and there, between the hills *Okatti* [Rus *Окамьево*] and *Kotitunturi*, along which the trail was passing. One used to say in the village that if Irongates are not covered by fog, there will be no rain on this day. (SIA 2017, LEZ 2017, EIA 2017)



○ Железные Ворота      • Rautaveräjät      ▲ Rautaportti

Map 5. *Rautaveräjät* / *Железные Ворота* 'Irongates' (based on the card index of toponyms, Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Petrozavodsk, and Institute for the Languages of Finland, Helsinki)

again a Karelian form. In other words, the contemporary name *Rautaveräjät* is calqued from a Russian calque of a Karelian toponym which coincides with it.

The Karelian toponymy of Kolvitsa also displays Russian models which are not productive anymore and have only limited distribution in the Russian dialect area. An example is the tiny gulf name *Liäkä* (called also *Kotilakši*, Rus *Ляга*) which in our opinion is older than the Karelian population of Kolvitsa. In the local vernaculars of Pomor Russian, *ляга* occurs with the meaning ‘a water-filled depression in the ground; (large) puddle; place in marshy lowland with staying water’ (Durov 2011: 214; Merkur’ev 1979: 83; SRGK-SO III: 171–172). Our consultants report the same meaning of the word for Kolvitsa Karelian: “*Liäkä* is a small gulf (bay) which at low tide turns into a large puddle from which the water does not flow out. We excavated clay next to it.” (EIA 2017). In Russian dialectology, the spread of the lexeme *ляга* in the dialects of Northwestern Russia is usually associated with the migration of people from Novgorod lands (Chaikina 1975: 149). At the same time, the name of the small bay *Ляга* cannot be of old age in the pre-Karelian toponymy of the place because of the small size and the mutability of its denotatum; such small gulfs easily change their shape and location.

The appearance of toponyms in *-iha* (*-uxa*) is also associated with Novgorodian migration to the north. Analysis of the *pistsovye knigi* (lists of land possessions) from the 15th and 16th centuries’ shows that this suffix has been very frequent and productive at that time (Polkovnikova 1970). Over hundred toponyms with this suffix are recorded along the coast of White Sea (Kuzmin 2007: 71–73). We recorded three place names with this suffix in Kolvitsa: the bay *Kločiha* (also *Kločihäna*, Rus *Клочихино*), the elevation *Lepetihä* (Rus *Лебедуха*), and the coast section *Kippoiha* (Rus *Кунпouxa*). Interestingly, the last one contains the Karelian anthroponym *Kippo* (Rus *Кунриян*), which indicates that the Russians who introduced this place name have either been in direct contact with earlier Karelian groups in the area or have adopted toponymic substrate from an already extinct (medieval) Karelian population.<sup>79</sup>

Discussing the onomastic heritage of Kolvitsa we mentioned various landscape terms. Now we will present some observations about the basic landscape terminology as recorded in and around the village. The bulk of geographical terms used in certain region constitutes a unique description of its physical and geographical features. The famous Russian toponymist Eduard M.

79. Along the Karelian Coast of the White Sea and its hinterland, we find several names of this type: *Гунпouxa* (< the Karelian anthroponym *Нуорро* < Rus *Фoфан*) (Kemi), *Кискуixa* (< the Karelian anthroponym *Kiiski* ‘ruffe’) (Soroka), *Коккouixa* (< the Karelian anthroponym *Kokko* ‘eagle’) (Chernaya Reka), *Луннеуха* (< the Karelian anthroponym *Lipri*, *Liprho* < Rus *Филипп*) (Soroka), etc.

Murzaev once wrote that any toponymic study should begin with collection and systematization of simple (basic) geographic terms (Murzaev 1974: 17).

Unlike the modifier (the specific part) in compound toponyms, which sometimes is a word lost from the contemporary dialects, or which has lost its landscape-related meaning, the head (the generic part) in such compounds is usually a geographic appellative occurring in the contemporary language. The nature around Kolvitsa and the nature in the northern part of the Republic of Karelia do not vastly differ; accordingly, the principles of nomination are similar, and the generic common nouns occurring in toponyms tend to be the same. The bulk of geographic terms used in one village and its surroundings is of course smaller than the geographic vocabulary of an entire dialect spoken in a group of settlements. One constraint here is the physical geography of the area – natural forms present in the landscape and such missing from it. Other factors influencing the choice of the determinant (the generic) of a toponym is the dialect background of the nominator (i.e. of the one who gives the name) and her/his livelihood and occupation (e.g. farmer, fisher, or else) (Mullonen 1994: 53). One should also not forget that in Kolvitsa we are dealing with a gradual loss of toponymy caused by the language shift. In the Karelian villages in Mainland Karelia, Denis Kuzmin and his associates used to record at the turn of the 21st century between 700 and 1000 toponyms per settlement. We can only guess how many toponyms were in actual use in Kolvitsa at the time its population was engaged in commercial fishery, agriculture, and cattle breeding – probably not less than 1500–2000. Karelian is nowadays disappearing from the village which is turning into a dacha settlement; objects which were formerly economically significant are no longer used. As a result, the present toponymy in and around the village does not provide a full picture of the geographic vocabulary that has been in use. Table 10 shows, in decreasing order of frequency, the most common geographical terms which occur as generic elements in place names in and around Kolvitsa.

In total we collected 66 such geographical terms in Kolvitsa and its surroundings. This amounts to about one third of the geographical vocabulary attested in the toponymy of the regions in White Sea Karelia from which Kolvitsa settlers came. In Kolvitsa, these terms differ greatly in the degree to which they are employed as generic parts of toponyms. Only a few seem to be conventionalized into a regular generic part which is compatible with a variety of specific names. The first ten in the table, or 15% of the total of recorded geographical terms, occur in 75% of the toponyms in and around the village. Furthermore, only the first 14 terms occur in ten or more place names, whereas 27 terms (41% of all) are attested only once in the toponymy of the village (i.e. occur in one name). Adding to them 14 terms occurring only in two place names, the proportion of rare geographical vocabulary rises to 62% of the total.

**Table 10. Geographic determinants in the toponymy of Kolvitsa in order of frequency**

1. <i>lampi</i> ‘small lake, pond’	8. <i>termä</i> ‘hillock; slope’	15. <i>koški</i> ‘rapids’
2. <i>niemi</i> ‘cape’	9. <i>ranta</i> ‘shore, beach’	16. <i>kivi</i> ‘stone, rock’
3. <i>šuari</i> ‘island’	10. <i>joki</i> ‘river’	17. <i>čokka</i> ‘hill(ock)’
4. <i>lakši</i> ‘gulf, bay’	11. <i>nurmi</i> ‘meadow’	18. <i>kankaš</i> ‘pine wood ground’
5. <i>oja</i> ‘brook, creek’	12. <i>järvi</i> ‘lake’	19. <i>koivikko</i> ‘birch forest’
6. <i>pelto</i> ‘field’	13. <i>vuara</i> ‘high hill, mountain’	20. <i>apaja</i> ‘fishing place’
7. <i>šuo</i> ‘bog, swamp’	14. <i>tunturi</i> ‘high hill with a barren summit, mountain (range)’	21. <i>luoto</i> ‘islet; cliff appearing above the water during low tide’

This means that the productivity of different geographical terms, i.e. their ability to function as generic parts of toponyms, greatly varies – from one single coinage to occurrence in dozens of toponyms. Common nouns reflecting the nature of the terrain and its physical and geographic characteristics display the highest rates of combinability with different attributive elements in compound toponyms. For Kolvitsa, most typical are hydrographic (e.g. *-joki* ‘river’ *-järvi* ‘lake’, *-šuo* ‘bog, swamp’) and orographic terms, the latter designating mostly positive landforms (elevations like *-vuara*, *-tunturi* ‘high hill, mountain’ or *-termä*, *-čokka* ‘hillock’). Especially productive are hydronymic determinants expressed by lexemes shared by all Karelian (or all Karelian Proper) dialects and thence practically lacking dialectal variants. Such are most of the water-related terms in Table 10, and we will begin with them.

Karelia is a lake region. Therefore, it is not surprising that among the most popular determinants we find *-lampi* ‘small (forest) lake’ and *-järvi* ‘lake’. Most Karelian settlements are surrounded by dozens of smaller and larger lakes. In the area around Kolvitsa, we recorded more than 30 names of small lakes and natural ponds: *Haukilampi*, *Hiršilampi* (*Šuuri-* ‘Big-’ and *Pieni-* ‘Small-’), *Hirvilampi*, *Hukkalampi*, *Joučenlampi*, *Kaitalampi*, *Kaivošlampi* (*Šuuri-* and *Pieni-*), *Kirilänlampi*, *Klementeinlampi* (*Šuuri-* and *Pieni-*), *Kulmakkalampi*, *Kuolienlampi*, *Kotilampi*, *Lehtilampi*, *Lohilampi*, *Makrinlampi*, *Muštalampi*, *Pahalampi* (also *Nekotnoilampi*), *Palolampi*, *Petralampi*, *Pitkälampi*, *Riijonlampi*, *Riihilampi* (*Ala-* ‘Lower-’, *Keški-* ‘Mid-’ and *Yli-* ‘Upper-’), *Šalmilampi*, *Šuarvalampi*, *Tiikšilampi*, *Valkielampi*.



The coastline of the White Sea and most of the large lakes are as a rule heavily indented. For example, there are dozens of islands, islets, capes, and bays on Lake Kolvitsa which all probably have had their own names, at least among fishermen. This has guaranteed *-niemi* ‘cape’, *-šuari* ‘island’, *-lakši* ‘gulf, bay’, and *-ranta* ‘shore, beach’ a significant popularity as determinants in toponyms. Among the five most common determinants we also find *oja* ‘brook, creek’, and among the top ten also *joki* ‘river’. This can be explained by the economic importance of creeks and rivers for Kolvitsans, given that natural meadows were usually located at their banks.

The hinterland of Kolvitsa is a picturesque mountainous area; the hills behind *Šuuripuoli* ‘Big Side’ are part of the mountain range *Kolvičan tunturi* (Rus *Колвицкие тундры*).<sup>80</sup> Nonetheless, orographic terms, i.e. generic nouns denoting properties of earth’s surface are relatively poorly represented in the modern toponymy of the area. Geographic names denoting positive landforms (elevations) mostly contain *-termä*, *-vuara*, *-tunturi*, and *-čokka*, which, as can be seen in Table 10, all score within the top twenty of terms occurring as determinants in complex toponyms. As to terms for negative landforms (depressions), only *alanko* ‘lowland’ (*Mot’kan Alankomua* ‘Mot’ka’s lowland’, *Muarien Alankomua* ‘Maria’s lowland’), *lomo* ‘ravine; dell’ (the gorge *Kivilomo*), and *hauta* ‘(large) pit, hollow’ (*Lumihauta* ‘snow pit’) occur in the local toponymy and are not among the top-frequency items in the table. Like elsewhere in the Karelian language area, depressions have been less important than elevations for the daily life of the local population and its orientation in the terrain.

The type-frequency of generic terms designating elevations in Kolvitsa is somewhat lower than in Karelia. Compared to the toponymy of villages in White Sea Karelia, where on average twenty orographic terms referring to positive landforms display high compatibility with different attributes in two-part names, here only *-termä*, *-vuara* and *-tunturi* claim the status of productive determinants. There were probably more productive determinants referring to the earth’s surface when Kolvitsa was a viable peasant settlement, but with the village fading away and the landscape losing importance for its livelihood, these generic nouns, like toponymy in general, are falling out of use.

With the advancement of arable farming the Karelians developed an elaborate agricultural terminology which accounts for all stages of creation and evolution of farmable land, as well as its typology and properties. From the names of such man-cultivated geographic objects only *pelto* ‘field’, *nurmi* ‘meadow, lawn’, and *mua* ‘plot of land; agricultural land’ have been recorded

80. The range includes *Okat’i(vuara)* (539 metres above sea level), *Kotitunturit* (including two hills, 547 metres and 439 metres), *Kotivuara* (540 metres), *Simčča(vuara)* (335 metres), *Pyörievuara* (636 metres), etc.



in the modern toponymy of the village. We cannot rule out that previously existing names and entire nomenclatures of agricultural land have been lost due to the transition from private to collective farming in the 1930s. This involved the consolidation of small individual plots into larger agricultural units, but it is precisely the names of smaller private fields that could have contained geographic vocabulary of this kind.<sup>81</sup>

We also must mention here the geographic terms of Russian origin occurring in the toponymy of Kolvitsa. There are only few such terms, and it seems that they stem from different periods. Some seem to be relatively old borrowings in Karelian, or in Karelian Proper. Such lexemes could have been in use in the Karelian varieties spoken by the ancestors of Kolvitsa Karelians; e.g. *p'lossa* (< Rus *плѣс*) 'stretch of the river with a quiet current' (*Šiikap'lossa* 'Whitefish stretch', *Vesimiäränp'lossa* 'Water-quantity stretch'), *patuna* (< Rus *падун*) 'waterfall' (*Muštapatuna* 'Blackwaterfall', *Kalapatuna* 'Fishwaterfall'). Names with the determinant *kupa* (< Rus *зуба* 'lip, bay') are probably of different age. The large sea gulfs *Kolvičankupa* and *Porjakupa* are adapted forms of the centuries-old Russian names *Колвицкая губа* and *Порьягуба*. At the same time, the names of the small bays on Lake Kolvitsa *Tyhjäkupa* (also *Tyhjälakši*, Rus *Пустая губа* 'Empty Bay') and *Kosjakupa* (also *Kossolakši*, Rus *Козья губа* 'Goat Bay') are of relatively recent origin. The stock of borrowed terms contains also completely new items like *saššeikka* (< Rus *зашеек* 'part of the lake at the source or mouth of a river', e.g. the bay *Saššeikka* [also *Niška*], Rus *Зашеек*), *plotina* 'dam' (< Rus *плотина*, e.g. *Plotina*), and *kartona* (< Rus *кордон* 'forest guard post', e.g. the small hill *Kartona*). All these terms occur in the Russian dialects spoken on the White Sea coast, and we assume that they have been adopted at different times by Karelians.

What will happen to the toponymy of Kolvitsa? We can speculate that very soon the number of remembered geographical names will abruptly start to decrease. As already noted above, one reason for this is that the locality is losing its function as a permanent place of residence. The 2010 census recorded only nine permanent village residents. The majority of Kolvitsa Karelians and their descendents live in the larger towns and cities of Murmansk Oblast. Kolvitsa is most alive in summer, when the former residents and their children and

81. Compare the determinants occurring in the toponymy of White Sea Karelia: *aho* 'glade, meadow', *huuhta* 'spot in the forest cleared of wood and used as ploughland; slash-and-burn field', *kaški* 'slash-and-burn field', *kuokoš* 'land cleared of trees', *kytö* 'cleared spot of land in a swampy area', *luhta* 'flood meadow', *niitty* 'mowing, meadow', *palo* 'forest-cleared area where trees have been recently burned (in slash-and-burn)', *palšta* 'plot of arable land', *peroš* 'land cleared of trees', *puušta* 'deserted field, wasteland', *rašī* 'spot in the forest cleared of trees but left unburned', *šarka* 'strip of arable field', *uutuuš* 'virgin soil'.

grandchildren spend their holidays there. Another reason for the loss of place names is the change of the livelihood and lifestyle of its population. There are no domestic animals in the village, meadows and pastures have been deserted, and fishing is limited to Kolvitsa Bay (i.e. to the immediate vicinity of the village). As a result, the local population needs and uses only a small part of the toponyms that were still used in the 1990s when the older generation was alive. Another reason for the loss of toponymy is that Karelian is losing its last speakers. Microtoponyms often existed only in Karelian and did not have Russian equivalents. Language loss leads to extinction of these toponyms. People nowadays who do not speak or have a poor command of Karelian have not acquired the Karelian toponymy to the extent their parents did. For example, there is the bay *Ant'uh(h)anlakši* on Lake Kolvitsa on the shore of which there used to be a fishing hut called *Ant'uh(h)anpirtti*; the meadows *Ant'uh(h)annurmet* were nearby. Locals born in the 1950s and 1960s often report that somewhere on the lake there is a bay named *Артюха* (or *Антюха*), but they no longer remember the names of fishing places and meadows there. Another such example are the geographical names with the attributive part *Tiikši-*, – the river *Tiikšijoki*, the swamps *Tiikšinšuot*, the bay *Tiikšilakši*, the small lake *Tiikšilampi*, and the rapids *Tiikšinkošet*, of which only the first two are currently in use.

Place names in both languages disappear from both languages. From about 400 attested place names in Karelian only 110 have Russian equivalents. The percentage of Russian place names used among the mid-life generation is even lower since many of these 110 are recorded among Karelians of the older generation who have a deeper knowledge of the toponymy. The situation with the Karelian names is not better. For example, the female consultant SIA (born in 1949), who understands but does not speak Karelian, recalled only 48 place names and all in Russian. Only five of these coincided in form with Karelian toponyms: the slopes (elevations) *Котитунтури* and *Окатти*, the hill-ock *Картона*, the depression *Уконревиттямя* (also *Стариковская рвань*), and the lake *Лехтилампи*. Asking her specifically about Karelian names, we elicited other twelve Karelian variants of toponyms. In her case, the number of Karelian toponyms is almost three times lower than the number of Russian ones. The 50- to 60-year-old individuals, all of them Russian monolinguals, use no more than twenty toponyms, although with guiding questions further 10–15 can be elicited.

We conclude, therefore, that the toponymy of the village (both Karelian and Russian) is becoming obsolete. Most persistent are microtoponyms within the village or its immediate vicinity, as well as names of exceptionally large geographical objects. Some such names were adopted by Karelians from their Russian neighbours already in the late 19th – early 20th century. Due to the widespread bilingualism among Karelians and the proximity of the

Russian-speaking settlements (Kandalaksha in the west and Por'ya Guba in the east), these toponyms seem to have never disappeared from the local variety of Russian. Many of these toponyms still occur in the form in which they were used before Karelians arrived in the area. Conversely, some of the Karelian toponyms, especially the half-calques, will probably continue to exist because they have been fixed in maps; e.g. toponyms with Karelian first element: the brook *Каткоручей*, the lakes and ponds *Кандозеро*, *Салмоламбина*, *Шаркиламбина*, and *Хиржиламбина*.<sup>82</sup>

The current state of Kolvitsa's toponymy does not allow us to say which Karelian place names will persist (and in which form) after the local population, already consisting mostly of *dachniki*, completely loses connection to the Karelian past of the village. Half-calques, like *Ароболото* (Kar *Arošuo*) and *Хангасгуба* (Kar *Hankašlakši*) are still broadly used by contemporary Kolvitsans. At the same time, many names have already been translated into Russian and used in this form. SIA uses mostly translated forms when referring to the surrounding marshes; e.g. *Антоново болото* (Kar *Ontonšuo*), *Выдроболото* (Kar *Šuarvašuo*), *Кириллово болото* (Kar *Kirilänšuo*), *Клементьево болото* (Kar *Klementeinšuo*), *Тикишинские болота* (Kar *Tiikšinišuo*). This can be observed with other natural forms too: the island *Березовый остров* (Kar *Koivušuari*), the gulf *Широкая губа* (Kar *Levielakši*), the elevation *Домашняя гора* (Kar *Kotivuara*), the small lake *Бревноламбина* (Kar *Hiršilampi*), the river rock *Синий камень* (Kar *Šinikivi*), the river *Белая речка* (Kar *Valkiejoki*), the brook *Глубокий ручей* (Kar *Šyväoja*), the shoal *Золотая корга* (Kar *Kultakorko*), etc. Due to the young age of the toponymy of the village and the prevailing bilingualism among its Karelian population, many place names, especially the semantically transparent ones, exist simultaneously in Russian and Karelian. In other words, the locals have developed a bilingual system for referring to the same geographical objects. While the oldest generation, which was partly monolingual, used Karelian names, the younger generation adapted simple names to Russian, used half-calques, or translated both parts of the compound into Russian; adaptation of a simple name can be seen in the name of cape *Немелюшка* (← Kar *niemi* 'cape' + *-llä* [adessive case ending] + diminutive *-ška* [Rus *-шка*]), or of the bay *Лажушка* (Kar *Latolakši*) (← Kar *lahukka* 'little bay, gulf').

Earlier, the Russification of non-Slavic toponymy on Kola Peninsula happened differently. Locations in the southern part of the peninsula, whose population was assimilated earlier by Russians, feature a significant number of non-Russian names which after the language shift have remained untranslated or not fully translated into Russian. Most typical are half-calques where

82. On the other hand, most of these place names occur only on large-scale maps which are not freely available; it is arguable whether this is enough to keep them in circulation.

the first element is of non-Russian origin and the second element (usually a geographical term) is translated into Russian. The toponymy around the former Karelian village of Vyalozero is rich in examples of this kind; cf. the lakes *Вялозеро, Ильозеро, Индельозеро, Кукончозеро, Пасмозеро* (cf. Rus *озеро* 'lake'), the hill *Пайгорка* (cf. Rus *горка* 'hill; slope'), the rivers *Кузрека* and *Панарека* (cf. Rus *река* 'river'), the creek *Одерручей* (cf. Rus *ручей* 'creek'), the gulfs *Неркогуба, Оччигуба, Райгуба* (cf. Rus *губа* 'lip; bay'), the cape *Мусикнаволоок* (cf. Rus *наволоок* 'cape'), and the islands *Куростров* and *Палостров* (cf. Rus *остров* 'island'). Examples where both the attributive and the generic part are of non-Russian origin include the strait *Войносалма* (cf. Kar *salmi* 'strait'), the heights *Коргасельга* (cf. Kar *selkä* 'ridge'), *Куроварака*, and *Паловарака* (cf. Kar *vuara* 'high hill'), the lake *Хироламбина* (cf. Kar *lampi* 'forest lake'), and the cape *Маккорга* (cf. Kar *korko* 'shoal, wash') (Kartoteka toponimov KarNTS). Toponyms containing a pre-Russian element constitute 61% of all toponyms recorded in Vyalozero (94 toponyms out of 153). The percentage of such toponyms is much lower in those settlements where the language-shift has taken place in more distant past (centuries ago), but even there we find a lot of names of non-Russian origin. In the toponymy of Umba and its surroundings, for example, place names containing at least one non-Russian element make up about 23% of the total.<sup>83</sup>

In all three cases – Kolvitsa, Vyalozero, Umba – the language shift to Russian happened slowly and naturally, bridged by a long stage of bilingualism. In Kolvitsa, however, where the language shift is not yet completed, the percentage of names with non-Russian origin turns out to be lower than in Vyalozero which became linguistically Russian in the mid-20th century, and even lower than in Umba where Karelian (or a Karelian-like form of Eastern Finnic) was replaced by Russian, probably during the 18th century. This has its own reasons, of course. Arriving in Kolvitsa, Karelians took over an area that was, and had been for long time, Russian. Therefore, the Karelian toponymy of the area is new (its formation began at the end of the 19th century)

83. Examples from Umba and the surrounding area, in which the attributive element of the two-part toponym is of non-Russian origin, include the shore *Хирмукин берег*, the capes and isthmuses *Киберинский наволоок, Лёвнаволоок, Лёхнаволоок, Турийнаволоок, Ялокоргский наволоок*, the rapids *Паелга (Паялга), Варгозерский порог*, the islands *Волийостров, Пильские луды, Усельский остров, Хедостров*, the lakes *Вытчъозеро (Выпсъозеро), Канозеро, Каленгозеро, Костарёво озеро, Лёндозеро, Мяндовое озеро, Пончозеро, Тарбозеро, Таргозеро, Уккозеро, Шогуйозеро, Шомбозеро*, the heights and hills *Вялгора, Паяльская варака*, the gulfs (bays) *Будрачгуба, Войдова губа, Ёканьская губа, Каржгуба, Панногуба (Падангуба), Пергуба, Пирьгуба, Порь(я)губа*, the bog (swamp) *Кайковский мох*, the brooks *Кушручей, Ругоручей, Уккоручей, Ханручей, Х(ь)ямручей*, and the rivers *Ингарека, Мунарека, Низьмаречка, Таргаречка, Умбарека* (Kartoteka toponimov KarNTS).

and etymologically transparent. Moreover, as noted above, although Russian names (or pre-Russian names fully adapted to Russian) were integrated into Karelian toponymy, they continued to be used in Russian simultaneously with their new Karelian variants. When the balance between the two languages in the village changed, and the shift to Russian occurred, it was the Karelian toponyms which first started to disappear. It is possible that upon the incomplete Karelianization of the area and the subsequent Russification (reverse in direction) the model of having parallel names for the same natural feature stimulated the translation into Russian even of those Karelian place names that initially did not have Russian equivalents. The high percentage of de-anthroponymic names in Kolvitsa toponymy (27%) could also have supported this process. Officially, all Karelians had Russian given names, patronymics, and last names, but in the village community these were all adapted to Karelian; cf. *Антоний* > *Ontto*, *Иван Филиппович* > *Hilipän Iivana*, *Дарья Луптовна* > *Luron Tuarie*. Knowing, for example, that *Kirilänšuo* was within the reach of Kirill Artem'ev's commercial interests, Russified Karelians easily transformed the name of this swamp into *Кирилловское болото*. Practically the entire population of Kolvitsa was familiar with the Karelian geographical vocabulary used in naming natural features of the area, and therefore could easily back-translate the existing toponyms into Russian: e.g. *Onttoniemi* to *Антонов наволок*, *Valkiekoški* to *Белый порог*, etc. The retreat of the traditional way of life apparently also played a role in this process, as most of the half-calques are recorded in places away from the village, while within the village and its immediate vicinity we typically observe full translations (full calques). Half-calques are more often used by individuals who themselves or their parents were directly involved in fishing, hunting, and agriculture.

All these circumstances explain why the modern Russian toponymy of Kolvitsa and the surroundings contains fewer toponyms with a non-Russian element (in particular, half-calques) than the toponymy of places which underwent Russification earlier, at the time people were still predominantly involved in traditional economic activities.

In conclusion, we should note that we have a situation in Kolvitsa which is unique for the European part of Russia in the 20th century: we observe a substitution of Russian toponymy for non-Russian. An apparent parallel from the 17th century is the mass migration of Karelians to the territory of contemporary Tver Oblast, which led to the Karelianization of place names in the respective areas. The situation in Kolvitsa is unique also because only fifty years after Karelians arrived in the area and started to appropriate it linguistically, the process reversed and the area started to become Russian again. Accordingly, the toponymic material from Kolvitsa allows us to observe the change of Russian toponymy to Karelian and then back to Russian almost in real time.

## 5.2. Lexicon

The first part of this section is devoted to the outcomes of language contact (i.e. to loanwords and calques), and the second to semantic shift and accommodation within the inherited Karelian vocabulary.

Adapted loanwords, i.e. borrowings integrated in Karelian, occur extensively in the material, especially in the data from 2017/2018.<sup>84</sup> Most of the borrowings come from standard Russian. One of the central issues in research of lexical borrowing are the factors determining which words or word classes are susceptible to borrowing and which are not (e.g. Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009). Verbs, for example, are cross-linguistically known to be less liable to borrowing than nouns (e.g. Curnow 2006; Pagel et al. 2007; Matras 2009: 175–176). At the same time, verbs borrowed from Russian occur amply in Kolvitsa Karelian data; Appendix I contains a list of borrowed and morphologically adapted verbs in our material whose Russian sources are high- or mid-frequency verbs.

Gregersen (2020) has suggested that the frequency of lexemes and grammatical constructions in a receding language cannot be studied in isolation from their frequency in the superseding language; i.e. frequencies of words in the dominant language need to be considered in the investigation of language change in the receding language. Therefore, we used a frequency list of Russian verbs (Lyashevskaya & Sharov 2011) and examined which of the 500 most frequent Russian verbs occur as adapted loanwords in Kolvitsa Karelian. The resulting list in Appendix I could be useful for Finnic specialists studying loanword adaptation patterns, but also for general and contact linguists interested in the mechanisms of borrowing and retrieval of items from the lexicon of the contact language. The verbs in Appendix I, presented in specific forms occurring in the material, are ordered according to their frequency in Russian which in the last decades has been the dominant language of communication in the village, and obviously influences the lexical frequency patterns of the local Karelian.

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84. It is difficult in our case to distinguish between loanwords and more occasional transfers (or nonce borrowings). We focus here on borrowings manifesting some degree of adaptation to Karelian and occurring within structures composed in accordance with Karelian grammar. For nouns, adjectives, and verbs, the safest loanword status criterion is the presence of Karelian inflectional morphology; for indeclinable classes (particles etc.), the best criteria are probably recurrence (i.e. the word occurs more than once in the material) and position between Karelian words (or adapted loanwords).



As can be seen from Appendix I, there were 64 such verbs in our material. Earlier studies have concluded that frequency is in negative correlation with the probability of borrowing; i.e. higher frequency of a word presupposes lower chances of it being borrowed. Monaghan and Roberts (2019) have recently refined this postulate by stating negative correlation between frequency and probability of borrowing only for mid- to high-frequency words: only for this set of words higher frequency means lower probability of borrowing. As can be seen from Appendix I, this does not seem to hold in a situation of severe language endangerment, where the speakers of the receding language are all bilingual. Of the hundred most frequent Russian verbs, ten occurred in the output of Kolvitsa Karelian guides as adapted loans, from the second hundred (101–200 in the frequency list of Ljashevskaya and Sharov) seventeen occurred as adapted loans, the number of such loans from the third hundred was eleven, from the fourth hundred also eleven, and fifteen from the fifth hundred. If text (oral or written) frequency had an effect on the susceptibility to borrowing, we would expect e.g. the first and the last hundred to differ more as to the number of borrowed verbs.

This suggests that any Russian verb can be spontaneously used in Kolvitsa Karelian; the adaptation procedure is not restricted in any way, and it seems to be fully automatic. Karelian morphophonology and morphology can be activated at any place and time on any Russian verbal item. This assumption is endorsed by monitoring another well-known cross-linguistic predictor of borrowability – word length (see Monaghan & Roberts 2019 for an overview). Unlike in healthy functional languages, the length of the verb stems occurring in our material does not seem to have any effect on whether the verb is borrowed and adapted or not. Most of the borrowed verbs have two- or three-syllable stems, just like most Finnic and Russian verbs. Of the verbs in Appendix I, 26 have a stem consisting of two syllables and 31 a stem of three syllables; the remaining seven items are longer. Neither could we detect a relationship between borrowability and other grammatical or semantic characteristics of the verb. For example, 17 out of the 64 verbs in our list are reflexive (i.e. exhibit the reflexive suffix *-ut(u)-* corresponding to the Russian *-ся*), but this mirrors more or less the proportion of the reflexive verbs in the set of high- and mid-frequency verbs in Russian: 98 out of the 500 most frequent Russian verbs are reflexive.<sup>85</sup> All this evidence points at the randomness

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85. Likewise, 34 of the verbs in Appendix I are transitive and 30 intransitive, 29 are imperfective and 35 perfective. These shares reflect the situation in Russian where the binary grammatical categories of transitivity and aspect divide the verb inventory in two classes that are similar in size.



of borrowing of Russian verbs in Kolvitsa Karelian; i.e. any Russian verb can be expected to occur as adapted loan in Karelian.

As already mentioned, lexical category has been considered a factor influencing the borrowability of words. The borrowing hierarchies posited in contact linguistics (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 74–76; Matras 2009: 157) are statements about the susceptibility of different parts of speech to borrowing. Nouns feature higher rates of borrowing than verbs which feature higher rates than adverbs; open classes are more susceptible to borrowing than closed classes, etc. In a severely endangered variety like Kolvitsa Karelian, however, lexical category does not seem to be a predictor of borrowing anymore: we find ample evidence for borrowing of words from closed classes, including function words. We will discuss here adverbs of degree, adpositions, pronouns and particles.

The comparative form of the Russian adverb *хорошо* ‘good, well’ is *лучше*. This form recurs in Kolvitsa Karelian: *lučše šyön kappalen kalua, siirua, pitä(y) želudkoa sobljudaija* ‘I better eat a piece of fish or cheese, I have to watch my stomach’ (LEZ 2017), *nu konešna, mie lučše maksan* ‘of course, I better pay’ (LEZ 2018), *a työ lučše käykyö iče!* ‘you better go there by yourself’ (SSA 2017). A comparative form of another grading adverb can be seen in *tiäl oli lekče kun Karjalašša* ‘It was easier here than in Karelia’ (MKA 1972) (cf. Rus *легче* ‘easier’).

Borrowed adpositions abound in the data. As a typical Indo-European language, Russian uses predominantly prepositions, whereas Karelian as a Finno-Ugric language uses mostly postpositions and has only a small number of prepositions (Grünthal 2010). Our material contains mostly borrowed prepositions, see Table 11, but also borrowed postpositions can be found; e.g. *yksi-toista vuott<sup>a</sup> nazat* (LEZ 2017) ‘eleven years ago’ (cf. Rus *назад* ‘ago’).

An example of a borrowed pronominal element is the adjectival determiner *l’upoi* (cf. Rus *любой* ‘any [free choice]; every’): *ka niitä kyllä sakatkoja hot’ l’upoi aika, konša oli aikua* ‘and these riddles (were told) at any time, always when they had time’ (MAK 1972).<sup>86</sup>

Negation particles are among the most grammaticalized words in a language and among the most resistant to borrowing cross-linguistically (see the borrowability score of ‘not’ in Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009). The Russian particle *не* features in Karelian data both as a verbal negator and as constituent negator. Examples of the first kind include *nestavainu* (cf. Rus *не*

86. See Blokland (2012) for an overview of borrowed pronouns and determiners in Uralic languages.

Table 11. Borrowed prepositions in Kolvitsa Karelian

Russian source	Examples
<i>вместо</i> 'instead of'	<i>mesta čajua praškua</i> 'instead of tea, sugar wine' (AAG 2017)
<i>кrome</i> 'except from, besides'	<i>ei ni muuta mitä, krome potakkua ta nakrista</i> 'nothing else, except from potatoes and turnip' (AKA 1972); <i>pikkunen miula tiälä oli krome lehtiä hrenua</i> 'besides leaves, I had here some horseradish' (LEZ 2017)
<i>между</i> 'between'	<i>še oli meždu kuušikon i miän kylä</i> 'it was between the spruce forest and our village' (LEZ 2017)
<i>перед</i> 'before'	<i>pered sovan aikan</i> 'before the war' (LEZ 2017)
<i>против</i> 'against; opposite'	<i>protih tonjua še tunturi</i> 'opposite of the fishing ground was that fell (mountain massif)' (NAL 1987); <i>protiv miun talu</i> 'opposite of my house' (AAG 2017)

*сдавал*) in *yksi lehmä jätetäh a lopuset piti staija dobrovol'no, a ken nestavainu, niitä tyrmäh täš panti* (AAG 2017) 'one could keep one cow for oneself and had to voluntarily give the other cows away (to the kolkhoz), and if someone did not give them, s/he was put in prison', and *ni keittän* (cf. Rus *не варили*) in *miun aikana ei niken tervua ni keittän* 'in my time, people did not boil (dry-distill) tar anymore' (OAP 2018). An example of constituent negation is *ne etähänä* (cf. Rus *недалеко*) in *mie siel olen ollu, a sielä granitsa ne etähänä* 'I have been there, the border is not far' (LEZ 2018).

In addition to loanwords, Kolvitsa Karelian manifests extensive calqueing from standard Russian. Examples (1a–b), produced by our best language guide, illustrate this. In (1a), she wants to convey that her friend who recently passed away used to clean and keep order in the village school. Instead of choosing the appropriate Karelian verb in this context, she uses the verb *kerätä* whose lexical meaning in Karelian is 'gather, pick; collect; fix' (KKV; KRS-SD: 52). The obvious reason for this choice is that in Russian the meanings 'gather, remove' and 'tidy up, clean' are expressed by the same verb – *убирать*. In example (1b), LEZ produces the verb *männä* 'leave, go away' (KK; KRS-SD: 113) in the context of leaving someone as a replica of the Russian *yūtu* 'leave behind, leave alone, abandon' (cf. *муж ушел от неё* 'Her husband left her.'), instead of the expected verb *jättyä* 'leave, abandon'.

	attested form		expected form	source of replication
(1) a.	<i>keräsi</i>	<i>koulua</i>	<i>šiiivosi</i>	< <i>уборать</i>
	gather:PST.3SG	school:PART	clean:PST.3SG	‘tidy up; gather’
	‘She was cleaning the school building.’ (LEZ 2017)			
b.	<i>mies</i>	<i>mäni</i>	<i>häneštä</i>	<i>jätti</i>
	man	leave:PST.3SG	she:ELA	leave:PST.3SG
	‘Her husband left her.’ (LEZ 2017)			

Loanwords from other languages are rare in the material. We expected Finnish words to occur more frequently in the output of individuals born in the first two decades of the 20th century, because this is the only generation which studied Finnish in the local school. But due to the unequal size of data from different decades, it was impossible to put this expectation to a test. Furthermore, in most of the cases it is impossible to prove that a word is not Karelian but is borrowed from Finnish; most of our Finnish loanword suspects occur in White Sea Karelian dialects, although they are marginal there and are typically restricted to the varieties bordering Finland.

In 1987 the female guide AEM uses the Finnish word *paljon* ‘a lot, many’ instead of the Karelian *äijän*: *jotta kun on paljon ihmisii* ‘in case there are a lot of people there’. Her daughter whom we interviewed in 2017 and 2018 mentioned on several occasions that AEM used to speak and read fluently in Finnish (LEZ 2017). This word does not occur in dictionaries covering White Sea Karelian, which makes it a clear case of lexical borrowing from Finnish in Kolvitsa Karelian. Words, marginally attested in White Sea Karelian (cf. KKV, KRS-SD, and SSKGK) but probably borrowed from Finnish, include *joskus* ‘sometimes’ (instead of the Karelian *konša* or *toičči*) (MIP 1987: *joskus, joskus valehellah* ‘sometimes, sometimes they lie’), *karhu* ‘bear’ (instead of *kontie*) (LVS 2017), and *kaveri* ‘friend, mate’ (instead of e.g. *tovarissa ~ tovarišša ~ tovarišša*) (AKA 1972: *kaverin keralla issumma* ‘we are sitting with a friend’; LEZ 2017, IAM 2018). Finnish influence can be suspected also for *ymmärtyä* ‘understand’, occurring in the output of speakers from different generations (see below for details), and for *kone(h)* ‘machine; car, vehicle’ (see below for details).

The use of such high-frequency words does not presuppose a good knowledge of Finnish; such words are recognized and memorized even upon superficial contacts with the Finnish language. Some of the scholars who have collected material in Kolvitsa speak quite Finnicised Karelian on the tape. This causes language guides to use typical (from their point of view) Finnish words which they would not use when speaking with each other. *Paljon* ‘a lot, many’ is the best example of such conversational mimicry. Nowadays it is a generally

acknowledged word among White Sea Karelians, who tend to frequently use it in communication with Finns.<sup>87</sup>

Tables 12, 13, 14, and 15 display lexical loans from varieties other than standard Russian and Finnish. The most common source of such loanwords is substandard local Russian, in which some of them have in turn been borrowed from other languages, most typically from Eastern Sámi languages (from Kil-din Sámi, possibly also from Ter and Akkala Sámi). The loanword-lists in these tables are not exhaustive. Upon further examination of the data each table can be amended by additional loans. The information in the tables suffices, however, to illustrate the lexical contact on the spot, the sources of borrowing, and the relative size of loanword layers.

Table 12 contains words originating in the local Russian varieties, i.e. words whose ultimate source is in Northern Russian. After standard Russian, the local Russian dialects are the most common source of lexical influence in Kolvitsa Karelian. Another significant group, presented in Table 13, are words that have been borrowed by Kolvitsa Karelian from the local Russian dialects, but their ultimate source is in Sámi, i.e. substandard Russian has served as an intermediary between Sámi and Karelian. In some cases, however, a Russian intermediary cannot be identified, and we seem to be dealing either with direct borrowing from Sámi or with borrowing from Sámi through Finnish; such examples are presented in Table 14. The last table (15) presents cases of lexical borrowing which do not fit in these groups; the rationale here is that Kolvitsa Karelian has borrowed a word from the local Russian dialect in which it had been borrowed from another language which is not a Sámi language. Most of the items in the table reflect the farther connections of the population of southern part of Kola Peninsula via Gorlo Strait and Barents Sea. The first is a Nenets word, the second a Komi one (but ultimately also Nenets), the third Norwegian, and the fourth Dutch. The last word in Table 15 is a Karelian borrowing in local Russian which has loaned it then back to Kolvitsa Karelian. Given the discontinuity of the Karelian ethnic element in the southern part of Kola Peninsula, it is not surprising to find such examples, where local Russian has functioned as an intermediary between successive Karelian groups.

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87. Candidates for Finnish loanwords denoting less frequent notions are *hyysi* ‘toilet (usually outside of the house)’ (LEZ 2017, AAG 2017), and *marakatti* (a mild swearword referring to a child) (LEZ 2018). The word *hyys(s)i* does not occur in standard Finnish but is common in the western and northern part of the Finnish dialect area (SMS: *hyysi*) – in northern Finland Proper (*Varsinais-Suomi*), Southern, Central, and Northern Ostrobothnia, and in Kainuu which borders White Sea Karelia. According to SMS, *marakatti* (LEZ 2018: *piessan marakatti* ‘devilish, noisy, and restless child’, *piessa* ‘devil’) is also used in the given meaning in the Finnish dialects.

Table 12. Kolvitsa Karelian &lt; substandard (dialectal) Russian

Target word	Russian source
<i>čipirikki</i> ( <i>Čipirikki-Muarie</i> ) ‘Čipirikki-Maria: a nickname of an old woman in the village who was poor, strange, allegedly of Sámi origin, and often mocked’ <sup>88</sup>	< <i>чипарига/чипарук/чипарыжка</i> ‘(rose) hip’ northwestern Russian dialects (Karelia, Vlg-O, Len-O) (SRGK-SO VI: 791; Myznikov 2003: 89) (cf. Standard Russian <i>шипóвник</i> )
<i>kasti</i> ‘contagion; mischief; filth, nasty things’	< <i>касть/кась</i> ‘sewage, garbage; stinking mud on the road during bad-weather season’ (Onezhsky U, Shenkursky U) (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 64); <i>кась/ка́сти</i> ‘rubbish, mud; reek; (for a person) pipskueak, drifter, unfair’ (Murm-O, Arkh-O, White Sea Karelia) (Durov 2011: 164); ‘garbage, useless thing; obscene, abusive words’ (Murm-O, Len-O) (SRGK-SO II: 332); Arkh-O); ‘midges’ (Vlg-O)’ (SGRS V: 91, see also REW I: 539); <i>ка́ско</i> ‘filth’ (Murm-O [Varzuga]) (Merkur’ev 1979: 64)
<i>kiŕikala/tiŕikala</i> ‘stickleback ( <i>Gasterosteidae</i> ) or another tiny fish’	< ? <i>кúчка</i> ‘fish net, sweep-net’ (Vlg-O [Vytegorsky District]) (SRGK-SO II: 355); < ? <i>кúшка</i> ‘a special herring trap ( <i>ботальница</i> )’ (Arkhangelsky U, Mezensky U) (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 66)

88. KKV presents examples of this word (transcribed *tšiperikkine*) from the southernmost Karelian Proper (Suojärvi) and from Olonets Karelian with the attributive meaning ‘for an exceedingly small creature, thing, or quantity’. Olga Karlova, a native speaker and a specialist in White Sea Karelian whom we consulted, said that she has heard this word with reference to a small bird or a small child which is restlessly hopping and bustling.

Target word	Russian source
<i>kuipok(k)a</i> 'ebb, low tide'	< <i>кúйнага, кúйнака, кúйнаго, кúйнага</i> <sup>89</sup> 'the lowest level of the water during sea tide; the state of the water just before the flow begins' (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 77); <i>кúйнаго</i> 'id.' (all around the White Sea) (Durov 2011: 164); <i>кúйнаго</i> 'id.' (Murm-O [Kandalaksha, Tetrino]) (Merkur'ev 1979: 76); <i>кúйнака, кúйнака, кúйнаго, кúйнава, кúйнаба, кúйнава</i> 'Sea (rarely river) coastal strip freed from water at low tide' (Arkh-O [Mezensky District, Onezhsky District, Primorsky District]) (SGRS VI: 230)
<i>lakina/lokina</i> 'ice hole'	< ? <i>лóка</i> 'wild animal burrow, hole' (Nvg-O [Batetsky District]) (SRGK-SO III: 141)
<i>mašuo</i> 'tell lies' ( <i>Mitä mašot?! 'Why do you lie? Don't lie!'</i> )	< ? <i>мазúрить/мазúрничать</i> 'get/be naughty; make a mischief; cheat; loaf about' (Nvg-O [Ustyuzhensky District, Chudovsky District], Len-O [Tikhvinsky District, Kirishsky District], Vlg-O [Kirillovsky District], Karelia [Kondopozhsky District, Pudozhsky District]) (SRGK-SO III: 186)
<i>ryyhkä</i> 'gorodki (an ancient Russian folk sport like the Karelian and modern Finnish <i>kyyk-kä</i> )'	< <i>рюжа (игра рюжами)</i> 'a street game consisting in knocking down blocks with a stick placed on the ground (the blocks are called <i>рюжа</i> )' (Onezhsky U, Holmogorsky U) (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 151); <i>рюжа</i> 'piece of trunk with a diameter of 15 cm and height up to 20 cm, used in the folk game <i>в рюжи</i> ' (Durov 2011: 364–365); <i>рюшка</i> 1. 'a name of children ball-game ( <i>рюшка-карёлка</i> )' (Karelia [Pudozhsky District]) 2. 'a short stump of the log (chock, block)' (Karelia [Pudozhsky District]), <i>ряха</i> 'cylindrical chock used to play gorodki' (Karelia [Loukhsky District, Belomorsky District], Len-O [Tikhvinsky District], Arkh-O [Onezhsky District]) (SRGK-SO V: 600, 616)

89. This Russian word is often associated with the Finnic *kuiva* 'dry' (REW: 683).

Target word	Russian source
<p><i>sav(i)eska(t)</i></p> <p>1. ‘fishing tackle, a device consisting of several nets’;</p> <p>2. ‘particular type of fishnet (with large holes)’</p>	<p>&lt; <i>завески</i> ‘fishing device for catching salmon, navaga, and plaice, when they are heading from the sea to the river for insemination’ (Arkhangelsky U, Kemsy U, Kolsky U, Mezensky U, Oneshsky U) (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 47); ‘fishing tackle with immobile nets with a trap’ (Murm-O [Kandalakshsky District, Tersky District]) (Merkur’ev 1979: 48); 1. ‘fishing device for catching salmon, navaga, plaice, when they are heading to the river for spawning’, 2. ‘Japanese immobile net used since 1922, and applied in the kolkhoz fishery for catching herring in Kandalaksha Gulf and on the White Sea coast around Kemi and Soroka’ (Durov 2011: 122–123); ‘quadrangular sea net for salmon’ (Murm-O [Kandalakshsky District, Tersky District]) (SRGK-SO II: 95); (Arkh-O [Primorsky District]) (SGRS IV: 28) (cf. the Standard Russian verb <i>завесту</i> one of whose meanings is ‘to lay out a net’)</p>
<p><i>semerikka/semerikki</i></p> <p>‘large barrel for salting fish’</p>	<p>&lt; <i>семёпка</i> ‘a barrel of salted fish weighing seven poods’ (White Sea Karelia [Kovda]) (Merkur’ev 1979: 142); <i>семерік</i> ‘a measure of 110 kg (seven poods weight in the Russian system)’ (all around the White Sea) (Durov 2011: 373)</p>
<p><i>Simč(č)a</i> ‘a cliff near Kolvitsa on the shore of Kolvitsa Bay; there is a cliff with the same name near Kandalaksha’<sup>90</sup></p>	<p>&lt; <i>зимéу</i> 1. ‘a road, which is usable (i.e. on which one can ride or drive) only in winter’; 2. ‘a road or path in the forest’; 3. ‘path in the bog’ (Arkh-O [Pinezhsky District]) (SGRS IV: 266)</p>

90. It is not clear whether this word is used also as a common noun (geographical term). Our consultants said that the cliff is directly on the shore, and the path between the cliff and the water is passable only during low tide. We do not know whether the path is open during the winter, but it is possible that it was used particularly in this season because of the solid ice. This would provide the semantic link to the Russian source word.



Target word	Russian source
<i>torka</i> 'large sea boat with a flat bottom'	< <i>дóрка</i> 'large seaboat with an engine on the stern' (Karelia [White Sea coast], Murm-O [Teriberka]) (Merkur'ev 1979: 40); 'large boat with high boards used in sea fishing and hunting' (Arkh-O [Primorsky District]) (SGRS III: 254); 'a boat weighing about 10 tonne and accommodating 4 ½ tonne fish' (Murm-O [Kandalakshsky District], Karelia [Kemsky District], Arkh-O [Onezhsky District]) (SRGK-SO I: 488) <sup>91</sup>
<i>upuak(k)una</i> 'clumsy, awkward'	<? archaic (and dialectal) Russian <i>опа́к(уи́)</i> 1. 'backwards, the other way around', 2. 'awkward, clumsy' (Dal' 1903-1911: <i>опаки́й</i> ); <i>опаки́ша/опаку́ша</i> 'sloppy, unkempt person' (Len-O [Tikhvinsky District], Vlg-O [Cherepovetsky District]) (SRGK-SO IV: 202); cf. also <i>опаку́лить</i> 'err, confuse one thing or person for another' (Murm-O [Ponoy]) (Merkur'ev 1979: 102)
<i>uslonča</i> 'political prisoner'	< <i>услóнец</i> 'local people named fugitives from prison camps after the abbreviation УСЛОИ [USLON] = Управление Соловецкого лагеря особого назначения [Administration of Solovki special camp]' (Vasil'ev 2014: 182)
<i>vuašakko/vuažakko/</i> <i>vuašaporo/vaššaporo</i> 'a big leading reindeer among the reindeer drawing the sled'	< <i>вожа́</i> 'a female guide in the forest, one who knows the good berry and mushroom places; a person finding her bearings in any forest, on the large tundra bogs, and in the shrubbery around her village or the surrounding villages' (all around the White Sea) (Durov 2011: 62) (cf. standard Russian <i>вождь</i> 'chief, leader', <i>вожатый</i> 'road guide')

91. David Pineda assumes that the Russian *дóрка* (< *дóра*) is a borrowing from the Norwegian *dory*, coming from the English *dory*, which ultimately goes back to Miskito *dóri* (Pineda 2004: 31, 39). If he is right, the word would belong in Table 15 below.

Table 13. Kolvitsa Karelian &lt; substandard (dialectal) Russian &lt; Eastern Sámi

Target	Russian intermediary	Sámi source
<i>kerčäkkä</i> 1. ‘goby ( <i>Gobiiformes</i> )’, 2. ‘a nasty, evil person of small body size’	< <i>кёрча</i> ‘fish similar in size with the perch inhabiting e.g. Umba Bay of the White Sea and the bay of Sumskiĭ Posad, and occurring in two species: <i>Cottus quadricornis</i> and <i>Cottus scorpius</i> ’ (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 65, see also REW I: 552); <i>кёрча/кёрчья</i> ‘a fish until 35 cm long, with big disproportional torso and large-toothed mouth’ (everywhere in the White Sea) (Durov 2011: 167); <i>кёрчяк</i> (Karelia [Kovda], Murm-O [Umba]) (Merkur’ev 1979: 65); (Murm-O [Kandalakshsky District, Tersky District]) (SRGK-SO II: 341); (Arkh-O [Onezhsky District]) (SGRS V: 121)	< Eastern Sámi, e.g. Skolt <i>ker̄tts</i> ‘kaulkopf ( <i>Cottus scorpius</i> )’ (Itkonen 1958a: 121a–b; see also Itkonen 1932: 52)
<i>port(t)ujal/</i> <i>pert(t)uja</i> ‘small fish: usually a small cod, but also other small species’	< <i>нёпмыӱ</i> ‘a small cod (up to 1 ½ kg), which usually is salted differently from other fish: it is not cut in layers, but its head is cut off, the entrails taken out, and then it is salted from within; sometimes the belly is slit open’ (all around the White Sea) (Durov 2011: 295); (Murm-O [Teriberka, Zakhrebetnoe]) (Merkur’ev 1979: 110); <i>нёпмыӱ/непм</i> ‘small fish (usually cod)’ (Murm-O [Kandalakshsky District], Karelia [Kemsky District, Belomorsky District]) (SRGK-SO IV: 481–482, see also REW II: 344)	< Eastern Sámi, cf. Kildin <i>perd̄taj</i> , Ter <i>pierdtij</i> ‘small cod’ (Itkonen 1958a: 357b; see also Itkonen 1932: 56)
<i>valčakka/</i> <i>valčuaka</i> ‘salmon which after spawning has lost its nutrition quality’	< <i>валчяк</i> ‘salmon which after spawning in autumn loses weight and returns to the sea’ (Murm-O [Varzuga]) (Post 2004: 81); <i>вэльчяг/вэльчяк</i> ‘salmon in one of its seasonal modifications’ (all around the White and Barents Sea) (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 14); ‘salmon sliding from the river to the sea after spawning’ (Murm-O [Varzuga]) (Merkur’ev 1979: 25); (Murm-O [Kandalakshsky District, Tersky District], Karelia [Kemsky District]) (SRGK-SO I: 160); <i>вальчик</i> ‘a sort of salmon’ (Arkh-O [Nyan-domsky District]) (SGRS II: 16)	< Eastern Sámi; cf. Ter <i>valdžeg</i> ‘Süßwasserlachs’ (REW I: 167), Kildin <i>vālbžer</i> ‘süßwasserlachs; lachs der im mai in den fluss steigt und 16.–20. kg wiegt’ (Itkonen 1958a: 714b; see also Itkonen 1932: 49–50)

Target	Russian intermediary	Sámi source
<i>puahto</i> 'cliff, rock'	< <i>náxma</i> <sup>92</sup> 'a cliff at the seashore or sticking out of the seashore' (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 118); (all around the White Sea and Barents Sea) (Durov 2011: 289); 'a sheer cliff above the water' (Murm-O [Kandalaksha]) (Merkur'ev 1979: 108); 'a sheer cliff above the water (at the sea or river); rocky hill above the water' (Murm-O [Tersky District]) (SRGK-SO IV: 415)	< (Eastern) Sámi; cf. Kildin <i>pāχt<sup>e</sup></i> , Ter <i>pāķtε</i> 'cliff, bluff; steep wall of a hill' (Itkonen 1958a: 327b)

Table 14. Kolvitsa Karelian (&lt; unknown intermediary) &lt; Sámi

Target	(Intermediary)	Sámi source
<i>kulmakka</i> 'River trout'	(? Fi Far North <i>kulmakko/kulmakka</i> 'Elritze od. ein anderer kleiner Fisch' [SSA I: <i>kulmakko</i> ])	< North Sámi <i>gulmek</i> 'three-spined stickleback' (SSA I: <i>kulmakko</i> )
<i>nyńnypiä</i> 'head of a small fish (typically a perch)'	(-)	< Eastern Sámi, cf. Skolt <i>ńu'ńne-pũǎĩp̃<sup>ĕ</sup></i> 'the cartilaginous upper side of the fish beak' (Itkonen 1958a: 307a)

92. From the Karelian dictionaries covering White Sea Karelian only KKV contains this word, and with occurrences only from KiestinkiP (i.e. from Karelian spoken in Pechenga area) where it could have been borrowed directly from Sámi or via Finnish (see SSA: *pahta*, occurring e.g. in Far Northern and Northern Ostrobothnian dialects). Given the lack of direct contacts between Kolvitsa Karelian and Sámi and the absence of dictionary evidence from Karelia for this word, we consider the local Russian varieties as the most likely intermediary between Eastern Sámi and Kolvitsa Karelian.

**Table 15. Kolvitsa Karelian < substandard (dialectal) Russian < other (non-Sámi) language**

Target	Russian intermediary	Source
<i>horei/hori(i)</i> 'a long pole (bar, rod) used for driving reindeer together'	< <i>xapeŭ/xopeŭ</i> 'a birch pole (until six-metre-long) with a sharp bone poppy-head at the top, with which reindeer are driven into the team' (Murm-O, Arkh-O, White Sea Karelia) (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 182; Durov 2011: 426; Merkur'ev 1979: 172; REW III: 261) <sup>93</sup>	< Nenets * <i>xorej</i> , probably an Imperative form of 'threaten; drive on, urge up' (REW III: 261; Rédei 1963: 280; Panteleeva 1969: 51; Anikin 2000: 622)
<i>püimat</i> 'boots from reindeer skin (70–75 cm high), consisting of "stockings"; one half with fur outwards, the other half inwards'	< <i>numbí</i> 'long, completely soft boots made of deer skin, wool outwards, and without sole' (Podvysotskiĭ 1885: 122); 'Samoyed shoes – long boots made of deer skin with wool outwards and inwards, and without soles; Pomors wear them instead of felt boots in the winter, on hunting trips, etc.' (all around the White Sea) (Durov 2011: 299)	< Izva Komi <i>pim</i> 'fur boots' (Blokland & Rießler 2011: 20) < Nenets <i>piva</i> , <i>piemə</i> 'id.', Samoyed * <i>pājmā</i> 'boot' (REW II: 357; Anikin 2000: 447)
<i>jola</i> 'a fishing boat (sometimes with a motor)'	< <i>ëla</i> 1. 'a light single-masted sailing vessel' (Murm-O [Kandalaksha]); 2. 'a large motorboat' (Murm-O [Varzuga, Teriberka]) (Merkur'ev 1979: 43); 'Norwegian seaboat: a rowing vessel with four oars; recently also motorized' (all around the White Sea) (Durov 2011: 111); 'large fishing boat with high stern' (Arkh-O [Mezensky District, Onezhsky District, Primorsky District, Vinogradovsky District]) (SGRS II: 219)	< Norwegian <i>joll(e)</i> , <i>julla</i> 'small boat' (SSA I: <i>jolla</i> )

93. Kildin Sámi *xar'a* 'long pole used to drive reindeer' is a borrowing from Northern Russian and not directly from Nenets (Blokland & Rießler 2011: 20).

Target	Russian intermediary	Source
<i>pusurunkka</i> 'thick sweater from sheep wool'	< <i>бузурунка</i> 'a shirt from rough wool' (Murm-O [Kandalaksha]) (Merkur'ev 1979: 24); 1. 'knitted wool sweater' (Murm-O [Kanda- lakshsky District, Tersky District]), 2. 'a shirt with a fastener (zip- per) from the top to the bottom' (Murm-O [Kandalakshsky Dis- trict, Tersky District]) (SRGK-SO I: 133); <i>бузурунка</i> 'a shirt whose front side is tied with a hook, and which is made of rough sheep wool of home-made threads; thick Nor- wegian wool shirt; knitted jersey (sweater)' (White Sea Karelia) (Durov 2011: 41)	< Dutch <i>boezeroen</i> 'wool blouse, sweater' (REW I: 138)
<i>kerpačču</i> 'armful of tied twigs with leaves, used as cattle food'	< <i>керпáч/кърпáч</i> 'tied twigs with leaves used as cattle food' (Murm-O [Kandalakshsky Dis- trict]) (SRGK-SO II: 340)	< Karelian <i>kerppu</i> 'bundle of twigs with leaves' (KKV: <i>kerppu</i> )

We also studied the inherited Karelian vocabulary in our material. We compared form–meaning correspondences in Kolvitsa Karelian with form–meaning correspondences in its ancestral dialects in Karelia and their geographic distribution there.

The material from Kolvitsa contains words with almost identical meanings but different geographic origins. Such near-synonym pairs are presented in Table 16 below. A specific type of dynamic modality – acquired mental ability ('know how, be able') – is typically expressed by the verb *mahtua* in Kolvitsa Karelian. In this function *mahtua* occurs mostly with infinitival complements; there are 23 such occurrences, e.g. *mie mahan i joikuu* 'I can also yoik' (MKA 1972), *mahtoi kestrata* 'she could spin (well)' (SSA 2017). Adnominal occurrences (i.e. occurrences with NP-complements) are rarer: there are seven occurrences in the data; e.g. *en ni maha sitä virttä* 'I don't know this song; I can't sing this song' (MKA 1972). Very frequent is the omission of the complement: *tämän Iissakan akka mahto, tuošša talošša oli Maura-akka mahto, vot mie teile šanoin Levontien naine mahto, Oksien muamo mahto ...* 'That one, Issak's wife could (yoik), in that house there, Maura-woman could also (yoik), I told you, Leonti's wife could (yoik), Oksi(niya)'s mother could

(yoik) ...’ (MKA 1972). Judging from Map 209 of the Atlas of Karelian Dialects (KKM) and the Web-dictionary of Karelian (KKV), the use of the verb *mahtua* as a marker of the meaning ‘be mentally capable’ is not surprising; *mahtua* is widely attested with this meaning in the northern dialects of Karelian Proper from which Kolvitsa Karelian stems. However, in Kolvitsa Karelian we also frequently find the verb *maltua* in this context; such uses are typical for the southern dialects of Karelian Proper (e.g. for Paatene, Porajärvi, Mäntyselkä) and for Olonets Karelian and Lude. Map 209 of KKM shows only one location within the area from which the ancestors of Kolvitsa Karelians came, which features such uses of *maltua* – the village of Kämpäli (Rus *Кябелу*) in the southern part of the historical Kiestinki parish.<sup>94</sup> KKV presents examples of such uses also from KiestinkiP (Petsamo), Uhtua, and Kontokki, but in general *maltua* is predominantly used with the meaning ‘understand, be (or become) aware of sth.’ and not with ‘be mentally capable, have an acquired skill’ in northern Karelian Proper; see Map 204 of KKM.

As an expression of acquired ability, *maltua* mostly occurs in Kolvitsa with nominal complements; e.g. *iänellä itkuu sitä mie kyllä malttasin* ‘sing a lament song – I could do it well’ (MIB 1972), *ken sitä hyvin maltoi ili kuin, niin luotih ruokua* ‘those who were good at cooking, they cooked’ (LEZ 2018), but also infinitival complements are attested; e.g. *yksi še ei ni eloissella maltan* ‘she didn’t know how to play alone’ (MIB 1972), *ken maltau enemmän sočinie* ‘those who were able to invent more (stories)’ (MIB 1972), *a myöhän emma malta lukie* ‘but we can’t read’ (LEZ 2018).

For some speakers, *maltua* has become interchangeable with *mahtua*, the original means for expressing an acquired skill. Language guides from 2017/2018 hesitated when choosing the expression for this lexical meaning. SSA, for example, used both verbs in the same context within the same sentence: *tytär hänee ei malta, ei maha, maltau pikkuse(n)* ‘her daughter cannot (speak Karelian), she can’t, or she can, but just a little’ (SSA 2017). While *maltua* is conquering the semantic domain of *mahtua*, the latter is retaliating by expanding to meanings originally associated with the first. In 2018, the guide OAP used *mahtua* in the function of ‘know, be aware of sth.’: *missä lienö on tässä, no en, en maha paikkua* ‘somewhere here (showing places on the map), but no, I don’t know the place’ (OAP 2018). Such uses are not recorded by Karelian dictionaries (KKV and SSKGK), and therefore seem to be unique to Kolvitsa Karelian. This innovation is either a result of cohesive local developments (recall explanation ii of the observed phenomena in Section 1) or of language attrition (recall explanation iii).

94. As can be seen from Table 7 and Map 3 in Section 4.2, this village is not reported as departure point of migration to Kolvitsa.

Local cohesion is manifested not only by the presence of a lexical item across idiolects of speakers with different origins, but also by the absence of lexical items which based on their distribution in the dialects of Mainland Karelia could be expected to occur in the material. Two other verbs convey acquired mental or intellectual ability in the northern dialects of Karelian Proper: *šuattua* and *ošata*. The first of them occurred only four times in Kolvitsa material, in the output of the language guides MIB and MAK in 1972: *muuta en šuattan, ka itkie šitä šuattasin kyllä* ‘I wasn’t skilled in anything, but I could sing laments’ (MIB 1972), *en šuattan ni arvuutella* ‘I didn’t know riddles; I couldn’t tell riddles’ (MAK 1972). Judging from Map 209 of KKM and the examples in KKV and SSKGK, among the administrative parishes from which Kolvitsans came *šuattua* expresses this meaning in Vuokkiniemi, Uhtua, Kiestinki, and Pistojärvi. The presence of the verb in the linguistic repertoire of MIB, born in Pistojärvi, is thus to be expected. It is surprising, however, that MAK whose roots are in the north (in the Oulanka area) also uses it. The only feasible explanation for this is that *šuattua* has been in circulation in the village, becoming part of the vocabulary of Kolvitsa Karelian, but later has been suppressed in this meaning by *mahtua* and *maltua*.<sup>95</sup> The situation with *ošata* is even more challenging as this verb does not occur at all in Kolvitsa data. Based on the available information about the origins of Kolvitsans and the evidence from KKM and KKV, we expected it to be a frequent option in the expression of acquired mental ability. According to Map 209 of KKM, it is attested in this meaning predominantly in Oulanka and Kiestinki parishes, but KKV also presents examples from Pistojärvi, Uhtua, and Vuokkiniemi (see also SSKGK). Its absence in the data is a sign that it has been suppressed by the other verbs covering this meaning. This retraction demonstrates that Kolvitsa Karelian is not just a sum of the White Sea Karelian subdialects spoken by the ancestors of the inhabitants of the village, but a variety on its own which has been unified (“standardised”) on the spot. Otherwise, *ošata* would have occurred in the material.

95. We should be careful with such conclusions, though, because of the imbalance in the size of data from different dialects in KKV. In this dictionary, the Oulanka dialect is very poorly represented compared to other White Sea Karelian varieties; cf. the number of words from the following subdialects of White Sea Karelian: Oulanka 450, Kiestinki (incl. KiestinkiP) 6 652, Pistojärvi 2 297, Uhtua 12 070, Vuokkiniemi 9 471. In general, the presence of examples of the use of a word in KKV from one subdialect and the lack of examples from another subdialect of the same Karelian dialect should not be considered as evidence for the absence of the word in the latter. For instance, LEZ whose roots are in the southwestern part of White Sea Karelian used the word *kuappa* ‘hone, sharpening stone’, which is exemplified by KKV with one single example from KiestinkiP. Apparently, this word has been in broader use in White Sea Karelian; it just happens to occur in the material from KiestinkiP.



The semantic domain of comprehension offers another example of the co-existence and competition of verbs with different geographic distribution in Mainland Karelia; recall the explanation of observed phenomena in terms of path-dependence (i) mentioned in Section 1. Most White Sea Karelian dialects express the meaning ‘understand’ by the verb *mal(t)tua*. According to KKM (Map 204), this is the case in the varieties spoken in Kiestinki, Oulanka (apart from Vartielampi), Kieretti, Vitsataipale, and Paanajärvi parishes.<sup>96</sup> In the southwestern varieties of White Sea Karelian, in Pistojärvi, Vuokkiniemi, and Uhtua, on the other hand, the verb *ymmärtyä* prevails in the expression of ‘understand’. This verb occurs only five times in Kolvitsa material; in all pieces of data (1972, 1987, and 2017/2018) *maltua* is the predominant lexeme expressing ‘understand’.

How do these facts correlate with the descent of the language guides? *Ymmärtyä* occurs three times in the recordings from 1972: *en ymmärrä* ‘I don’t understand’ (AKA 1972), *ei ymmärtyä šuanun* ‘(she) couldn’t understand’ (MKA 1972), and *en ymmärrä* ‘I don’t understand’ (MIP 1972). MIP uses this verb also in 1987: *ei ymmärrä* ‘he does not understand’. In the interviews recorded in 2017 and 2018, *ymmärtyä* occurred once: *Vot a miun vaima, hänen vaima, ei ymmärretä karjalakši* ‘Well, my wife, his wife, they don’t understand Karelian’ (OAP 2018). MIP and OAP are Prokop’evs and the first Prokop’evs seem to have come from Pistojärvi area. The other two guides AKA and MKA have their roots in Oulanka parish which for the most part is a *maltua* area; according to KKM (Map 204), *ymmärtyä* is attested only in Vartielampi which is practically on the old (pre-1940) border with Finland. Thus, the inherited tension between *maltua* (covering most of the locations on Map 3) and *ymmärtyä* is reflected in the language usage of the inhabitants of Kolvitsa.<sup>97</sup> All consultants who used *ymmärtyä* used also *maltua*. The second clearly wins, but the first is familiar even to speakers of the youngest generation. Interestingly, all attested occurrences of this verb are in the scope of negation (‘do not, could not understand’); sensitivity to negation might be a local development, but one would need more data to prove this.

At the same time, for three of these consultants (MKA, MIP, and OAP) we cannot discount influence from Finnish in which the meaning ‘understand’ is expressed by *ymmärtää*. MKA was born in 1905 and MIP in 1910, which means that they learned Finnish in the local school. A clue in this direction is that in 1987 MIP also uses the word *joskus* ‘sometimes’ which is also likely to be borrowed from Finnish. OAP (born in 1952) belongs to a generation that has

96. KKV also presents examples from KiestinkiP, Uhtua, and Jyskyjärvi.

97. Admittedly, SSKGK presents an example of *ymmärtyä* also from Kiestinki; this does not match the distribution based on KKM and KKV.

not learned Finnish in school, but it emerged during the interview that he has Finnish acquaintances who have visited him several times, and from whom he has learned a little Finnish. It is also possible that NEG + *ymmärtyä*:CNG is a fixed expression used in conversational mimicry with strangers perceived as Finns or as educated Karelians (or foreigners) who speak a kind of finnicized Karelian.

An example of the concurrent pressures toward persistence of ancestral dialect traits and toward semantic divergence on the spot is the verbal meaning ‘work’. Kolvitsans use the verbs *ruatua* and *tyøjellä*, of which the second is more frequent in the material. Asked about the meaning difference, they associate *ruatua* with non-official (or non-regular) work, most typically with domestic work (GAB 2018); e.g. *ei še kesillä ollun meilä joutuu, meilä piti ruatua* ‘(about domestic farm work) we didn’t have time in the summer, we had to work’ (MKA 1972); *ruatua* also occurs with the word *työ* ‘work’: *että še pitäy še työ ruatua* ‘but one has to do the work’ (FSK 1972). The verb *tyøjellä*, on the other hand, usually means to work in the sense of having an official job, practicing a profession as an employee (GAB 2018); e.g. *a toatto konša predsedatelem tyøjeli* (GAB 2018), *sielä tyøjeli, sielä hän mäni miehellä* ‘when my dad worked as a chairman, she worked there and she got married there (in Kiestinki)’ (MKA 1972), *siitä tyøjeli šoferom, mašinalla* ‘then he worked as a driver, with a vehicle’ (OAP 2018). This distinction is not clear-cut, though, as *tyøjellä* is sometimes extended by contemporary speakers to private, mostly domestic and physical activities; e.g. *mieš tyøjeli pellolla, heposella, kynt’yy ... mieš toaš tyelöö pello(l)* ‘the man worked on the field, with the horse, he plowed ... the man works again on the field’ (SSA 2017). In addition, *tyøjellä* has derived the actor nominal *tyøjelijä* ‘worker’ which occurs in our material in the context of physical labour (AAG 2017).

The two lexemes display different geographic distribution in Karelian dialects. *Ruatua* occurs in all dialects (Karelian Proper [incl. Tver Karelian] and Olonets Karelian, KKV), although in the northernmost subdialects of White Sea Karelian it is challenged by *tyøjellä* which seems to be geographically very restricted.<sup>98</sup> These facts are reflected in the output of individual speakers. AEM, interviewed in 1987 by Aleksi Konkka, uses almost exclusively *ruatua*; *tyøjellä* occurs only once in the interviews. Her preference for *ruatua* has a geographical explanation. She is born in Vuonninen, which is the second southernmost

98. This is our impression based on previous fieldwork among speakers of different Karelian dialects. According to Olga Karlova (p.c.) *tyøjellä* is especially frequent in the speech of Kiestinki Karelians. KKV presents only one example of *tyøjellä* which, interestingly, is from Vuokkiniemi and not from further to the north. Neither Fedotova and Boiko (SSKGK) nor Zaikov and Rugoeva (KRS-SD) have included this verb in their dictionaries.

village from which people migrated to Kolvitsa, whereas *työjellä* is typical for the northernmost subdialects of White Sea Karelian. AEM uses *ruatua* also in the context of official employment: *ruovoin mie sen aikua kolhoosašša, no vähä* ‘at that time I also worked at the kolkhoz, but not much’ (AEM 1987). AEM raised her daughter LEZ alone because her husband was killed in WW2. In 2017 and 2018 we recorded several hours with LEZ and observed that even she uses predominantly *ruatua*, although she is born and socialized in Kolvitsa where most of the population originates from Oulanka and Kiestinki parishes where *työjellä* is commonly used. LEZ also uses *ruatua* for official employment: *kolhoosašša ruatuo, jotta elosi meille oštua* ‘she worked at the kolkhoz to buy goods for us’ (LEZ 2018), *šilloi mie kakši vuotta koulušša Kolvičašša ruovoin* ‘then I worked two years at the school in Kolvitsa’ (LEZ 2018). This is one of the few dialectal traits in the output of contemporary speakers that has resisted the cohesive force of the isolated community in the village.

The semantic domain of propositional attitude provides an example of lexical innovation. The meaning ‘guess, think, suppose’ is usually expressed in our material by the verb *duumaija* (< Rus *думать*) which conveys this meaning across Karelian language area (see KKV). However, some Kolvitsans also use the verb *tutkie* to convey this meaning; e.g. (a firsthand description of marriage negotiations between two families) *kuin työ tutkitta ... meilä olis poeka, kun teilä olis tytär* ‘What do you think, we have a boy and you have a girl’ (MIB 1972), *a siitä tutkin, a možet mie teräväh kuolen* ‘and then I thought, maybe I’ll die soon’ (LEZ 2018); *mie tutkin, että häntä polteti* ‘I guess it (the house) was burned down’ (LEZ 2017). This word occurs 15 times with this meaning, in the speech of five language guides: MIB (1972), LEZ (2017/2018), AAG (2017), GAB (2018), and OAP (2018). Interestingly, this meaning of *tutkie* is not recorded in the dictionaries; according to KKV, SSKGK, and KRS-SD, the only meaning of the verb in Karelian is ‘explore, investigate; make inquiries, find out’. Therefore, we must be dealing either with a meaning extension that has taken place in Kolvitsa, or, alternatively, in some ancestral subdialect of northern Karelian Proper, in an area small enough to remain undetected by dictionaries. Asked to explain the difference between *duumaija* and *tutkie*, GAB and LEZ said that there is no difference apart from the fact that the first is a Russian word (*ryššän šana*), the second their own Karelian word.

Such semantically interchangeable words can also be found among nouns. KKV defines the noun *termä* as a ‘bank, steep embankment of earth’ and KRS-SD as a ‘mountain(side), hill; slope’. Another word occurring in Kolvitsa data is *čokka* defined by KKV and KRS-SD as a ‘peak, top of the hill’ (recall the discussion in Section 5.1). Judging from the examples in KKV, SSKGK, and our field-observations, *termä* occurs both in the southern and northern dialects of Karelian Proper (with the probable exception of Oulanka), whereas

*čokka* is restricted to its northernmost subdialects where it has been borrowed from Sámi (cf. Kildin Sámi, Ter Sámi *tšogk-* ‘tip, edge’, Itkonen 1958a: 676a). In our material, these words co-occur, often with the same meaning. While the consultants GAB (2018) and IAM (2018) defined both as a ‘hill’, but specified that a *čokka* is smaller than a *termä*, LEZ said (in 2017 and in 2018) that there is no difference in their meaning. Her statement is corroborated by the fact that *čokka* and *termä* can be used to designate the same landscape feature of the village; e.g. *Jyrkilänčokka* and *Jyrkiläntermä* refer to the same hillock, just like *Muari(e)nčokka* and *Muari(e)ntermä* do. The geographic range of these two lexemes in Karelian Proper is reflected in the preferences of individual speakers. The consultant NAL, born in 1907 in Kiestinki, used almost exclusively the word *čokka* in 1987, whereas AEM (1987) and her daughter LEZ (2017/2018), whose roots are further in the south, in Vuonninen, used predominantly *termä*.

Larger and higher landforms are designated in Kolvitsa Karelian by the words *vuara* and *tunturi*; recall the discussion in Section 5.1. As can be seen in Table 16, both words occur in the northern dialects of Karelian Proper, where the first (occurring in somewhat larger area) refers to a high hill covered by forest, including its summit, and the second to a high hill with a barren summit or to a range of such hills (fell). Unlike the villages in Mainland Karelia from which the ancestors of Kolvitsans came, Kolvitsa is surrounded by hills of the second type. Although Kolvitsans use both words<sup>99</sup>, they seem to distinguish their meanings when they are used as common nouns. In 1972, the interviewer mentions that there are *vuara*’s around the village, and the female guide MIB immediately corrects her – *tunturikši meilä niitä šanotah* ‘They are called *tunturi* here’. Likewise, when in 2018 we asked the consultant GAB about the meaning of these words, she explained in Russian: (*vuara*) – *это большая гора* ‘this is a big hill (or mountain)’, (*tunturi*) – *это когда много гор подряд* ‘this is when you have several successive hills (or mountains)’. On the other hand, as demonstrated in Section 5.1, *vuara* and *tunturi* occur in names referring to the same landform; cf. *Kivivuara* (LEZ 2017, GAB 2017) and *Kivitunturi* (AAG), *Kotivuara* (SSA 2017) and *Kotitunturi* (MIB 1972, MKA 1972, LEZ 2017, OAP 2018), *Jelovaja vuara/Kuušivuara* (NVI 2018) and *Kuušitunturi* (LEZ 2017, GAB 2017, NVI 2018), *Okat’ivanvuara* (LVS 2017) and *Okat’ē(v)skatunturi* (GAB 2017), *Valkievuara* (LEZ 2018) and *Valkietunturi* (MIB 1972, MKA 1972, OAP 2018). This illustrates how landscape terms with different original meaning begin to duplicate each other when confronted with the specific physical environment in the new homeland. The semantic doublets discussed in this section are recapitulated in Table 16.

99. Both words occur (as generic parts of specific toponyms) in the output of LEZ (2017, 2018), AAG (2017), GAB (2017, 2018), OAP (2018), NVI (2018), and MIB (1972).

**Table 16. Words with different geographical distribution in Mainland Karelia used as near-synonyms in Kolvitsa Karelian**

Sense	Contestant lexemes		
	Distribution in northern Karelian Proper according to KKV, SSKGK, and (for the first two rows) KKM; in case of marginal occurrence, the name of the parish is in parentheses		
‘know how, be able’ (acquired ability)	<i>mahtua</i> OULANKA, KIESTINKIP, KIERETTI, PISTOJ, VITSAT, UHTUA, VUOKKIN, PAANAJ, USMANA, JYSKYJ	vs	<i>maltua</i> (KIESTINKI[P]), UHTUA, KONTOKKI
		vs	<i>šuattua</i> PISTOJ, KIESTINKI, UHTUA, VUOKKIN, KONTOKKI, JYSKYJ
‘understand’	<i>maltua</i> OULANKA, KIESTINKIP, KIERETTI, VITSAT, PAANAJ, (UHTUA), (JYSKYJ)	vs	<i>ymmärtyä</i> (OULANKA), (KIESTINKI), PISTOJ, UHTUA, VUOKKIN, KONTOKKI, JYSKYJ
‘work’	<i>ruatua</i> KIESTINKIP, KIERETTI, PISTOJ, UHTUA, VUOKKIN, HIETAJ, KONTOKKI, JYSKYJ	vs	<i>työjellä</i> ??? + KIESTINKI, VUOKKIN
‘guess, think, suppose’	<i>duumaija</i> KIESTINKIP, VITSAT, UHTUA, VUOKKIN, KONTOKKI, JYSKYJ	vs	<i>tutkie</i> ???
‘small hill’	<i>termä</i> KIESTINKIP, PISTOJ, UHTUA, VUOKKIN, KONTOKKI, JYSKYJ	vs	<i>čokka</i> ??? <sup>100</sup> + KIESTINKIP, PISTOJ
‘large hill; mountain’	<i>vuara</i> OULANKA, KIESTINKIP, KIESTINKI, KIERETTI, PISTOJ, UHTUA, VUOKKIN, KONTOKKI, JYSKYJ, PAANAJ	vs	<i>tunturi</i> KIESTINKIP, KIESTINKI, PISTOJÄRVI, UHTUA, VUOKKIN

100. KKV does not provide examples, but we have personal information that *čokka* is used also in Oulanka area.

The list in the table can be extended by semantic doublets whose relative distribution in White Sea Karelian varieties is unknown. A case in point are the nouns *mašina*, *aut(t)o*, and *kone(h)* designating ‘car; truck’; cf. *siitä työjeli šoferom, mašinalla; mašinalla i tapeutu*. ‘then he worked as a driver, on a delivery vehicle; with this vehicle he also killed himself’ (OAP 2018); *mie yhen kerran ili kakši kerta häntä sinne vein mašinalla, autolla* ‘I took her once or twice there with the car, with the automobile’ (NVI 2018); *postiautošša* ‘in the postbus’ (MKA 1972); *läkkä konehella ... mänkyä konehella, koneh vuotau* ‘Take the car, go there with the car, the car is waiting.’ (SSA 2017). *Mašina* and *aut(t)o* have international origin, the first corresponding to Russian (авто)машина, the second to Finnish *auto*, and therefore their use is unlikely to be determined by geography to the extent the use of *kone(h)* is. This word occurs in Finnish and Karelian with the meaning ‘machine’; KKV presents examples from KiestinkiP and Vuokkiniemi, and SSKGK from the present-day Kalevala District, but in none of these examples it has the meaning ‘car; vehicle’.

Words from the same derivational family may also start doubling each other. In most Karelian dialects, the word *karjalaini* (or *karjalaine*) occurs both as a noun designating ethnicity of an individual (‘a Karelian’) and as adjective (‘Karelian [e.g. wedding]’), whereas its root *karjala* means ‘Karelian language’ or ‘Karelia’ (see KKV, SSKGK, and KRS-SD). The last speakers of Kolvitsa Karelian extend, however, the root noun to the meaning ‘(ethnic) Karelian individual’: *Klava oli pahua karjalua; niin i kučuti heitä – pahat karjalat* ‘Klava was a bad Karelian; so were they (those who do not speak the language well) called – bad Karelians’ (AAG 2017); *kaikki karjalat t’iällä eletti i kaikilla oli oma pirtti* ‘only Karelians were living here and all had their own houses’ (GAB 2018). In the first example, we have the Partitive singular *karjalua* as predicative noun designating the kind to which the subject-referent belongs. The first example also contains the Nominative plural *karjala-t* ‘Karelians’, just like the second example from GAB. The word *karjala* is used in the material along the original *karjalaini* (Partitive plural *karjalasie*, Nominative plural *karjalaiset*). Such uses of *karjala* probably mirror the fact that in Russian the underived root *карел* designates exclusively an individual (‘a Karelian’) whereas the derivation *карельский* is used both as attributive adjective and a noun designating the Karelian language. By extending the meaning of the root lexeme *karjala* to ‘a Karelian’ speakers achieve isomorphism with Russian.<sup>101</sup>

101. This is attested also in Olonets Karelian; cf. *iče olen Anustu* ‘I am an Olonets Karelian’, *häi oli Sordavalua* ‘s/he was from Sortavala (lit. s/he was Sortavalian)’ (NVT, born in Ulvana in 1941; Denis Kuzmin: personal information).



The lexical meaning ‘Russian’ exemplifies a shift in the connotational meaning of certain words. Just like Finnish, the Karelian varieties spoken in Mainland Karelia use two lexical bases designating ‘Russian’ (both referring to an individual and to a property): the neutral *veña-/veñeä-/veñä-* and the negatively connotated *ryššä-* (see KKV and SSKGK). In Kolvitsa Karelian, however, *ryššä-* has expanded to the neutral domain, displacing *veñä-*. Especially in case of reference to a ‘Russian person (individual)’ occurring as a head-noun, *ryššä* has almost entirely ousted *veñäläiñe*. There are only a couple of occurrences of the latter in this function in our data, whereas *ryššä* (plural *ryššät*) is the unmarked word for an (ethnic) Russian. The predominance of this lexical base is less evident in attributive uses of ‘Russian’ as a property, where we still find the Genitive *veñäjän* (*veñäjän pomorat* ‘Russian Pomors’ and *veñäjän kieli* ‘Russian language’), more frequently however *ryššän* (*ryššän kieli* ‘Russian language’, *ryššän šanoja* ‘Russian words’, *Ryššänniemi* ‘Russian cape’). The two seem interchangeable, although we find uses with the original negative connotation of *ryššä-*; e.g. *ryššänkäsi* (lit. ‘Russian hand’) ‘awkward, inept, unskilled person’. The word *ryššä* is beginning to replace *veñäjä* even in the meaning ‘Russian language’ (e.g. *ryššä ei niken puaji* ‘nobody speaks Russian’, LEZ 2018) although the adverbial meaning (speaking) ‘in Russian’ is still dominated by *veñä-* (*veñäl’äkši*, *veñäjäkši*, *veñäjäkše* ‘in Russian language’).

In addition to the absence of a word (recall the discussion of *šuattua* and *ošata*), the absence of different spelling variants of the same word can also be thought-provoking. Two different forms of the word for ‘church’, *čerkku* (also *čirkku*, *čerkvu*) and *kirikkö*, were both expected to occur in the recordings; the first is characteristic for the northernmost White Sea Karelian dialects and the second for the dialects from Pistojärvi to the south (see the entries *tšerkkova* and *kirikkö* in KKV<sup>102</sup>). Even though many Kolvitsans stem from Pistojärvi, Vuokkiniemi, and Uhtua parishes, the reflex *kirikkö* did not occur at all in the material; language guides produced only the reflex with *č-* (e.g. *čerkussa* ‘in the church’ NAL 1987). The generalization of *čerkku* in families stemming from these parishes (e.g. in the output of LEZ and OAP), i.e. the levelling out of an inherited lexical feature, is manifestation of the cohesive forces at work in Kolvitsa. A contributing factor might also be the fact that there was no church in the village; in the absence of referent in the immediate environment that can be pointed out and talked about in Karelian, the Russian

102. This difference is even acknowledged by Karelians from different dialect areas; e.g. *meilä še on kirikkö, a pohjasen peräläiset šanou čerkku* ‘(Uhtua) we call it *kirikkö*, but those from the North say *čerkku*’ (KKV). At the same time, according to SSKGK *čerkku* is attested as far south as in Haikola, 40 km east from Uhtua.



*церковь* ‘church’ turned into a model expression for the concept, which promoted the use of the phonologically similar Russian loanword *čerkkü* to the disfavour of *kirikkö* (an old Germanic loanword).

Apart from the absence of expected geographical variant and the (frequent) presence of another, the absence of a word from the data is not very telling as such because Kolvitsa Karelian is in advanced stage of language obsolescence. Even words for very salient notions are forgotten and replaced with their Russian equivalents. We will illustrate lexical attrition with one example, but such examples can be found in every semantic domain. Our consultants do not remember the Karelian names of compass directions but instead use the Russian ones: *zapad(nyj)* ‘west(ern)’, *vostok/vostochnyj* ‘east(ern)’, *sever(nyj)* ‘north(ern)’, *yug/yuzh(nyj)* ‘south(ern)’. Most of them could not identify the Karelian words for these cardinal directions even when we articulated them.<sup>103</sup> If a compass direction was remembered, it was always the North; e.g., *tänäpeänä on pohjatuuli* (GAB 2018). In 1972 on the other hand, the speakers also remembered other directions; e.g., speaking about the burial practices in the village, the guide MIB (1972) says *ka pitäy panna koilliseh ... koilliseh päin jalat* ‘one should put them to the east ... the legs should be in an easterly direction’.<sup>104</sup> Why exactly the ‘north’ is the most persistent compass direction has yet to be studied; the answer is probably related to the functions of different winds for the fishermen in Kolvitsa Lake, Kolvitsa Bay, or on open sea.

With these examples from the vocabulary of Kolvitsa Karelian, we hope to have demonstrated the tension between inherited geographical variation, the levelling effect of the communal life in isolation from Mainland Karelia, and the language attrition in the last decades. A common outcome of these competing pressures is that certain words have become synonyms (i.e. are semantically in free variation) for some speakers. We will keep returning to these pressures and their interplay while discussing the other levels of linguistic structure in the next sections.

103. For example, SSA (2017) answered the question what *pohjañi tuuli* ‘north wind’ means by translating it as *попутный ветер* ‘fair (favourable) wind’.

104. The material does not contain Karelian names of intercardinal directions, and therefore we cannot say whether these were remembered in 1972. Unlike Germanic and Slavic languages, Finnic languages encode the intercardinal directions as basic terms, i.e. as root words, which are not derived from the cardinal directions; cf. the wind names occurring in the language of Kiestinki Karelians: *pohjani* ‘northern’ *puoliöini* ‘northeastern’, *koil(l)ini* ‘eastern’, *murkinapäivä* ‘southeastern’, *šuvi* ‘southern’, *otukšini* ‘southwestern’, *luotehini* ‘western’ and *kešpäivänlašku* ‘northwestern’.

### 5.3. Phonology and morphophonology

Overall, the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the sounds on the Kolvitsa tapes adhere to the phonological system of northern Karelian Proper. Nonetheless, some sound phenomena seem bizarre when seen against the available dialectological facts. An example is the pronunciation of the language guide NAL who was born in Kiestinki in 1907 and whose parents are from Kiestinki area (her mother is from Jelettijärvi). NAL, who otherwise does not manifest any phonetic defects, regularly produces the dental affricate *c* (*ts*) instead of the expected palato-alveolar *č* which is characteristic for all dialects of Karelian Proper (Novak et al. 2019: 74): *mentih meccäh* (instead of *meččäh*) ‘one went to the forest’, *mečikkö* (instead of *meččikkö*) ‘small forest; young forest’, *eccii* (instead of *eččii*) ‘s/he is looking for’, *eccitäh* (instead of *eččitäh*) ‘one is looking for; they are looking for’, *tarviccou* (instead of *tarviččou*) ‘s/he needs’, *kaccomah* (instead of *kaččomah*) ‘watch’, *cikko* (instead of *čikko*) ‘sister’, *simca* (instead of *simča*) ‘a hill in the area’, *kaikicci* (instead of *kaikičči*) ‘always’ (NAL 1987).

NAL’s contemporaries in Kolvitsa regularly produce the affricate *č* in these words, which rules out an influence of the Finnish learned in school: her school comrades also learned this language but produce *č*. Outside school education, Finnish influence can be related to the extensive presence of Finnish logging workers in the northern part of Karelia before the Russian Revolution. Ilmari Kianto observed that due to such contacts with Finns, voiced plosives (*g*, *b*, *d*) in inlaut had been replaced in the White Sea Karelian variety of Vuorakylä (and the neighbouring villages) in Kiestinki parish by voiceless ones (Kianto 1923: 529). While the older generation still used voiced plosives (e.g. *peldo* ‘field’), younger people produced voiceless ones (*peltto*).<sup>105</sup> But in order to prove such Finnish influence in NAL’s case, we would need attestations of the occurrence of the dental affricate instead of the palato-alveolar one in the speech of other individuals of the same generation and from the same area (e.g. from Jelettijärvi).

Russian influence is also unlikely. The occurrence of *c* instead of *č*, the so-called “cokan’e”, is indeed attested in some Russian dialects, including northern ones: e.g. *myca* instead of *myča* ‘cloud’ (see Map 45 of the Russian Dialect Atlas DARYa I). The soft cokan’e, the merger of the affricates *č* and *c* into [*č*], is common in the southern part of Kola Peninsula – in Por’ya Guba, Kandalaksha, Umba, Kashkarantsy, Olenitsa, Varzuga (Merkur’ev 1962: 15–19); e.g. Varzuga *kolčja* ‘rings’, *večno* ‘eternal(ly)’, cf. standard Russian *кольца, вечно* (Post 2004: 77). But this is not sufficient evidence for Russian

105. Kianto observed the use of such strongly finnicized Karelian (“a remarkably pure Finnish”) also in Kuntikylä (Rus *Kundozero*) in Oulanka parish which is among the departure points of migration to Kolvitsa (see Table 7 above) (Kianto 1923: 386).

influence in Kolvitsa Karelian. If the local Russians pronounced *č* instead of *č̣*, one would expect to observe this pronunciation also among other Kolvitsa Karelians (from NAL's or other generations), an expectation which is not borne out by the data. We have no information about the Russian spoken in Kiestinki in the beginning of the 20th century, but Karelian texts from the Kiestinki area display regular *č* in these words (see NKK: 36–81). Again, if Russians in the area had pronounced *c* instead of *č*, one would expect to observe this pronunciation also among other speakers of Kiestinki Karelian.<sup>106</sup>

The explanation must be somehow related to NAL's individual biography. She does not speak in detail about her family history, but it is possible that she has spent some time in Finland in the 1920s with her parents, at an age when she was vulnerable to phonetic influences. It is not surprising that during the interview she does not mention such an episode in her biography; she was interviewed in 1987, at a time in which a citizen of the Soviet Union would still keep quiet about such visits to Finland when talking to strangers.

Phenomena restricted to the newest data from 2017 and 2018, on the other hand, can all be relegated either to the influence of Russian or to the general erosion of the phonetic and phonological system of Kolvitsa Karelian. An example of the first is the reproduction of the Russian central vowel [i] (UPA [i]) in otherwise morphologically adapted loanwords. This vowel, which is foreign to the inherited Karelian vowel inventory, is frequently attested in Russian verb loans with the prefix *вы-* (expressing completion, fulfillment, and movement outwards); e.g. *hän vibiraiči* 'he chose' (AAG 2017; cf. *он выбирал*), *hyö milma aina vīručaitih* 'they always helped me out' (AAG 2017; cf. *они всегда выручали меня*), *žurnaloja vipisivaiči* 'she ordered magazines' (LEZ 2017; cf. *журналы выписывала*).

An example of occasional confusion signalling the erosion of the original phonological system of Karelian and the impending language shift is the word *tiineh* in *nyt on tiineh* 'now (the weather) is still, silent', which was produced by SSA (2017) instead of the expected White Sea Karelian *tyyñi* 'still, silent' (see KKV and SSKGK). This form of the word for 'still, calm' does not fit into the inherited Karelian vocabulary, in which *tiineh* means 'pregnant (animal)'. The reason SSA produced this form, and – as we drew her attention to this – insisted on it, has probably to do with the fact that Russian does not have the phoneme [ü], and in the lack of practice in Karelian, she might be confusing the two words. Another example suggesting that the phonemic competence of the last native speakers of Kolvitsa Karelian is not intact anymore is the occasional weakening of [k] into a fricative. SSA produced *viha*

106. We should also note that hundred years ago the vast majority of the population of Kiestinki parish was linguistically Karelian, and that it is unlikely that a small minority of Russians would have influenced the phonological system of the local Karelian variety.

instead of *vika* ‘fault, flaw’ (*pikkaraiñe viha* ‘small fault’ 2017) and NVI *mahea* instead of *makie* ‘tasty’ (*poron lihu očėń, oike(i)n mahea* ‘the meat of reindeer is very, very tasty’). Such inconsistencies are invoked by differences between the sound systems of Karelian and Russian. The Karelian glottal [h] is different from the Russian velar [x] which is closer to the place of articulation of Karelian [k]. The attempt to reconcile, or, on the contrary, to keep separate the sound inventories of the two languages, leads to such lapses in Karelian which nowadays is the less active language for our bilingual consultants.

Kolvitsa Karelian also features unexpected phenomena at the junction of phonology and morphology. Karelian Proper has one of the most complex qualitative consonant gradation systems in Finnic. We will first discuss one gradation type for which we have more evidence, and after that present the other types together.

Unlike standard Finnish and Olonets Karelian, the dialects of Karelian Proper (both southern and the northern) exhibit a regular *st/št : ss/šš* alternation in stem-inlaut: *laštu* chip.NOM.SG : *laššut* chip.NOM.PL, *opaštuo* learn:INF : *opaššun* learn:IND.PRS.ISG (Zaikov 1987: 31, 33; Zaikov 2002: 27, 33, 35; KKM: map 64).<sup>107</sup> But in Kolvitsa Karelian data the inflectional gradation of single-stemmed verbs with this consonant cluster is not entirely regular. In Karelian Proper, the first and the third infinitive (and further non-finite forms based on them), the third person singular (present and past) and the first and second person plural past Indicative, as well as all non-2SG Imperative forms, manifest the strong grade *-st-* in this type of verbs. First and second person singular and plural present and singular past Indicative forms of the verb, the 2SG Imperative, and the Impersonal (present, past, and participial) forms, on the other hand, exhibit the weak grade *-ss-* or *-šš-* (KKM: map 64). Table 17 below presents verb forms in our data which exhibit an inflection diverging from this qualitative gradation system. In almost all cases of deviation from the system, the strong grade in *-st-* appeared instead of the weak in *-ss-/-šš-*; these cases are presented in the table. The data contained only one instantiation of the opposite – a weak grade instead of the strong grade: *iššuiima* sit:IND.PST.IPL ‘we were sitting’ (AKA 1972) instead of the regular strong grade *istuima* (see Zaikov 1987: 102–103). This means that Kolvitsans tend to extend the strong alternant to the inflectional domain of the weak alternant, and not the other way around (i.e. they tend to raise the qualitative grade and not to lower it).<sup>108</sup>

107. Only some southernmost varieties of southern Karelian Proper which border Olonets Karelian do not always manifest this alternation (e.g. eastern Suojärvi, eastern Suistamo: *musta : mustat*; Novak et al. 2019: 133).

108. The verb *issuttua* in the table is a slightly different case. The sibilant geminate is not subject to gradation in this verb (i.e. *-ss-/-šš-* does not alternate with *-st-*), but

Table 17. Abnormal strong grade in verb inflection: *st* instead of *ss/šš*<sup>109</sup>

Verb (first infinitive)	Grammatical gloss	Expected weak grade	Unexpected strong grade
<i>paistua</i> 'bake, roast'	IND.PRS.3PL	<i>paissetah</i> (LEZ 2018)	<i>paistetah</i> (MAA 1972)
	IND.PST.3PL	<i>paissettih</i> (SSA 2107)	<i>paistettih</i> (SSA 2017)
<i>pöläštyö</i> 'get scared'	IND.PST.ISG	<i>pöläššyin</i> (SSA 2017; MKA 1972)	<i>pöläštyin</i> (SSA 2017)
<i>muistua</i> 'remember'	NEG.ISG	<i>en muissa/muišša</i> (AKA 1972; MKA 1972; MAK 1972; LEZ 2017; 2018; OAP 2018; NVI 2018)	<i>en muista</i> (AKA 1972; MAA 1972; NVI 2018)
	IND.PRS.CNG		
<i>oštua</i> 'buy'	IND.PRS.3PL	<i>oššetah</i>	<i>oštetah</i> (AKA 1972)
	IMPS.PST.PTCP	<i>oššettu</i> (AKA 1972)	<i>oštettu</i> (MIB 1972)
<i>istuo</i> 'sit'	IND.PST.ISG	<i>issun</i>	<i>istun</i> (AKA 1972)
	IND.PRS.2SG	<i>issut/iššut</i> (AKA 1972; LEZ 2018; OAP 2018)	<i>istut</i> (LEZ 2018)
	IND.PRS.3PL	<i>issutah/iššutah</i> (LEZ 2018; FSK 1972)	<i>istutah</i> (FSK 1972)
	IND.PST.3PL	<i>issuttih</i> (AAG 2017; LEZ 2018; AKA 1972; MKA 1972)	<i>istuttih</i> (LEZ 2018)
<i>eloistua</i> 'play'	IND.PRS.3PL	<i>eloissetah</i>	<i>eloistetah</i> (MAA 1972)
<i>issuttua</i> 'invite to sit'	IND.PRS.3SG	<i>iššuttau</i> (FSK 1972)	<i>istuttau</i> (FSK 1972)
<i>aštuo</i> 'pace, walk'	IND.PRS.ISG	<i>aššun</i> (SSA 2017)	<i>aštun</i> (MKA 1972)

FSK produces the strong form probably by analogy with verbs with similar structure, i.e. with stems displaying this alternation on the border of the first and the second syllable.

109. The forms in grey were expected but did not occur in the data.

It is not quite clear what triggers the deviant inflections presented in the right-most column of the table. In many cases the same grammatical form of a verb occurs both in the expected weak grade and in the abnormal strong grade. Moreover, often the same speaker produces once the weak alternant and another time the strong alternant: cf. *paissettih* and *paistettih* (SSA 2017), *pöläššyin* and *pöläštyin* (SSA 2017), *en muissa* and *en muista* (AKA 1972; NVI 2018), *issut* and *istut* (LEZ 2018), *iššutah* and *istutah* (FSK 1972), *issuttih* and *istuttih* (LEZ 2018), and *iššuttau* and *istuttau* (FSK 1972). This means that the decay of the gradation system is synchronically manifested within an idiolect. The phenomenon occurs both in the language of full speakers (as AKA and FSK in 1972) as well as in the output of semi-speakers (NVI 2018), and thus does not seem to correlate with language attrition, at least not in an obvious way. Influence from Finnish, which features invariably *-st-* in this environment, cannot be proven because the phenomenon is attested both by speakers who have learned Finnish in school (most of the individuals interviewed in 1972) and by those who have not (those interviewed in 2017/2018). More importantly, it is also missing from the output of speakers from both groups. Furthermore, the distribution in Table 17 does not suggest that only specific paradigm slots are sensitive to the strong alternant *-st-*; we see forms in different person, tense, and polarity affected by the phenomenon.

We should note, however, that fluctuation in this type of gradation is not unprecedented in Karelian dialects, and the situation in Karelian Proper must be more variegated than map 64 of KKM displays. The largest dictionary of Karelian (KKV) contains forms from different dialects of Karelian Proper or its offspring (Tihvin, Valdai, and Tver Karelian), which are expected to exhibit the weak grade, but occur in the strong one. In this dictionary we examined the verb entries in Table 17 for such inconsistency and found the following pairs of examples: cf. Tihvin *pöläššyin* startle:PST:1SG (expected) and Tunkua *pöläštyit* startle:PST:2SG (unexpected), Vuokkiniemi *issut* sit:PRS.2SG (expected) and Suojärvi *istut* sit:PRS.2SG (unexpected).<sup>110</sup> Thus, the dictionary data re-

110. According to Olga Karlova (personal communication), there are almost no exceptions to the gradation *st/št* : *ss/šš* in Karelian Proper and its offspring varieties (Border Karelian and Tver Karelian dialects), even though newer loanwords from Finnish tend to be excluded from it (e.g. *yliopistossa* ‘in the university’, *šanaštošša* ‘in the vocabulary’). Some of the unexpected forms in KKV can be explained in terms of language contact or migration. The speakers of the Suojärvi variety of southern Karelian Proper, for example, are probably descendents of Olonets Karelians who migrated from adjacent areas in the 17th century, and who did not have this gradation in their language.

veals vacillation, but on a large geographical scale; KKV did not contain such minimal pairs within the data from the same parish, adjacent parishes, or even within the same subdialect group of Karelian Proper. This is in stark contrast to our findings in Kolvitsa Karelian where the vacillation is observable within an idiolect.

What motivates the generalization of the strong and not of the weak grade in *st-* : *ss-/šš-* verbs? A plausible explanation is that the consonant cluster is more distinct and morphotactically transparent and thus more recognizable than the geminate, and therefore tends to be overused by Kolvitsa Karelians. Table 18 presents cases of such gradation failure elsewhere in the qualitative consonant gradation system. In other gradation types, the preference for the strong grade is also well pronounced. Here we observe ten “erroneous” forms based on the strong stem variant instead of the weak one, and three forms in which the weak alternant occurs instead of the strong one. The expected (regular) forms are amply attested in the material, even in the material from 2017/2018<sup>III</sup>, which suggests that the irregular forms in the table are not yet conventionalized in Kolvitsa Karelian. Unlike in the type *st* : *ss/šš*, here the deviant forms occur only in the output of the last speaker generation recorded in 2017/2018, which indicates that the phenomenon is conditioned by language death. In particular, these forms contribute to the decrease of paradigmatic complexity, making the inflection morphotactically more transparent and agglutinative (Kehayov 2017: 13).

Let us briefly discuss each form in Table 18. The expected first and second person simple past Indicative forms of *nähä* ‘see’ are *näin* ‘I saw’, *näit* ‘you saw’, *näkimä* ‘we saw’, *näittä* ‘you (pl.) saw’ (KKV; Zaikov 2000: 32, 68–69, 78–79), but in Kolvitsa Karelian a weak grade with the labiodental fricative

III. For example: *näki* IND.PRS.3SG (LEZ 2017; 2018), *näkisin* COND:1SG (AAG 2017), *ruuvat* NOM.PL (LEZ 2018), *poikki jovešta* ‘across the river’ ELA.SG (LEZ 2018), *jovelла* ADE.SG (LVS 2017), *joven takuana* ‘on the other side of the river’ GEN.SG (LEZ 2017), *jovessa* INE.SG (OAP 2018), *jalan alta satu (lapši)* ‘a child born from occasional relationship’ GEN.SG (AAG 2017), *pität* NOM.PL (LEZ 2017; NVI 2018), *rupeän* IND.PRS:1SG (SSA 2017), *rupet* IND.PRS:2SG (LEZ 2018), *rupietko* IND.PRS:2SG=Q (SSA 2017), *en rupi(e)* NEG:1SG CNG.PRS (SSA 2017; LEZ 2018; OAP 2018), *rupeu* IND.PRS.3SG (AAG 2017; SSA 2017), *rupie* IND.PRS.3SG (SSA 2017), *rupeam(m)ä* IND.PRS:1PL (AAG 2017; SSA 2017; LEZ 2018), *Ummašša* INE.SG (GAB 2017), *Umman* GEN.SG (LEZ 2018), *Puolilampi* NOM.SG (SSA 2017), *šovan* GEN.SG (AAG 2017; LEZ 2018; OAP 2018), *šovasta* ELA.SG (AAG 2017), *pyyvetäh* IND.PRS:3PL (LEZ 2018), *pyyvetih* IND.PST:3PL (SSA 2017; LEZ 2017; 2018; GAB 2018), *täil’lä* ALL.SG (SSA 2017), *täin* GEN.SG (SSA 2017), *rannašša* INE.SG (AAG 2017), *rannaлла* ADE.SG (AAG 2017), *rannanta* ELA.SG (GAB 2018).



Table 18. Irregular qualitative consonant gradation in other environments

Type	Verbal meaning	Irregular strong grade		
		Grammatical gloss	Attested form	Regular form
<i>k : v</i>	‘food’	GEN.SG	<i>ruokan</i> (AAG 2017)	<i>ruuvan</i>
	‘river’	ELA.SG	<i>Muššašta jokišta</i> (GAB 2018)	<i>jovešta</i>
<i>lk : l</i>	‘leg; foot’	GEN.SG	<i>jalkan</i> (SSA 2017)	<i>jalan</i>
<i>tk : t</i>	‘long’	NOM.PL	<i>pitkät</i> (LVS 2017; NVI 2018)	<i>pität</i>
<i>mb : mm</i>	‘Umba’	INE.SG	<i>Umbašša</i> (OAP 2018)	<i>Ummašša</i>
<i>t : v</i>	‘war’	GEN.SG	<i>šotan</i> (LEZ 2017)	<i>šovan</i>
		INE.SG	<i>šotašša</i> (NVI 2018)	<i>šovašša</i>
	‘catch’	IND.PRS.3PL	<i>pyydäh</i> (OAP 2018)	<i>pyyvetäh</i>
<i>t : j/∅</i>	‘aunt’	ALL.SG	<i>tät’illä</i> (SSA 2017)	<i>täill’ä</i>
<i>nt : nn</i>	‘shore’	INE.SG	<i>rantašša</i> (OAP 2018)	<i>rannašša</i>
<b>Irregular weak grade</b>				
<i>k : v</i>	‘see’	IND.PST.3SG	<i>nävi</i> (LEZ 2018)	<i>näki</i>
<i>p : v</i>	‘begin’	IND.PRS.1SG	<i>ruven</i> (LEZ 2018)	<i>rupien</i>
<i>mp : mm</i>	‘pond’	NOM.SG	<i>Puolilammi</i> (NVI 2018)	<i>Puoli-lampi</i>

has been generalized: *nävin* ‘I saw’ (GAB 2018; LEZ 2018; OAP 2018), *nävimə* ‘we saw’ (LEZ 2018); the forms *näin*, *näit* etc. do not occur at all in 2017/2018 data. It is possible that the *v*-inflections are analogical formations based on the weak stem of the corresponding reflexive verb *näkyö* ‘be seen’; cf. *nävyingö* PRS:1SG=Q ‘Can I be seen?’ (Tunkua, KKV), *ei nävy* NEG.3SG PRS.CNG ‘it can’t be seen’ (MKA 1972). This analogical extension contributes to the cohesion of the language on the spot, and respectively, to its drifting apart from its ancestor varieties in Mainland Karelia. As can be seen in the table, the generalized stem *nävi-* is also occasionally extended to the third person singular, thus overriding the gradation rule.

The gradation *tk : t* is typical for Karelian Proper, and it is also regular in Kolvitsa Karelian (*pitkä : pität*, *matka : matašša* MIB 1972), unlike in Olonets Karelian, where this consonant cluster does not undergo gradation

(*matka* : *matkan*) (Zaikov 1987: 32; Zaikov 2002: 34).<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the strong grade in *jäniksellä ollah pitkät* (NOM.PL) *korvat* ‘the hare has long ears’ (LVS 2017) cannot be genealogically or geographically conditioned, but must be an instantiation of paradigmatic levelling and the result of analogy. The same is true for the type *t* : *v* which is characteristic for the entire Karelian Proper with the exception of its southernmost varieties (cf. Suojärvi *sodas* INE.SG ‘in the war’ KKV). In the verb type *pyytyä*, *löytää* (see Section 5.4 for discussion of its inflection) this kind of gradation occurs across Karelian Proper. Only in Olonets Karelian we find forms like the one in Table 18 (produced by a semi-speaker); e.g. Tulemajärvi *pyytäh* ‘they are catching; one is catching’ (KKV) and Tulemajärvi *löytäh* ‘they are finding; one is finding’ (Zaikov 2000: 84). The same could be said about *täti* ‘aunt’; in the weak grade of this word, the dental plosive is attested further to the north in the Karelian dialect area – in the southern dialect of Karelian Proper (e.g. Paatene *täd’il\_luo* ‘to the aunt’ KKV) –, but White Sea Karelian knows no exception to the deletion of the consonant. The gradation *t* : *j*/∅ is characteristic also for Kolvitsa, e.g. *täin kera* ‘with the aunt’ (SSA 2017), and therefore the exceptional form in Table 18 (also produced by SSA) must be related to paradigmatic levelling in language attrition.

Occasional analogical coinages are also *ruokan*, *jalkan*, and *rantašša*; here the entire Karelian dialect area (except from Lude which lacks qualitative gradation) features plosiveless forms. The verb *ruveta* ‘begin’, which manifests here a weak grade in the 1SG Indicative (*konše mie ruven ruatamah, miula kirves tässä* ‘when I start working, I have an axe with me’ LEZ 2018) instead of the expected strong grade, belongs to the class of the so-called contracted verbs (Fi *supistumaverbit*) and has a uniform pattern of consonant gradation across Karelian dialects. The weak grade in *-v-* occurs e.g. in the first infinitive, in the third person plural present and past Indicative forms (which are homonymic with the present and simple past Impersonal forms), and in the second person plural Imperative. The strong grade occurs e.g. in the third infinitive, in all other personal Indicative forms of the verb (affirmative and negative), and in 2SG Imperative. Exceptions to this system are attested, but only far in the south: e.g. the weak grade in Tihvin Karelian *ruvemma* IND.1PL (Zaikov 2000: 66) instead of the expected *rupiemma*, or the strong grade in southern Karelian Proper (Paatene) *rubettih* IND.3PL (KKV) instead of the expected *ruvettih*. By extending one of the variants (the weak or the strong grade variant) beyond its original domain, speakers of endangered Karelian varieties are shifting *ruveta* ‘begin’ to a simpler inflectional type.

112. The Border Karelian dialects align with the neighbouring Olonets Karelian in this respect (see Novak et al. 2019: 132).

The forms *Muššaštajokišta* ‘from the Black River’, *Umbašša* ‘in Umba’, and *Puolilammi* ‘Halfpond (NOM)’ can be explained by the fact that they are proper names and therefore are (sometimes) accessed holistically and not analytically as the common nouns from which they are derived or which they contain. The gradation types occurring in these underlying common nouns (*k : v*, *mb : mm* and *mp : mm*) know no exception in the Karelian language area (except from Lude). We cannot claim yet that these place names have diverged or have been excluded from the respective gradation types as their regular versions occur in the material; see *Muššallajovella* (SSA 2017), *Ummašša* (GAB 2017), *Puolilampi* (SSA 2017).

The exceptions from the gradation rules discussed in this section should be seen as evidence that the qualitative consonant gradation system is losing its regularity. Novak (2019: 242–243) observes similar reduction of the consonant gradation system in Tver Karelian dialects, but she goes further in presenting stems and entire stem types that have been excluded from the gradation system.<sup>113</sup> The evidence from Kolvitsa Karelian does not suffice to claim that the system is losing its productivity and declining as a whole; we only observe irregular rule-application by individual speakers, obviously due to insufficient exercise, which can lead to words shifting to simpler inflectional classes. Further examples of such hesitation are unique coinages, which look like instantiations of consonant gradation, but are not. The semi-speaker OAP, for example, produced the Nominative form *virva* ‘current’ instead of *virta* ‘current’: *i šielä očeñ šuuri virva, konša vesi lankeu* ‘and there is a strong current there during the ebb tide’ (OAP 2018). The consonant cluster *-rv-* in this form is not a result of generalization of the weak grade, because the weak alternant of *-rt-* in this word is *-rr-* (*virta : virrašša* ‘in the current’). If we assume occasional analogy here, its source must be in another lexical item; e.g. the speaker may have been influenced by the inflection of the structurally similar word *virpa* ‘willow twig’ which features the alternation *rp : rv* (e.g. Genitive *virvan*). Thus, OAP produces here an entirely new, previously non-existent gradation pattern, based on analogy with another word.

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113. According to Novak et al. (2019: 133) also other dialects of Karelian Proper as well as Olonets Karelian provide evidence for the decrease of the productivity of qualitative gradation, whereas quantitative gradation remains generally intact. It seems, thus, that quantitative gradation is more resistant to attrition than qualitative gradation.

## 5.4. Morphology

In this section, we discuss stem and suffix allomorphy in the inflectional system of Kolvitsa Karelian in relation to other Karelian varieties, as well as morphological redundancy, analogy, and morphological calqueing from Russian.

Karelian has two plural markers for nominal case forms other than the Nominative and Genitive: *-i* (*-j*) and *-loi/-löi*. Which pluralizer occurs depends on the phonotactic characteristics of the word: the final sound of its stem, the number of syllables, and the case marking. Prescriptive grammars of Karelian Proper (e.g. Zaikov 1987: 43; Zaikov 2002: 49) ascribe the *-loi/-löi* plural to stems with the following characteristics:

- Two-syllabic stems ending in *-o*, *-ö*, *-u*, *-ü*, *-i*, and possibly (according to Zaikov 1987: 43) also *-ie*.<sup>114</sup>
- Monosyllabic stems ending in a diphthong whose second component is *-i* (*täi-löi-llä* ‘of/on the lice’).

The dialects of Karelian Proper differ slightly in this respect. Its southern dialects use *-loi/-löi* also after other diphthongs in monosyllabic stems (e.g. *yö* ‘night’ > PL.PART *yöllöi*; see Novak et al. 2019: 184)<sup>115</sup>, but its northern dialects generally follow the rules described above.

In all other cases, the pluralizer *-i* (*-j*) is used; e.g. *šana* ‘word’ > *šano-i-ssa* ‘in words’, *voate* ‘cloth’ > *vuatte-i-h* ‘in (ILL) the clothes’, *kainalo* ‘armpit’ > *kainalo-i-ssa* ‘in (under) the armpits’.

The pluralizer *-loi/-löi* is both distributionally and formally marked in relation to *-i* (*-j*). Apart from being phonotactically more restricted, it is longer and in fact contains *-i* (*-j*) as its auslaut. Receding languages tend to lose marked grammatical forms and replace them with unmarked ones (see Kehayov 2017: 14 for an overview), and the material from Kolvitsa provides evidence for the gradual suppression of *-loi/-löi* and its substitution with the shorter morpheme *-i* (*-j*). In Table 19, the occurrence of the pluralizer *-loi/-löi* in the material from 1972 and 1987 is compared with its occurrence in

114. According to KKM (map 117) *-loi/-löi* occurs on *-ie* stems (*kondie-loi* ‘bears.PART’) in the southern dialect of Karelian Proper, whereas northern Karelian Proper uses only the pluralizer *-i* in such stems (e.g. *konde-i-da*).

115. Accordingly, older grammars of Karelian Proper (e.g. Bubrih’s grammar from 1937 and Anisimov’s from 1939) accept *-loi/-löi* after other diphthongs too; e.g. *mua* ‘land, earth’ > PL.PART *mualoja*, PL.ILL *mualoih* (Novak et al. 2019: 185–186).

our recordings from 2017 and 2018.<sup>116</sup> As we demonstrated in Table 5 (in Section 3), our corpus from 2017 and 2018 is more than three times larger than all earlier recordings in total. Table 19 below shows, however, that *-loi/-löi* is much more frequent in 1972/1987 data than in ours, both in terms of tokens (number of occurrences of this suffix) and types. The types in the table are defined in relation to the number of lexemes on which *-loi/-löi* plural is attested, the length and auslaut of the stem, the case in which the word occurs, and the parts of speech on which the pluralizer is attested.

The total number of occurrences (tokens) of the long pluralizer *-loi/-löi* in 1972/1987 data is two and a half times higher than in the 2017/2018 data despite the reverse difference in size between these data collections. Furthermore, in 1972/1987 data we have three and a half times more lexemes attested with this pluralizer than in 2017/2018 data. In the data from 1972/1987 *-loi/-löi* frequently occurs on relatively recent Russian loans: *vjrodno-loi-ta*, *slučai-lo-ita/slučiči-loi-ta*, *pretensi-löi*, *blisko-loi-ta*, *všakko-loi-ta*, *makasinnoi-loi-ta*, *neobhodimo-loi*, *miestno-loi-ta*, *int'eresno-loi-ta*, *starinno-loi-ta*, *lesapun(k)ti-loi-l*, *karafešalli-loi-lla*, *raasno-loi-ta*, *znajuššo-loi-ta*. Interestingly, in all cases but *lesapun(k)ti-loi-l* and *karafešalli-loi-lla* we have Partitive forms. Such forms can be expected in the southern dialects of Karelian Proper, but not in its northern dialects where the short pluralizer *-i (-j)* is used in the Partitive case (Novak et al. 2019: 201–202). The reason for the occurrence of such forms in our data is probably related to the fact that the Russian source words (mostly adjectives) contain a high vowel in the auslaut, which is not distinguishable from the Karelian short pluralizer *-i (-j)*; cf. *двоюродной* ‘first cousin’, *случай* ‘occasion’, *претензия* ‘claim, pretension’, *близкий* ‘close, approximate’, *всякий* ‘varying’, *магазинный* ‘of a store’, *необходимый* ‘necessary’, *местный* ‘local’, *интересный* ‘interesting’, *разный* ‘different; diverse’, *знающий* ‘knowledgeable’. This way, the long pluralizer *-loi/-löi* disambiguates the word form as Partitive, a function which the short pluralizer cannot fulfil.<sup>117</sup>

In the 1972/1987 data, *-loi/-löi* is found on all possible stem-final vowels mentioned in prescriptive grammars. Most of the occurrences are two-syllabic words ending in the following vowels:

116. The occurrences from 1987 are conflated in Table 19 with those from 1972 because the material recorded in 1987 is too small to serve as an object of comparison on its own.

117. There is only one Partitive form of an inherited Karelian word containing the pluralizer *-loi/-löi* in the material: *piippu-loi-ja ennen poltettih* ‘earlier people used to smoke pipe-PL-PART’ (MAK 1972).

- o: *verkko-loi-lla* ‘with fishnets’ MIP 1972, MAA 1972; *ukko-loi-lta* ‘from the old men’ AKA 1972; *poro-loi-lla* ‘with/on reindeer’ AKA 1972, MKA 1972; *tuatto-loi-lla* ‘of fathers’ FSK 1972; *blisko-loi-ta* ‘close:PART (relatives)’ FSK 1972; *vsakkoloita* ‘all\_kinds\_of:PART’ FSK 1972; *omilla tielo-loi-lla* ‘with his own businesses’ FSK 1972; *miestno-loi-ta* ‘locals:PART (local people)’ MKA 1972; *talo-loi-ssa* ‘in the houses’ MKA 1972, NAL 1987; *raasno-loi-ta* ‘different\_ones:PART’ NAL 1987.
- ö: *kalanpyyntö-löi-ssä* (compound) ‘in fishing (activities)’ MIB 1972.
- u: *laulu-loi-ssa* ‘in songs’ MIB 1972; *hlamu-loi-ssa* ‘in rags’ FSK 1972; *šormu-loi-ssa*<sup>118</sup> ‘in rings (jewelry)’ MKA 1972; *piippu-loi-ja* ‘pipes:PART’ MAK 1972.
- y: *ryyppy-löi-h* ‘into the shot glasses’ FSK 1972; *synty-löi-š* ‘in the *syntys* (mythological creatures)’ FSK 1972.
- i (incl. -ai): *pertti-löi-ssä* ‘in cabins’ AKA 1972; (compound) *metsäpirtti-löi-l* ‘in forest cottages’ NAL 1987; *shuučai-loi-ta* ‘occasions:PART’ AKA 1972, *shuuči-loi-ta* ‘occasions:PART’ NAL 1987; *sill’i-löi-ssä* ‘in (the activity of fishing) herrings’ FSK 1972; *vell’i-löi-llä* ‘of brothers’ FSK 1972, MKA 1972; *šuari-loi-ssa* ‘in the islands’ NAL 1987; *riihi-löi-h* ‘into the grain-drying cabins’ NAL 1987; *tanši-loi-lla* ‘at/to dances’ NAL 1987; *koti-loi-ssa* ‘at homes’ AEM 1987.

The words consisting of three or more syllables and thus deviating from the above-mentioned grammar prescriptions are with one exception all Russian loans. The stems of these words end in:

- o(i): *vjrodno-loi-ta* ‘native/own:PART’ (cf. NOM *vjrodnoi*) MIB 1972; *makasinnoi-loi-ta* ‘store(ADJ):PART’ FSK 1972; *neobhodimo-loi* ‘necessary:PART’ (cf. NOM *neobhodimoi*) MKA 1972; *interesno-loi-ta* ‘interesting:PART’ (cf. NOM *interesnoi*) MAK 1972; *raasno-loi-ta* ‘different:PART’ (cf. NOM *raasnoi*) NAL 1987; *znajuššo-loi-ta* ‘knowledgeable:PART’ (cf. NOM *znajuššoi*) NAL 1987.
- i: *pretensi-löi* ‘claim:PART’ FSK 1972; *lesapun(k)ti-loi-l* ‘to the logging depots’ NAL 1987; *karafేశalli-loi-lla* ‘with a shawl (of coarse canvas)’ (cf. Rus *каразейная шаль*).
- a: *starinno-loi-ta* ‘old\_time\_stories:PART’ (cf. NOM *starina*, KKV); *kit’i-löi-neh katti-loi-neh* ‘with all kinds of pots and stuff’ (MAK 1972).

118. The word *šormus* ‘ring’ (Genitive *šormukše-n*, plural Nominative *šormukše-t*, Partitive *šormuš-ta*) ends in a consonant, but this consonant is omitted before the pluralizer is added. This does not seem to be a productive inflectional operation as we are not aware of other forms of this word based on a vowel-ending stem. The form is

As for case marking, the 1972/1987 data contains *-loi/-löi* plural forms in the Adessive (*pyytih kaloja verkko-loi-lla* ‘fish were caught with nets’ MIP 1972, *entišillä ukko-loi-lla* ‘the former old men (had)’ MKA 1972, etc.) and in the Allative which formally coincides with the Adessive (*illalla läksi tanši-loi-lla* ‘s/he went dancing [lit. to dances] in the evening’ NAL 1987). Further case forms in the 1972/1987 data compatible with this pluralizer are the Inessive (*kalanpyyntö-löi-ššä kulkima* ‘we were regularly fishing’ etc.), the Partitive (almost exclusively with Russian loanwords: *šanelo i starinno-loi-ta* ‘[s/he] was also telling stories from the past’ NAL 1987), the Illative (*moršiemien ryyppy-löi-h pannah rahua* ‘one is putting money into the shot glasses of the bride’ FSK 1972 etc.), the Ablative (*kysytäh ukko-loi-lta* ‘one asks the old men [lit. from the old men]’ AKA 1972), and the Comitative (*kiit’i-löi-ñeh kattilo-ñeh* ‘with all kinds of pots and stuff’ MAK 1972). In the 1972/1987 material, this pluralizer is attested not only on nouns but also on adjectives, both attributive (*blisko-loi-ta rodnie* ‘close:PART relatives:PART’ FSK 1972; *všakko-loi-ta hlamuja* ‘all\_kinds\_of:PART rags:PART’ FSK 1972) and predicative (*oli niitä raasno-loi-ta* ‘they were different\_kinds-PART’ NAL 1987).

In the data from 2017/2018, the long pluralizer displays more restricted occurrence, both in terms of token and type. From the stem-final vowels only the most frequent in 1972/1987 data co-occur with the *-loi/-löi* plural in the speech of contemporary speakers; these are *-o* (*poro-loi-lla* ‘on reindeer’ LEZ 2017, LEZ 2018, AAG 2017, SSA 2017; *verko-loi-lla* ‘with fishnets’ SSA 2017; *talo-loi-ssa* ‘in the houses’, *talo-loi-h* ‘into the houses’ LEZ 2018) and *-i* (*šukši-loi-lla* ‘on/with skis’ LEZ 2017; *talvi-loi-lla* ‘in winters’ LEZ 2018; *järvi-löi-llä* ‘at the lakes’; *vesi-loi-ssa* ‘in the waters’ LEZ 2017; *joki-loi-sta* ‘from the rivers’ LEZ 2018; *vuoši-loi-ssa* ‘in (these) years’ LEZ 2018). Just like in the data from 1972/1987 (see *kattiloñeh* above), in 2017/2018 we observed only one inherited three-syllabic word with this pluralizer (*kaupunki-loi-sta* ‘from the towns’ LEZ 2018). *-loi/-löi* seems to have lost its productivity in various other aspects too. This pluralizer seems to be compatible in 2017/2018 only with local cases; there are no Partitive forms in the data. Likewise, we found neither Russian loans nor adjectives with *-loi/-löi* in 2017/2018 data. Obviously, Russian loans are not adapted to the extent that they would accept less productive, distributionally marked inflectional suffixes. This loss of productivity of *-loi/-löi* is evidenced by the recurrence of certain forms against overall low token and type frequency: eight from the twenty occurrences of this pluralizer were attested on the form *poro-loi-lla* ‘on/with reindeer’.

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symptomatic, though, because its generalization would transfer the word into a more common and simpler inflectional class (Genitive *šormu-n*, plural Partitive *šormu-t*, Partitive *šormu-a*).



Table 19. Frequency and productivity of the pluralizer *-loi/-löi*

Token	Type		Length & auslaut of the stem	Case (N)	Parts of speech
	N occurrences of <i>-loi/-löi</i>	N lexemes occurring with <i>-loi/-löi</i>			
1972/ 1987	49	35	two-syllabic & ending in <i>-o, -ö -u, -ü, -i</i> three-or-more-syllabic & ending in <i>-o(i), -i, -a</i>	ADE (14) ALL (= ADE) (4) INE (12) PART (14) ILL (3) ABL (1) COM (1)	noun, adjective
2017/ 2018	20	10	two-syllabic & ending in <i>-o, -i</i> three-syllabic & ending in <i>-i</i>	ADE (13) INE (4) ELA (2) ILL (1)	noun

Another challenge to the study of morphological variation in Kolvitsa Karelian is idiosyncratic stem alternation. In the dialects of Karelian Proper (both southern and northern), the case inflection of the noun *moršien* ‘young wife (before having given birth); bride’ exhibits two stems: a short one in Nominative (SG *moršien*) and Partitive (SG *moršien-ta*), and a long one in the rest of the case forms (GEN.SG *moršieme-n*, ADE/ALL.SG *moršieme-lla*, ELA.SG *moršieme-sta* etc.) (see KRS-SD: 107; SSKGK: 353; KKV). In Kolvitsa material, five speakers (all interviewed in 1972) inflect this word, i.e. produce case-forms other than the Nominative. Some of these forms are abnormal from the point of view of the dictionary data in KRS-SD, SSKGK, and KKV. Furthermore, next to the common Karelian consonantal Nominative *moršien* (or *moršein*), these speakers also use the Nominative form *moršie* with a vowel in auslaut.<sup>119</sup> Table 20 presents information about the case forms of *moršie(n)* which according to the dictionaries are expected to manifest the long stem *moršieme-*. As can be seen, the speakers produced five Genitive forms (*moršien*) and one

119. There were seven occurrences of *moršie* (NOM) in the material in the output of AKA, FSK, MKA, and MIB.

Table 20. The Genitive and the oblique cases of *moršie(n)/moršei(n)* in Kolvitsa Karelian

Language guide (birthplace)	<i>moršieme-</i>			<i>moršie-</i>		
	Genitive	Adessive/ Allative	Σ	Genitive	Adessive/ Allative	Σ
AKA (Kolvitsa)	√	√	5	–	–	
MAA (Vartielampi)	√	√	8	√	–	1
FSK (Kolvitsa)	√	√	12	√	–	2
MKA (Niska)	√	√	13	√	–	2
MIB (Pistojärvi)	–	–	0	–	√	1

Adessive/Allative form (*moršiella*) based on the short stem *moršie-*; other oblique case forms were not attested with the short stem.<sup>120</sup>

It is possible that the case forms *moršien* (GEN) and *moršiella* (ADE/ALL) are inflections of the short doublet *moršie* (NOM). Another possibility is that these forms are produced by analogical extension of the Nominative/Partitive short stem *moršie-* to other cases forms, and the short Nominative *moršie* is back-inflected from them. Either way, speakers seem to simplify the inflection of this word, which would lead to its relocation to an inflectional class with an invariant stem.

The choice between the long (*moršieme-*) and the short (*moršie-*) stem in the Genitive and the oblique cases does not seem to correlate with anything. The distribution in the table does not correlate with birthplace (shown in the first column) neither with date of birth: AKA, MAA, and MIB were born in the 19th century, whereas FSK and MKA were born in the first decade of the 20th century. It is not related to idiolect either, as it seems that if a speaker produces enough long inflected forms, a short form will inevitably pop up in her speech. Furthermore, the recordings indicate that speakers can quickly switch from the long to the short form or vice versa, and even use them in identical phrases. An example comes from an interview with MKA (1972), where she says *moršien puolešta* ‘from the bride’s side’ and a couple of sentences later *moršiemien puolešta*.

The frequencies in Table 20 are low, and the conclusion that the variation is unmotivated might be too hasty, but as we shall see in the following discussion we are also confronted with this conclusion in other domains

120. The long stem featured one occurrence in oblique case: the Translative singular *moršieme-kše* (MKA 1972).

of grammar. Structurally unmotivated (or free) variation seems thus to be symptomatic for Kolvitsa Karelian. The fact that the phenomenon is attested only in 1972 data suggests that the rise of the doublets, i.e. formal (but not semantic) divergence, cannot be exclusively related to Kolvitsa; two of the four speakers who used short inflected forms were not even born in Kolvitsa. We do not have evidence about such variation in the ancestral dialects of Kolvitsa Karelian, but we presume that it is inherited from some White Sea Karelian varieties, and that it has been magnified by the language users on the spot, i.e. an anomalous development where the unmotivated variance of form is so to say conventionalized.

Probably the most challenging topic in Karelian verb morphology from a variation-linguistic point of view is the formation of the simple past tense (the Imperfect). In the dialects of Karelian Proper we find both parallel forms and dialectal variation in the marking of this tense. A group of verbs featuring variation are the one-stem verbs whose simple past forms originally ended in *-ti/-di* (where the dental stop is part of the verb stem and *-i* is the simple past tense marker). Proto-Finnic was subjected to a weakening of the consonant *-t* to *-s* before *-i*, but because of their phonological characteristics some verbs were not affected by the assibilation, and in some *-t* was generalized anew based on analogy with other verbs (or verb forms) (Posti 1953: 48–55; Laalo 1988: 23–35). Echoing these developments contemporary White Sea Karelian varieties exhibit vacillation between *-ti/-di* and *-si/-zi* in the Indicative non-3PL simple past tense forms<sup>121</sup> of certain verbs: cf. *löyti-/löydi-* and *löysi-/löysi-* ‘(s/he) found’, *työnti-/työndi-* and *työnsi-/työnzi-* ‘(s/he) sent’ (Zaikov 2000: 125–127; Laalo 1988: 39–42).

The material from Kolvitsa Karelian contains Indicative simple past tense forms of nine verbs belonging to this class; see Table 21. Two have bisyllabic stems ending in *-e* (*lähtie* and *tuntie*), four verbs have bisyllabic stems ending in *-a/-ä* and a bimoraic first syllable (*lentyä*, *löytöä*, *pyytyä*, *tietyä*), one verb has a bisyllabic stem ending in *-a/-ä* and a trimoraic first syllable (*kiertyä*), and two have three-syllabic stems also ending in *-a/-ä* (*kumartua* and *parantua*). (See Laalo 1988: 6–9 for the relevance of these sub-classes in the choice of Imperfect forms either in *-ti/-di* or *-si*).<sup>122</sup>

121. The third person plural is expressed in Karelian by the passive/impersonal form of the verb; e.g. *löyvetih* can mean both ‘they found’ and ‘one found’. This form has not been affected by the change *-ti > -si*.

122. Stems consisting of two syllables with a monomoraic first syllable as in the verbs *vetyä* ‘pull’ and *pityä* ‘hold; keep; have to’ all have *-ti/-di* in simple past tense in Finnish and Karelian (Laalo 1988: 9, 103; Zaikov 2000: 125–129). This is also the case in our material, although once the consultant LVS hesitated, first saying *poika vesi* ‘the

Table 21. Verbs with Indicative simple past tense in *-ti/-di* or *-si/-zi*

Verb	Simple past tense	
	<i>-ti/-di</i>	<i>-si/-zi</i>
<i>lähtie</i> ‘leave, depart, go’	(1)	39
<i>tuntie</i> ‘feel; know’	–	1
<i>lentyä</i> ‘fly’	4	1
<i>löytöä</i> ‘find’	–	6
<i>pyytyä</i> ‘catch’	6	–
<i>tietyä</i> ‘know’	–	16
<i>kiertyä</i> ‘turn, twist; roll’	1	–
<i>kumartua</i> ‘bow’	2	–
<i>parantua</i> ‘improve; heal’	1	–

The distribution in the table suggests that the choice between *-ti/-di* and *-si/-zi* in the simple past Indicative in Kolvitsa Karelian depends on the lexical item: each verb prefers certain form of the simple past tense. This sensitivity of a verb to an Imperfect form depends, in turn, on factors like the phonological (or phonotactic) structure of its stem and the risk of homonymic clash. At the same time, the choice between *-ti/-di* and *-si/-zi* does not seem to depend on individual speakers or their background. We could not detect preferences for either *-ti/-di* or *-si/-zi* among those language guides from which we had enough occurrences of simple past forms in the data.

From the nine verbs in Table 21, eight occur in the material either with Imperfect forms in *-ti/-di* or *-si/-zi*, but not with both. Only *lentyä* features both forms, and moreover – in the output of the same consultant, during the same interview, in the same person, and within the same phrasal verb ‘fly away’. The consultant (LEZ) uttered *lenti piästä poikeš* ‘it flew out of my head’ and then *mitä vielä piähä mäni, toisešta puolešta lensi poi’s* ‘what got into my head, flew away from the other side of it’. This is the only clear exception to the rule ‘one verb – one form of the simple past tense’. Of course, verbs with more occurrences of the simple past in the data, such as *lähtie* and *tietyä*, possibly also *löytöä* and *pyytyä*, provide stronger evidence for this rule; for the rest, the evidence is inconclusive.

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boy pulled’, and then corrected herself, saying *poika veti* (LVS 2017). Laalo (1988: 12) explains the non-occurrence of the Imperfect \**vesi* in Finnish in terms of avoidance of homonymy with the noun *vesi* ‘water’.

We will shortly discuss each verb in relation to its form and preference for either of the simple past tense forms in Karelian dialects. Among the bisyllabic stems ending in *-e*, *lähtie* is an exceptional verb. In the simple past, it has two inflectional stems: in *-h* (*lähti*) and in *-k* (*läksi*) (see Zaikov 2000: 127 for details). Judging from the examples in Zaikov (2000: 125–129), Laalo (1988: 41–42), and KKV, only the second stem should occur in northern Karelian Proper; the first is attested in the southern dialects of Karelian Proper (e.g. Korpiselkä *lähti*, KKV) and in Olonets Karelian (e.g. Salmi *lähtimmö* ‘we went’, KKV). The evidence from Kolvitsa supports this stipulation with 39 occurrences of *läksi-* (e.g. *läksit* ‘you went’ AKA 1972, *läksin* ‘I went’ LEZ 2018, *läksimä* ‘we went’ FSK 1972, *läksi* ‘s/he went’ AAG 2017) and one uncertain occurrence of *lähti-*. In 2018, the semi-speaker NVI (our youngest consultant, born in 1956) uttered the form *lähin* ‘I went’ in which we see the weak grade of *-t(i)*. This occurrence is included with some caution in Table 21, and therefore is presented in parentheses. It does not seem to be conventional in Kolvitsa Karelian, but a result of idiosyncratic inflection evoked either by the influence of spoken Finnish or, more likely, as occasional analogical formation based on the present tense form *lähen* ‘I go’ by a speaker who otherwise shows uncertainty in the application of inflectional rules. The verb *tuntie* selects *-si/-zi* in simple past tense in White Sea Karelian (Laalo 1988: 42), and its only simple past form in our data *tunsin* ‘I felt’ (AKA 1972) matches this fact.

The verbs with bisyllabic stems ending in *-a/-ä* and a bimoraic first syllable manifest remarkable variation as to the choice of simple past form (Laalo 1988: 8). *Lentyä* is the only verb in Table 21 with first syllable ending in a consonant. According to Laalo (1988: 11), bimoraic first syllables with consonant in auslaut usually select the *-si/-zi* variant of the Imperfect in Finnish; see also *tuntie* above. In contrast, *lentyä* features in Kolvitsa data four occurrences in *-ti* and only one in *-si*.

Accepting that *lentyä* manifests both forms of the Imperfect, it seems that otherwise each verb allows for only one alternative in Kolvitsa Karelian. More decisive evidence for this is that even verbs with very similar phonotactic structure select different forms to encode the simple past tense. The verbs *löytöä*, *pyytyä*, and *tietyä* have bisyllabic stems with *-ä* in auslaut and a bimoraic first syllable ending in long vowel or diphthong. As can be seen in Table 21, the first and the third of them manifest only Imperfect forms in *-si*; e.g. *löysimä* ‘we found’ (MKA 1972), *löysin* ‘I found’ (LEZ 2018)<sup>123</sup>, *tiesin*

123. The weak grade version of *-ti* in the first and second person simple past in northern Karelian Proper is usually *-vi*; e.g. Hietajärvi *löyvin* ‘I found’ (KKV).

‘I knew’ (MAK 1972, MIB 1972), *tiesit* ‘you knew’ (SSA 2017), *tijesi* ‘s/he knew’ (LEZ 2017). As for *tietyä*, Kolvitsa clearly aligns with White Sea Karelian and Finnish requiring the *-si/-zi* form, whereas in southern Karelian Proper the *-ti/-di* form is also possible (Laalo 1988: 42). The information about the simple past forms of *löytöä* in Karelian dialects is ambiguous: Laalo (1988: 41) claims that this verb manifests exclusively *-ti/-di* in Karelian, but Zaikov presents examples in *-si/-zi* from southern Karelian Proper (e.g. Paatene *löyzi* ‘s/he found’, Zaikov 2000: 127).

The verb *pyytyä*, on the other hand, is exclusively associated in our material with the *-ti* form or with its weak grade version *-vi*; e.g. *pyyvit* ‘you caught’ (FSK 1972), *pyytimä* ‘we caught’ (MKA 1972, LVS 2017), *pyyvimä* ‘we caught’ (VVB 2017), *pyyti* ‘s/he caught’ (LEZ 2017). Laalo (1988: 144–151) explains the distribution of the Imperfect forms of this verb in standard Finnish and in Finnish dialects in terms of homonymy prevention, and his explanation seems applicable to the situation in Kolvitsa Karelian. The fact that *pyytyä* ‘catch’ always manifests *-ti/-di* is related to its homonymy with the verb *pyytyä* ‘ask for’. In standard Finnish, these two verbs are differentiated in the simple past, the first taking the *-ti/-di* form (*pyydin* ‘I caught’, *pyyti* ‘s/he caught’), the second the *-si* form (*pyysin* ‘I asked for’, *pyysi* ‘s/he asked for’). We do not have occurrences of *pyytyä* in the meaning ‘ask for’ in our data but judging from examples in KKV and SSKGK the homonymy of ‘catch’ and ‘ask for’ is characteristic for White Sea Karelian. We assume, therefore, that also in Kolvitsa *-ti/-di* exponency allows for ‘catch’ to be distinguished from ‘ask for’.

*Kiertyä* is the only verb in our data with a bisyllabic stem ending in *-a/-ä* and a trimoraic first syllable. This class of verbs features usually the *-si* form in Finnish (Laalo 1988: 8), but in Karelian (including White Sea Karelian) the *-ti/-di* form is used (e.g. Pistojärvi *kielti* ‘s/he forbade’, Vuokkiniemi *kierti* ‘s/he turned’, Laalo 1988: 40), and Kolvitsa fits in this picture with *kierti* ‘s/he twisted’, produced by AKA in 1972.

The three-syllabic words *kumartua* and *parantua* display only the *-ti/-di* form in Kolvitsa data: *kumarti* ‘s/he bowed’ (AKA 1972), *kumarrin* (with the weak grade of *-ti*) ‘I bowed’ (AKA 1972), *paranti* ‘s/he healed’ (MAK 1972), and this corresponds with the situation in White Sea Karelian (see Laalo 1988: 40–41).

The fact that three-syllabic verbs ending in *-a/-ä* manifest *-ti/-di* supports the claim that the phonotactic structure of the stem matters in the choice between *-ti/-di* and *-si/-zi*, although only three forms of two verbs is shaky evidence by any standards. Zaikov (2000: 129) proposes a broader generalization: in long stems (his examples are bisyllabic with a trimoraic first syllable, or three-syllabic), the *-ti/-di* form is preferred if it is preceded by

consonant.<sup>124</sup> The data is scarce, but the distribution in Table 21 seems to support this observation (see *kiertyä*, *kumartua*, and *parantua*). However, the risk of misunderstanding (homonymy) overrides phonotactic conditions; recall our observation that bisyllabic verbs with similar phonological and phonotactic structure (a long vowel or diphthong in the first syllable and a stem-vowel *-ä*) select different forms of the simple past tense.

Is the distribution in Table 21 inherited from Mainland Karelia or is it a result of conventionalization of particular form on particular lexical item, a development which has taken place in Kolvitsa? Such conventionalization would be a sign of cohesion among idiolects, a process unifying Kolvitsa Karelian. We cannot answer this question because we do not know enough about the variation in simple past marking among verbs of the given type in the subdialects of northern Karelian Proper. We do not even know whether the ancestral varieties of Kolvitsa Karelian differ or behave uniformly in this respect. Alone such information would have been helpful: if they differed, one would have expected differences between Kolvitsans stemming from different regions, but this is not what we find in the data.

Another type of verb featuring variation in the coding of past tense are the so-called contracted verbs, which manifest two stems in their inflectional paradigm: one ending in a vowel and one in a consonant. The simple past tense of contracted verbs has two morphophonemic variants: a *-si/-zi* and an *s*-less variant ending in *-i*; cf. *makasi* ~ *makai* 's/he slept', *rupesi* ~ *rupei* 's/he began' (Zaikov 2000: 67, 130–137). The first, the *-si* variant, is a result of regular sound change that goes back to Proto-Finnic (Pulkkinen 1968: 32), whereas the *s*-less variant is an innovation which took place around 1200–1400 in the present Olonets Karelian area (Lehtinen 1982: 17–18). Recorded text material from the last two centuries shows that these alternative simple past forms have been in parallel use in Karelian Proper, especially in the White Sea Karelian dialects (e.g. Lehtinen 1982: 16). In Olonets Karelian, in some Border Karelian dialects (Suistamo and Suojärvi), and in Tihvin and Tver Karelian, on the other hand, the *s*-less form is the only available form of the simple past tense (Pulkkinen 1968: 10–11, 27–31, 34; Lehtinen 1982: 2; Zaikov 2000: 130, 133).

Pulkkinen and Lehtinen disagree as to which of the two forms is advancing and which retreating in White Sea Karelian area. According to Pulkkinen (1968), the innovative *s*-less form once almost forced out the common Finnic *-si* variant in Karelian Proper, but in the recent history of the area (at least from the 19th century on) the latter has begun to advance again from

124. Ignoring some recent assimilation cases, *-ti* is always preserved in Finnic when preceded by *-s* or *-š*, (e.g. *muisti* 's/he remembered', but never *\*muissi*) (Posti 1953: 51).



the west. Karelian Proper forms a continuum with the eastern dialects of Finnish which exclusively use the *-si* variant, and in modern times also standard Finnish has been exerting influence on it. In general, the closer to Finland's border a dialect of Karelian Proper is situated, the more frequent are the simple past forms in *-s-* (see also Zaikov 2000: 135). An additional source of the *-s-* exponency might be Lude from the southeast which has a simple past tense in *-ži* (Pulkkinen 1968: 34–35; Zaikov 2000: 134). Lehtinen (1982), on the other hand, assumes continuity (at least for some verbs) of the *-si* variant of the simple past from Late Proto-Finnic to Karelian Proper. The newcomer in the last two centuries, according to Lehtinen, is the *s*-less form, encroaching from Olonets Karelian.

For the purposes of this study, it is irrelevant which of these diffusion scenarios depicts the actual course of events. The expansionary forces formulated by Pulkkinen and Lehtinen radiate outwards from their hotbeds and determine the exponency of the single past in different Karelian dialects.

How do these forces streamline the exponency of the simple past tense in Kolvitsa Karelian? We know that moving to the north across Karelian Proper, the *s*-less form faces increasing competition of the *-s* form of the Imperfect (Zaikov 2000: 132–133). According to Pulkkinen (1968: 19) and Zaikov (2000: 133), in northern Karelian Proper both types co-occur, often with the same verb and even in the language of the same individual. We also know that Kolvitsa Karelian is a mixture of the northernmost Karelian varieties of Oulanka and Kiestinki parishes, and of some varieties spoken further to the south (e.g. Vuokkiniemi and Uhtua), and that it is less influenced by Finnish than its relatives in the Republic of Karelia.

To answer our question, we will proceed as we did above for the variation between the past forms in *-ti/-di* and *-si/-zi*. We will study the distribution of the *s*- and *s*-less Indicative simple past forms in our material in relation to the following parameters: individual speaker and its family background (if known), time of documentation (expected to disclose differences between generations), lexical entry, and phonological/phonotactic characteristics of the word. Pulkkinen (1968: 36) has drawn attention to the relevance of the last parameter. If the stem of the verb ends in *-i*, the *s*-form is expected to occur. This tendency is corroborated by the frequency data presented by Lehtinen (1982); see the last column of Table 23 below.<sup>125</sup> In addition to the

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125. These two authors disagree, however, as for the rationale behind this tendency. According to Pulkkinen, the reason is that the *s*-less exponent is not marked enough to disambiguate the form as marking the simple past tense of the verb; cf. *šutoriin* with *šuorisin* 'I prepared; I dressed' (Pulkkinen 1968: 36). Lehtinen disagrees by arguing that in the class of verbs with *-i* in auslaut the *s*-less simple past forms manifesting *-ii*

parameters mentioned, we will examine the role of grammatical person. According to Zaikov (2000: 133), in Oulanka, Kiestinki, and Pistojärvi subdialects of White Sea Karelian (which are ancestral for the majority of Kolvitsans), the *s*-less form is proportionally more frequent in the 3SG Imperfect form of the verb than in other persons (see also Pulkkinen 1968: 25–26); Pulkkinen (1968: 13–16) observes the same in the southern dialects of Karelian Proper.

Before we proceed with Kolvitsa data, we present some figures from Lehtinen (1982) about the use of the *s*- and the *s*-less simple past in White Sea Karelian. Table 22 is based on Table 1 of Lehtinen (1982: 9), but in it we have only included frequency data from the historical parishes from which migration to Kolvitsa has been reported (see Table 7 above).

**Table 22. Frequency of the *s*-form and the *s*-less form of the Indicative simple past tense in the northern dialects of Karelian Proper (Lehtinen 1982: 9)**

	Forms in <i>-s</i>	<i>s</i> -less forms	% of <i>s</i> -less forms from the total of simple past forms
Oulanka	2	2	50%
Kiestinki	7	13	65%
Pistojärvi	8	4	33%
Uhtua	5	48	91%
Vuokkiniemi	212	106	33%
Σ	234	173	43%

The large proportional difference in the occurrence of the *s*- and the *s*-less form in Uhtua and Vuokkiniemi (parishes from which Lehtinen had more data) is surprising. Given that Vuokkiniemi is southwest from Uhtua (and closer to the Finnish border), the figures in the table seem to better comply with Pulkkinen's diffusion scenario than with Lehtinen's.

Table 23 presents information about the distribution of the two forms among different verb types based on their stem-ending vowel: *-a/-ä*, *-e*, *-o/-ö*, *-u/-y*, or *-i*. The table summarizes figures from Tables 2 and 3 of Lehtinen (1982: 10–11); here too only data from historical parishes relevant to Kolvitsa Karelian are included. Lehtinen's data is extracted from White Sea Karelian

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are marked enough from the point of view of Karelian morphophonology. The reasons for the sensitivity of *-i* stems to the *s*-forms are historical and have to do with the workings of analogy (Lehtinen 1982: 12–14); we will not discuss them here as they are irrelevant from a variational point of view.

**Table 23.** Frequency of the *s*-form and the *s*-less form of the simple past tense according to the final vowel of the stem in the northern dialects of Karelian Proper (Lehtinen 1982: 10–11)

	<i>Asi / Ai</i>	<i>esi / ei</i>	<i>Osi / Oi</i>	<i>Usi / Ui</i>	<i>isi / ii</i>
Oulanka	2 / –	– / 2	– / –	– / –	– / –
Kiestinki	2 / 7	– / 6	– / –	2 / –	3 / –
Pistojärvi	4 / 3	– / –	– / 1	– / –	4 / –
Uhtua	2 / 31	– / 10	2 / 7	– / –	1 / –
Vuokkiniemi	107 / 58	58 / 41	30 / 6	5 / 1	12 / –
Σ	117 / 99	58 / 59	32 / 14	7 / 1	20 / 0

narratives (incl. recollections of the past, fairytales, and legends) collected by Pertti Virtaranta mostly in the 1950s and 1960s and published in the books *Vienan kansa muistelee* (1958) and *Kultarengas korvaan: Vienalaisia satuja ja legendoja* (1971).

We will use this data from Mainland Karelia as reference population to study the situation in Kolvitsa. Tables 24 and 25 present, from two perspectives, the distribution of the alternative forms of the simple past tense in Kolvitsa Karelian. Table 24 is based on lexical entry. It shows which verbs were attested in the simple past Indicative in the data from 1972/1987 and 2017/2018 and in which form, the longer with *-s* and/or the shorter without *-s*. Table 25 presents quantitative data comparable with the data from Mainland Karelia in Table 23, but both for token and type. It shows how many verbs and how many occurrences of a verb of each phonological class were attested with either of the simple past forms.

The distribution in Table 24 indicates that the choice between the *s*- and the *s*-less form of the Imperfect of contracted verbs is not sensitive to lexical item. While many verbs are attested in only one of the alternative forms, many other occur in both variants. Verbs occurring only in the *s*-form in the data are *hauvata* (e.g. *hautasimme* ‘we buried’ MIB 1972), *hommata* (*hommasi* ‘s/he was busy with’ AKA 1972), *kisata* (e.g. *kisasima* ‘we danced’ AKA 1972), *kerätä* (e.g. *keräsime* ‘we picked’ LEZ 2018), *leikata* (e.g. *leikkasi* ‘s/he cut’ NVI 2018), *lonkata* (*lonkasin* ‘I opened a bit my eyes’ AKA 1972), *luvata* (*lupasi* ‘s/he promised’ FSK 1972), *nykätä* (*nykäsin* ‘I pushed [the door]’ AKA 1972), *uinota* (e.g. *uinosin* ‘I fell asleep’ FSK 1972), *keritä* (*kerkisi* ‘s/he managed’ AKA 1972), and *šuurita* (e.g. *šuurisi* ‘s/he dressed up’ AAG 2017). Those with most occurrences in the data, *leikata* and *kerätä*, can be sensitive to the *s*-form, but the numbers are too low to be sure.

Fewer verbs occurred exclusively in the *s*-less Imperfect form, which is not surprising considering that in terms of token frequency this form is three times rarer in the data; see the last column of Table 24 and especially its last row. Such verbs are *arvata* (*arvai* ‘s/he guessed’ FSK 1972), *matata* (e.g. *matkai* ‘s/he travelled’ MKA 1972), *šalvata* (*šalpai* ‘s/he locked’ FSK 1972), *tallata* (*tallai* ‘s/he paced’ MKA 1972), *tienata* (*tienai* ‘s/he earned’ MKA 1972), and *virkata* (*virkkai* ‘s/he crocheted’ FSK 1972).

The set of verbs occurring in both variants includes *avata* (cf. *avasima* ‘we opened’ LEZ 2018 and *avai* ‘s/he opened’ FSK 1972), *muata* (cf. *makasima* ‘we slept’ NAL 1987 and *makain* ‘I slept’ LEZ 2017), *šüipata* (cf. *šüippasi* ‘s/he touched’ FSK 1972 and *šüippai* ‘s/he touched’ FSK 1972), *varata* (cf. *varasime* ‘we were afraid’ LEZ 2018 and *varain* ‘I was afraid’ LEZ 2018), *hypätä* (cf. *hyppäsin* ‘I jumped’ AKA 1972 and *hyppäi* ‘s/he jumped’ FSK 1972), *langeta* (cf. *lankesi* ‘s/he fell’ SSA 2017 and *lank(e)i* ‘s/he fell’ AAG 2017), *ruveta* (cf. *rupesi* ‘s/he began’ MKA 1972 and *rupei* ‘s/he began’ FSK 1972), and *haluta* (cf. *halusin* ‘I wanted’ OAP 2018 and *haluin*<sup>126</sup> ‘I wanted’ SSA 2017). Given the low token frequencies in Table 24, we assume that also other verbs in the table allow for both forms.

The distribution in the Table 24 corroborates Pulkkinen’s and Zaikov’s observations about the randomness of the choice between the *s*- and the *s*-less Imperfect form in northern Karelian Proper. Their second observation – that the variation is free at an idiolect level – is also corroborated by Kolvitsa data. The language guide MKA, interviewed in 1972, produces the 3SG-form *rupesi* ‘s/he began’ and a little later *rupei* ‘s/he began’. Likewise, the guide FSK (1972) produces both *šüippasi* ‘s/he touched’ and *šüippai* ‘s/he touched’. In our data from 2017/2018, the guide LEZ uttered *makasimə* ‘we slept’ (LEZ 2018) but also *makain* ‘I slept’ (LEZ 2017), *varain* ‘I was afraid’ (LEZ 2018) and just a little later *varasima* ‘we were afraid’ (LEZ 2018).

Under free variation we understand variation whose distribution is not limited by linguistic principles. Extra-linguistic factors such as heritage, gender, education, etc. can make such structurally unmotivated variation partly predictable. Indeed, some speakers strongly prefer one of the forms of the simple past. The two extremes (i.e. the language users which differ mostly in this respect) in the data from 1972 are the male guide AKA, on the one

126. This form is probably calqued from Russian. The consultant SSA wanted to produce the 1SG form of the Conditional of the verb ‘want’, but instead of using the Karelian marker of this mood she replicated the Russian pattern, where the Conditional is based on the past tense (the so-called *l*-form in Russian), and produced the *s*-less form of the simple past; see example (4b) below.

hand, and the female guides MKA and FSK, on the other. AKA produces on the tape fifteen *s*-forms of eleven different verbs (e.g. *avasin*, *leikkasima*, *makazin*, *rupesi*, *uinosin*, *hyppäsin*, *nükäsin*, *hommasi*, *kisasima*, *lonkasin*, *kerkisi*) and not a single *s*-less form. MKA, on the other hand, produces six *s*-less forms of five verbs (*rupei*, *halui*, *tallai*, *matkai*, *tienai*) and five *s*-forms but all of the verb *ruveta* ‘begin, take up’ (*rupesi*, *rupesima*). Likewise, FSK produces fourteen *s*-less forms of ten verbs (e.g. *avai*, *makai*, *lankei*, *rupei*, *hyppäi*, *arvai*, *šüppai*, *matkai*, *virkkai*, *šalpai*) and nine *s*-forms of six verbs (e.g. *uinosi*, *halusima*, *lupasi*, *šuurisi*, *hautasi*, *siippasi*). Available extralinguistic information explains AKA’s preference for the *s*-form and MKA’s reverse preference. AKA is born in Kolvitsa, but his parents come from Oulanka area (his father from Kankahainen, his mother from Vartilampi), not far from the Finnish border. As noted above, the proximity of Finland correlates positively with the relative frequency of the *s*-form of the Imperfect; furthermore, on the Karelian dialect map, Oulanka is the most distant parish from the area from which the *s*-less form began spreading to the north. This explains the exclusive occurrence of the *s*-form in the linguistic repertoire of AKA. MKA is born in Niska, in the eastern part of Oulanka parish, which is also the birthplace of her father. Her mother is from Hirvieniemi in Kiestinki parish, the eastern neighbour of Oulanka. Thence, MKA’s roots are in an area to the east from the area from which AKA’s family comes; this correlates with her preference for the *s*-less form. As for FSK, we do not have information about her background, apart from the fact that she is born in Kolvitsa in 1906.

We do not observe such preferences among the idiolects documented in 2017/2018. This might be due to the advanced homogenization of the language of the third- and fourth-generation Kolvitsans; differences in the marking of the simple past tense inherited from different varieties in Mainland Karelia seem to have been levelled out in the last speaker generation. We must be careful, though, with this conclusion because the 2017/2018 material contains very few *s*-less forms – an important fact on its own. While from 52 occurrences of the simple past in 1972/1987 data (see the last row of Table 24) 20 (38% from the total) are occurrences of the *s*-less form, in the 2017/2018 material we attested only 5 *s*-less forms out of 47 forms of the simple past, which is 11% from the total. Respective figures about the type frequency of the two forms are presented in Table 25. While in 1972/1987 data sixteen verbs feature the *s*-form and thirteen the *s*-less form, in 2017/2018 ten verbs feature the *s*-form and only four the *s*-less form.

This suggests that the short form is falling out of use, replaced by the longer form of the Imperfect. This, in turn, provides support for Pulkkinen’s claim that the *s*-form is expanding, and the *s*-less form is receding in northern

Karelian Proper.<sup>127</sup> The question in our case is: why is this happening in Kolvitsa Karelian which has not been in contact with Finnish (standard, colloquial, or dialectal) for at least eighty years? If Finnish were at play here, we would expect to find the opposite distribution in 1972/1987 and 2017/2018 data. It was the parents of our consultants who learned Finnish in school before Kandalaksha District became part of Murmansk Oblast. Unlike the following generation, whose contacts with Finnish remained sporadic, their knowledge of Finnish can only have had a reinforcing effect on the type and token frequency of the *s*-form. The only possible explanation here is that contemporary speakers, most of whom attriters, are generalizing the *s*-form because of its explicitness. It is longer and contains a consonant, and therefore is easier recognizable as a separate morpheme. Speakers tend to prefer morphotactically transparent structures (recall the discussion in Section 5.3), and the spread of the *s*-form leads to increase in transparency.

Approaching the relevance of phonotactic verb class for the choice of marking of the simple past tense, we recall the figures presented by Lehtinen for the White Sea Karelian dialects; see Table 23 above. In Lehtinen's data, Vuokkiniemi is overrepresented; therefore, comparing the figures in Table 23 above and Table 25 below, we basically compare the Imperfect forms in Vuokkiniemi with those in Kolvitsa Karelian.

Of the 25 verbs attested in Indicative Imperfect in Kolvitsa and presented in Table 24, the first 19 have a stem ending in *-a/-ä* (i.e. these verbs build Imperfect forms in *-Asi* or *-Ai*). The other stem types from Table 23 are poorly represented in Kolvitsa data: there are two verbs (*langeta*, *ruveta*) in *-e* (with simple past forms in *-esi/-ei*), one (*uinota*) in *-o* (with possible forms *-Osi* and *-Oi*, of which only the first was attested), one (*haluta*) in *-u* (with both alternatives attested) and two (*keritä* and *šuurita*) in *-i* (only the *s*-form was attested). These findings are recapitulated in Table 25.

Beginning with the figures for 1972/1987 data in Table 25, we see proportions similar to those observed by Lehtinen. The short *s*-less form is most probable with verb stems ending in *-e*, followed by stems ending in *-a/-ä*, and less probable with the rest of stem types. Stem-type seems to have lost its influence on the choice of form in 2017/2018, but due to the few occurrences we cannot claim this with confidence. Nonetheless, the figures in Table 25 indicate that the *s*-form is being generalized in all types, irrespective of the stem *auslaut*.

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127. Conversely, our findings are not compatible with Lehtinen's conjecture about the gradual expansion of the *s*-less form in northern Karelian Proper. This form is losing ground in Kolvitsa.

Table 24. Occurrences of the *s*- and the *s*-less forms of the simple past tense in the data

Verb <sup>128</sup>	1972/1987		2017/2018		Σ <i>s</i> / <i>s</i> -less
	<i>s</i> -forms	<i>s</i> -less forms	<i>s</i> -forms	<i>s</i> -less forms	
<i>arvata</i> ‘guess’	–	1	–	–	0 / 1
<i>avata</i> ‘open’	1	1	1	–	2 / 1
<i>hauvata</i> ‘bury’	2	–	–	–	2 / 0
<i>hommata</i> ‘keep busy with’	1	–	–	–	1 / 0
<i>kisata</i> ‘play; dance’	2	–	–	–	2 / 0
<i>leikata</i> ‘cut’	2	–	5	–	7 / 0
<i>lonkata</i> ‘open slightly’	1	–	–	–	1 / 0
<i>luvata</i> ‘promise’	2	–	–	–	2 / 0
<i>matata</i> ‘travel; walk’	–	3	–	–	0 / 3
<i>muata</i> ‘sleep’	4	1	3	1	7 / 2
<i>šalvata</i> ‘bar’	–	1	–	–	0 / 1
<i>šiipata</i> ‘touch lightly’	1	1	–	–	1 / 1
<i>tallata</i> ‘stride’	–	1	–	–	0 / 1
<i>tienata</i> ‘earn’	–	1	–	–	0 / 1
<i>varata</i> ‘be afraid of’	–	–	1	1	1 / 1
<i>virkata</i> ‘crochet’	–	1	–	–	0 / 1
<i>hypätä</i> ‘jump’	1	1	–	–	1 / 1
<i>kerätä</i> ‘gather, pick’	–	–	8	–	8 / 0
<i>nykätä</i> ‘push’	1	–	–	–	1 / 0
<i>langeta</i> ‘fall; get ill’	–	1	2	2	2 / 3
<i>ruveta</i> ‘begin, take up’	7	6	13	–	20 / 6
<i>uinota</i> ‘fall asleep’	3	–	1	–	4 / 0
<i>haluta</i> ‘want’	2	1	7	1	9 / 2
<i>keritä</i> ‘manage’	1	–	–	–	1 / 0
<i>šuurita</i> ‘dress up’	1	–	1	–	2 / 0
Σ	32	20	42	5	74 / 25

128. Historically, some of the verbs in the table do not belong to the class of contracted verbs. The verbs with contracted stem (Fi *supistumavartaloiset verbit*) have developed from Late Proto-Finnic *\*-ada*, *\*-eda*-, *\*-ede*-, *\*-oda* stems, but the verbs *avata* and *varata* go back to the *\*-aida*-, *\*-äidä*- stem type (the “continuative type”, Lehtinen 1982: 3).



**Table 25. Type frequency (= number of verbs) and token frequency (= number of occurrences) of the *s*- and the *s*-less forms of the simple past tense in relation to the stem type of the verb**

		<i>Asi / Ai</i>	<i>esi / ei</i>	<i>Osi / Oi</i>	<i>Usi / Ui</i>	<i>isi / ii</i>	$\Sigma = s / s\text{-less}$
1972/1987	types	11 / 10	1 / 2	1 / 0	1 / 1	2 / 0	16 / 13
	tokens	18 / 12	7 / 7	3 / 0	2 / 1	2 / 0	32 / 20
2017/2018	types	5 / 2	2 / 1	1 / 0	1 / 1	1 / 0	10 / 4
	tokens	18 / 2	15 / 2	1 / 0	7 / 1	1 / 0	42 / 5

**Table 26. Occurrence of the *s*- and the *s*-less variant of the simple past tense in relation to grammatical person**

Person	<i>s</i> -form	<i>s</i> -less form
first and second person (sg. & pl.)	35	3
third person singular	39	22

Finally, we will briefly examine the relevance of person marking for the choice between the long and the short simple past tense form. Zaikov (2000: 133) mentioned that in the Oulanka, Kiestinki, and Pistojärvi varieties of Karelian Proper the *s*-less form is more likely in third person singular than in other persons. Considering that the third person singular is formally unmarked in the Indicative, this means that the *s*-less form is more likely if it is not followed by overt person agreement. Table 26 juxtaposes two sets of occurrences of the simple past tense: ‘third person singular forms’ and ‘first and second person singular and plural forms’.<sup>129</sup>

The distribution in the table corroborates Zaikov’s statement: the occurrence of the *s*-less Imperfect is much likelier in third person singular than in first or second person (singular or plural). Translated into morphotactic terms, this means that if the past tense marker occurs word-finally, it is more likely to take the *s*-less form than if followed by an overt person marker.

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In the course of time, some of the *\*-aiða-*, *\*-äiðä-* verbs, including *avata* and *varata*, adapted to the class of contracted verbs and are no longer phonotactically or inflectionally distinguishable from them (Pulkkinen 1968: 8; Lehtinen 1982: 2).

129. As mentioned in footnote 121, the third person plural form is identical in Karelian with the passive/impersonal form of the verb. In this form, the tense marker is always *-i*, i.e. the simple past is always *s*-less, e.g. *matatt-i-h* ‘they travelled’, *leikatt-i-h* ‘they cut’, and therefore its occurrences are excluded from Table 26.

Morphological variation is not limited to the inflection of nouns and verbs, but also occurs in non-inflectional parts of speech. We will illustrate this with the class of postpositions. Kolvitsans use two postpositions with a dependent noun in Genitive to express concomitance ('with; by means of'): *kerä* (e.g. *naisen kerä* 'with [his] wife' GAB 2017) and its Adessive form *keralla* (e.g. *tuaton keralla* 'with dad' GAB 2017, *heposien keralla* [about farm work] 'with horses' LEZ 2017) which is often shortened to *keral* (*muamon keral* 'with mum' LEZ 2017). These two inflectionally cognate postpositions have the same comitative-instrumental meaning, but different distribution in Karelian dialects.<sup>130</sup> According to Map 133 of KKM, *kerä* is the main form in the areas from which the ancestors of Kolvitsans migrated: it is the only form of the comitative-instrumental postposition in the parishes of Oulanka, Pistojärvi, Uhtua, and Vuokkiniemi, and the predominant form in Kiestinki and Kieretti; altogether 22 locations in these six parishes are marked in the atlas as *kerä* areas. The form *keral(la)* is marked as a form of this postposition only in three locations within the ancestral area of Kolvitsa Karelian: Kämpäli and Kiestinki (Kiestinki parish), and Tyrhy (Kieretti parish). KKV generally matches this picture, but also shows examples of *keral(la)* from Vuokkiniemi which is marked exclusively as a *kerä* area in KKM.

We therefore expected to encounter *kerä* much more often than *keral(la)* in the Kolvitsa data. Expressions of concomitance are frequent in communication and therefore we did not search the entire material, but only its largest and chronologically most outlying parts: Stepanova's and Lavonen's collection from 1972 and our recordings from 2017/2018. Table 27 presents the result of this search; the first row for each item of data contains the total occurrences of the postpositional forms, and the rows following the total occurrences of these forms in the output of speakers who produced the comitative-instrumental postposition at least ten times (i.e. the sum of *kerä* and *keral(la)* in their output was at least 10). In this way we did not only inspect the general proportion of these two forms, but also checked the data for preferences of individual language users for either *kerä* or *keral(la)*. Much to our surprise, *keral(la)* has more postpositional occurrences in the data than *kerä*. In the 1972 data, the number of occurrences is similar, *kerä*=26, *keral(la)*=27, but in the 2017/2018 data *keral(la)* clearly prevails over *kerä*: *kerä*=43, *keral(la)*=68. Individual speakers display great differences in their preferences. While in 1972 MKA clearly opts for *kerä*, FSK seems to prefer *keral(la)*. In the 2017/2018 data differences are even greater: in the output of SSA *kerä* features 20 occurrences and *keral(la)* zero; at the same time, LEZ

130. In addition to functioning as a postposition, *keralla* can also be an adverb with the comitative meaning 'along with' (e.g. Kontokki *miula oli veikkoii keralla* 'I had my brother coming along with me' KKV). We do not consider adverbial uses here.

**Table 27. Frequency of the comitative-instrumental postpositions *kera* and *keral(la)***

			<i>kera</i>	<i>keral(la)</i>
1972	Σ		26	27
	speakers with at least ten occurrences in total	AKA	5	6
		FSK	3	10
		MKA	17	3
2017/2018	Σ		43	68
	speakers with at least ten occurrences in total	LEZ	1	54
		AAG	12	5
		SSA	20	0
		OAP	8	2

used 54 times *keral(la)* and *kera* only once. The differences between idiolects indicate that Kolvitsa Karelian is not as uniform as it seems to be in other structural domains. These differences can be explained either in terms of path-dependence from the ancestral subdialects of White Sea Karelian, or in terms of recent idiolect divergence due to the lack of communication between native speakers. The differences attested in 1972 data, however, speak against the second assumption because the village was predominantly Karelian at that time, i.e. speakers interacted on a daily basis in Karelian, but nonetheless preferred different forms.

Let us now inspect the background of the speakers with a pronounced bias toward certain form of the postposition. MKA is born in 1905 in Niska (Oulanka parish), and her preference for *kera* fits with the fact that Oulanka is generally marked as a *kera* area in KKM. Her antipode in relation to the choice of postposition is FSK, born in Kolvitsa in 1906; unfortunately, we do not have information about her parents' birthplace. The extremes in 2017/2018 data are SSA using exclusively *kera* and LEZ using almost exclusively *keral(la)*. SSA was born in Kolvitsa in 1944, and it was her grandparents who migrated from Karelia. We do not know their exact birthplaces, but judging from the family names, her father's family has probably come from Oulanka and her mother's from the Pistojärvi area. On Map 133 these parishes are exclusively marked as *kera* areas.<sup>131</sup> LEZ is born in 1941 in Kolvitsa; her parents moved to the village

131. Although both grandparents of SSA from her maternal side come from Pistojärvi parish, the grandfather's family might be originally from Kiestinki or even Kieretti parish. His family name (Smolennikov) is attested in Jelettijärvi (Rus *Елетозеро*)

in the 1930s. Her father is from Pistojärvi parish, but he died in WW2; LEZ was raised alone by her mother who is from Vuonninen (Vuokkiniemi parish). Both Vuokkiniemi and Pistojärvi are marked exclusively as *kera* areas, which is in stark contrast with her preference for *keral(la)*.

It seems thus that the descent of speakers does not account for the choice between the two postpositions. Therefore, we took a closer look at the biographies of our consultants. Unlike the speakers interviewed in 1972, our consultants in 2017 and 2018 have spent most of their lives outside Kolvitsa in diverse locations discussed in Sections 3 and 4. SSA lived 46 years in Knyazhaya Guba before she retired and moved to the centre of Zelenoborsky, just a few kilometres away. She spends only summers in her Kolvitsa house. Zelenoborsky is home to many Karelians who are either local (from Knyazhaya Guba), or from the villages to the west and south of this settlement (recall Map 2 and Table 2 above). LEZ also worked in Knyazhaya Guba, but then moved to Kandalaksha from where she had the opportunity to commute and spend more time in Kolvitsa than SSA; her connection to Kolvitsa and its inhabitants has been more regular. These biographic facts can be responsible for the structural differences in the language of our consultants, although we do not have information about the relative frequency of *kera* and *keral(la)* in the Karelian villages in the southern part of Kandalaksha District, which might have caused the bias in SSA's output. Furthermore, the distribution of forms in 1972 data in Table 27 shows that speakers who have spent most of their lives in Kolvitsa also differ in their choice of comitative-instrumental postposition.

The choice between the two forms does not correlate with semantics either. Both postpositions express the central meanings of the semantic domain of 'concomitance' as defined by Lehmann and Shin (2005), and therefore seem to be interchangeable. These meanings are presented in Table 28.<sup>132</sup> Consequently, it seems that neither heritage, nor biographic facts or semantics influence the choice of the postposition.

The discussion of the morphology of Kolvitsa Karelian has so far been based on quantitative data. We studied linguistic variation and determined that sometimes the variation correlates with other linguistic (structural) circumstances. In many cases, however, the choice between alternatives does not seem to correlate with anything within the language, and thus the variation of

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(Kiestinki), as well as in Pohjoñi Šuurijärvi (Rus *Северное Большое Озеро*) and Uuškylä (Rus *Новая деревня*) (Kieretti) (personal information). While Jelettijärvi is marked as *kera* area in KKM, the other two villages are missing from the maps in KKM. 132. Another meaning in Lehmann and Shin's typology (2005) is VEHICLE (e.g. *he went there with the bus*), but the material did not contain occurrences of *kera* or *keral(la)* with this meaning.

Table 28. Semantic functions of the postpositions *kerä* and *keral(la)*

Semantic role of the dependent noun	<i>kerä</i>	<i>keral(la)</i>
COMPANION	<i>naisen kerä lähtih</i> 'he went there with his wife' (GAB 2017)	<i>ämmö ukon keralla</i> 'grandma with grandpa' (LEZ 2018)
TOOL	<i>šammuta sie kun heinän ta lehen kerä</i> 'Extinguish it with hay and leaves' (MKA 1972)	<i>kirvehen ta vasaran keral</i> 'with an axe and a hammer' (LEZ 2018)
MATERIAL	<i>vietra šeiso juomisen kerä</i> 'there was a bucket full with beverages there' (SSA 2017)	<i>rautojen keralla lippahat</i> 'cases with iron parts' (FSK 1972)

form seems *unmotivated* or *free*. But free variation is usually probabilistically constrained. Almost all speakers listed in Table 27 use both *kerä* and *keral(la)*, but the chances that a form is used are different for different speakers. (Recall also the discussion about individual preferences in the use of the *s-* and *s-less* forms of the simple past.) The reasons for these differences lie in the extralinguistic world (in social factors, geography, etc.), but in many cases we do not have enough information about the world outside to account for the observed distributions.

The remaining part of this section is more impressionistic; we discuss mechanisms and outcomes of language change without assessing them in quantitative terms. We have already mentioned analogical extension, paradigmatic levelling, and simplification of inflection, but the forms discussed so far do not make up the whole story; there are many other examples of analogy as a mechanism of language change in the material. Table 29 contains forms which do not belong to any of the types already discussed (e.g. they are not part of the qualitative consonant gradation system discussed in Section 5.3), but illustrate the present state of the inflectional system of Kolvitsa Karelian. All examples are from 2017/2018 data; this material demonstrates at best the morphological breakdown occurring in language death.

In the first three items in the table a stem variant occurring in other case forms is analogically applied to the Nominative, the basic form of the noun. Interestingly, the first item was produced offline. LVS was asked to compile a list of Karelian words and expressions and present it to us on the next day; on analogy with the Genitive stem (used also in the oblique cases), she presented

Table 29. Analogical extention: varia

Meaning	Attested form (grammatical gloss)	Expected form	: Probable source of proportional analogy
‘hare’	<i>jäniksi</i> (NOM.SG) (LVS 2017)	<i>jänis</i> (KKV)	: <i>jänikse-</i> (Genitive & oblique case stem) (KKV)
‘well; spring’	<i>hetti</i> (NOM.SG) (SSA 2017)	<i>hete</i> (KKV)	: <i>hettie-</i> (Genitive & oblique case stem) (KKV)
‘gulf; bay’	<i>lahti</i> (NOM.SG) (OAP 2018; NVI 2018)	<i>lakši</i> (KKV)	: <i>lahta</i> (Partitive), <i>lahe-</i> (Genitive & oblique case stem [KKV]), or Finnish influence (Fi Nominative <i>lahti</i> )
‘fires; lights’	<i>tulit</i> (NOM.PL) (SSA 2017)	<i>tulet</i> (KKV)	: <i>tuli</i> (Nominative) or <i>tul-i-</i> plural oblique case inflection (e.g. Hietajärvi <i>tulilla</i> ADE.PL [KKV])
‘years’	<i>vuožet</i> (NOM.PL) (SSA 2017)	<i>vuuvet</i> (KKV)	: <i>vuoš</i> i or <i>vuosi</i> (Nominative) (KKV)
‘along the sea’	<i>meryä</i> (PART.SG) <i>myöte</i> (AAG 2017)	<i>mertä</i> <i>myöte</i> (KKV)	: stems with the Partitive suffixed on a vowel-stem; e.g. <i>mieruo myöte</i> ‘along the world’
‘language’	<i>kieliä</i> (PART.SG) (LEZ 2017; OAP 2018)	<i>kieltä</i> (KRS-SD: 54)	: stems with <i>e-/ä-</i> Partitive on a vowel-stem; e.g. <i>lehtie</i> (cf. <i>lehti</i> ‘leaf’) (Zaikov 2002: 59)
‘of the woman’	<i>naiñella</i> (ADE.SG) (NVI 2018)	<i>naisella</i> (KRS-SD: 114; KKV)	: <i>naiñ/i</i> (Nominative) + <i>-e</i> stem auslaut in the Genitive and in the oblique cases (KKV)
‘Bluestone (topo- nym)’	<i>šinišekivi</i> (NOM.SG) (NVI 2018)	<i>šiniñi kivi</i> (KKV)	: <i>šiniše-</i> (Genitive & oblique case stem) (KKV)
‘better’	<i>hyvempi</i> (CMP.SG.NOM) (LVS 2017)	<i>parempi</i> (Zaikov 1987: 70)	: <i>hyvä</i> ‘good’ (KKV)
‘they were going’	<i>käviti</i> (IND.PST.3PL) (IVS 2017)	<i>käytih</i> (KKV)	: <i>kävi-</i> (non-3PL simple past tense; e.g. Vuokkiniemi <i>kävimä</i> ‘we went’ KKV)
‘I went’	<i>lähin</i> (IND.PST.1SG) (NVI 2018)	<i>läksin</i> (KKV)	: <i>lähe-</i> (active Indicative present tense stem) + <i>-i-</i> (simple past tense)
‘our’	<i>myön</i> (GEN.PL) (OAP 2018)	<i>meän</i> (KKV)	: <i>myö</i> (Nominative ‘we’) (KKV)
‘nobody’	<i>nikentä</i> (PART.SG) (NVI 2018)	<i>niketä</i> (KKV; SSK- GK: 384)	: <i>ken</i> (Nominative) + <i>-tA</i> (Partitive)

*jäniksi* as a basic (Nominative) form of ‘hare’ instead of *jänis*. The second item *hetti* (in *še on Muarien hetti* ‘this is Maria’s well, spring’) demonstrates a generalization of the strong grade in quantitative consonant gradation: the strong Genitive stem occurs in the Nominative instead of the expected weak-grade stem. OAP and NVI, the youngest speakers of Kolvitsa Karelian and our only male consultants, tended to produce *lahti* in Nominative instead of *lakši*. This stem alternation is unique to this word, and it is not surprising that attriters are “restoring” the morphotactic transparency of the inflection by extending the non-Nominative stem to the Nominative.<sup>133</sup> At the same time SSA, one of the best speakers of the language, erred in such a basic noun as ‘fire’: *sielä siitä lʷajitah tulit* ‘and then one makes a fire there’, generalizing the singular Nominative stem in plural Nominative where the Genitive stem *tule-* is due. Another generalization of the singular Nominative in the plural Nominative is *vuožet* ‘years’; here, however, SSA corrected herself later and produced the expected form *vuuwet* which is based on the Genitive stem *vuuve-*.

In *meryä* and *kieliä* we have an extension of the vocalic stem of the word to the domain of the consonantal stem (the Partitive); here an inflectional pattern requiring two stems is reduced to a single-stem pattern. The loss of stem allomorphy, typical for language death (e.g. Wolfram 2007), results in inflection which is more analytical and transparent for users of the receding language. In the case of *kieliä*, it is interesting that both the best speaker in 2017/2018 LEZ and the semi-speaker OAP produced this form: *kaikki puajima tätä ryššän kieliä* ‘we all spoke this Russian language’ (LEZ 2017), *miun kieliä maltetih* ‘they (the Finns) understood my language’ (OAP 2018). In *naiñella* (*sillä naiñella on poika* ‘this woman has a child’) and *Šinišekivi*, we have the same stem alternation (*-ñ-* : *-š-/-s-*), but the extension takes opposite directions: in the first *-š-/-s-* occurs instead of *-ñ-*, in the second *-ñ-* instead of *-š-/-s-*. Interestingly, these opposite extensions are recorded in the language of the same speaker, which suggests that attriters opportunistically apply the mechanism of analogy.

The form *hyvempi* exemplifies loss of suppletion, which is also typical for receding languages (Dressler 1981: 8). The comparative form of the

133. The word *lahti* is included in SSKGK, but no examples of the Nominative form are presented; KRS-SD does not contain this form (only *lakši*), which suggests that the authors of this dictionary do not perceive it as part of the vocabulary of White Sea Karelian; judging from the examples in KKV, the Nominative *lahti* occurs in Olonets Karelian, but not in Karelian Proper. It is also worth noting that the northwestern Russian dialects within the Finnic contact zone use the Finnic loanword *lakhta* (*лахта*) for a ‘small bay’ (e.g. REW II: 20; Merkur’ev 1979: 79); e.g. the fishing place *Лакhta* at Varzuga, *Черная лакhta* ‘Black piscary’ at Knyazhaya Guba, etc. Given the abundance of such place names in the area, we cannot exclude influence of local Russian.



adjective *hyvä* across Karelian Proper is *parempi* (or *parembi*) and the superlative *paras* (or *parahin*); the non-suppletive declension *hyvä* : *hyvempi* : *hyvin*, on the other hand, is attested in Olonets Karelian (Zaikov 1987: 70). The consultant IVS, who produced the third person plural past tense form *käviti* instead of *käytih*, can be characterized as a rememberer; she remembers a lot of words and expressions but cannot participate in a conversation in Karelian. The functional domain of analogy here is grammatical person: the verb stem used in non-3PL simple past tense form is extended to 3PL. In *lähin* (instead of *läksin*) the domain of extension is tense marking: the stem *läh(e)*- used in present tense Indicative is extended to the simple past Indicative.

The last two items in the table, a personal and a negative pronoun, are challenging because pronouns are closed lexical classes. These pronouns are extremely frequent, and therefore it is not surprising that they occur in the output of speakers who otherwise show extensive signs of language attrition. In *myön lehmät* ‘our cows’ (OAP 2018), the Nominative stem *myö* surfaces instead of the *meä-* (or *miä-*) stem to which the Genitive *-n* is added (Novak et al. 2019: 251); the inflectional pattern *myö* : *myö-n* is more agglutinative and transparent than the original *myö* : *meä-n*. The same can be said about the Partitive form of the negative pronoun *niken* ‘nobody’ in *ei nikentä i oltu* ‘there was nobody there’. The original pattern involves deletion of [n] before the Partitive suffix (*niken* : *niken-tä*), and therefore the new pattern *niken* : *niken-tä* (without deletion) is less complex and more transparent for the attriter NVI.

The pursuit of overt marking often leads to redundancy. In Section 5.5 we will discuss redundancy in syntax, but examples (2) and (3) show that redundant structures occur also in morphology (or morphophonology). In (2), the morpheme of the Conditional mood occurs twice in the finite verb form; the expected form is *venyis* (LEZ 2018). Such double marking of the Conditional is typical for Ingrian (Chernyavskiy 2005: 48–49) and Vote (Markus & Rozhanskiy 2011: 151–152), but not for Karelian Proper. In the next example (3), we find an innovative form of the past passive/impersonal participle which is extended by another syllable containing *-t-* (an exponent of the passive/impersonal voice) and the binding vowel *-e-*. The expected form of the past passive/impersonal participle here is *tultu* (cf. Zaikov 2002: 133). The form *tultettu* can be explained as analogical formation based on verbs ending in *-t* and featuring the same interfix between the voiceless dental stops; i.e. INF *šuurittua* ‘dress up’ > IMPS.PST.PTCP *šuuritettu* ‘dressed up’, INF *tulla* > IMPS.PST.PTCP *tultettu*. Being aware of the existence of verb stems in *-t*, the semi-speaker NVI adds an additional syllable between the stem and the participle marker as a precaution against misinterpretation of the dental formant as part the stem and not as an inflectional morpheme.

- (2) *tallotti jotta hän näi veny-si-s*  
 stomp:IMPS.PST PURP it.NOM this\_way stretch-COND-COND.3SG  
 ‘It (a certain seaweed) was stomped on, so that it would stretch a little.’  
 (LEZ 2018)
- (3) *oltih=ko hyö tuossa Šuomen*  
 be:PST.3PL=Q(yes/no) they.NOM there Finland:GEN  
*puolešta tul-te-ttu sinne Kiestingih*  
 side:ELA come-IMPS-IMPS.PST.PTCP there Kiestinki:ILL  
 ‘They might have come to Kiestinki from Finland, mightn’t they?’  
 (NVI 2018)

Finally, in addition to lexical calqueing (discussed in Sections 5.1 and 5.2) and replication of the syntactic structure of the contact language (to be discussed in Section 5.5), Kolvitsa Karelian offers examples of pattern replication in inflectional morphology; even this most grammatical part of the grammar is not free of structural replicas from Russian. In (4a) and (4b), the speaker intends to produce forms of the Conditional mood of the verbs *kertuo* ‘tell (a story)’ and *haluta* ‘want’. In the first example, we have a counterfactual (past-oriented) context, in the second an optative (future-oriented) context; these are the main contexts of the Finnic Conditional. The Conditional form expected in (4a) is the simple *kertosin* or the periphrastic *olisin kerton*, and in (4b) *halusin*. Instead, the speakers produce forms of the Indicative simple past: *kerroin* and *haluin*. These forms are structural calques from Russian where the Conditional is based on the past tense form (the *l*-form) to which the irrealis marker *by* is cliticized; see *рассказыва-л=бы* ‘I should have told (stories)’ providing the model for (4a), and *хотел=бы* ‘I would like’ for (4b). The structural equivalent of the Russian past tense in Karelian is the simple past tense form, and therefore MAK and SSA express the Conditional by means of the Indicative simple past.<sup>134</sup> It is worth noting that the first form occurs in 1972 (when Karelian was largely spoken in the village) and in the output of MAK who is an excellent speaker, able to recite folk poetry and other archaic genres in Karelian. It seems, thus, that morphological replication cannot be exclusively associated with language attrition; long-lasting and intense contact seems to be a sufficient condition for its occurrence.

134. There is no obvious equivalent to the Russian irrealis particle *by* in Karelian and therefore it is just ignored.

- (4) a. *Et=kö*                      *kellä*                      *kerton?* –  
 NEG.2SG=Q(yes/no)    somebody.ALL    tell:PST.CNG  
*A minnegä*                      *mie kerroin,*                      *kun*  
 and where\_to:PTCL    I.NOM tell:IND.PST:ISG    when  
*mie mänin*                      *miehellä ta lapšie*  
 I.NOM go:IND.PST:ISG    man:ALL and child:PL.PART  
*rupesi*                              *rod'iutumah.*  
 begin:IND.PST.3SG    be\_born:INF  
 'Didn't you tell somebody? – And whom [lit. *where*] should I tell  
 (or should I have told); I got married and started having children!  
 (MAK 1972)
- b. *Mie haluin*                      *siun*                      *piä(l) akottuo.*  
 I.NOM want:IND.PST:ISG    you:GEN    on    get\_married.INF  
 'I would like to marry you.' (SSA 2017)

## 5.5. Syntax

The pervasive influence of Russian syntax on local Karelian is one of the first things that attracts the attention of a field linguist working in the village. Word order is undoubtedly the most affected domain; we would not exaggerate by saying that the word order of Kolvitsa Karelian basically mirrors Russian word order.<sup>135</sup> For this very reason we will disregard word order and focus on analytically more challenging contact-induced phenomena. As a follow-up to the discussion from the last section, we begin with morphosyntactic phenomena.

In Finnic, verbs describing language skills – general proficiency or specific skills such as 'speak', 'understand', 'write' – require that the word for 'language' or for certain language ('Russian', 'Swedish' etc.) occurring as direct

135. Replicas of the Russian word order can be observed on every level of constituent structure in Kolvitsa Karelian: at a sentence, clause, and phrase level, even within compound words. For example, a well-known member of the Arkhipov family was called *Pekka-ryššä*, lit. 'Peter-the-Russian'. He was excessively concerned with his clothes and appearance, and since Russians were the importers of popular culture, this nickname meant a 'dandy'. The order of elements in the compound *Pekka-ryššä* seems to follow the Russian model (cf. *Петька карел* 'Peter the Karelian'), whereas the Karelian varieties in Mainland Karelia would use the word order *Ryššä-Pekka* 'the Russian Peter'.

object of the verb is in the Partitive. This case-government pattern is observed both in affirmative and negative sentences. However, in Kolvitsa data from 2017/2018, we observe some hesitation in this context. Table 30 presents attested case-forms of the word ‘language’ after *tietyä* ‘know, have a knowledge of’, *maltua* ‘know; understand’, and *puajie* ‘speak’, the verbs most frequently occurring in the data with *kieli* ‘language’ as direct object; the “erroneous” non-Partitive case forms are marked in the table with an exclamation mark.

**Table 30. Case-marking on *kieli* ‘language’ in direct object position after verbs of language proficiency**

verb	Partitive	Genitive	Nominative
<i>tietyä</i> ‘know; have a knowledge of’	√	!	–
<i>maltua</i> ‘know; understand’	√	–	!
<i>puajie</i> ‘speak’	√	–	!

Examples (5)–(7) illustrate these arguably defective structures which were all obtained in uncontrolled elicitation. The mere occurrence of *tietyä* in this context is due to Russian influence; other Karelian varieties do not use the verb ‘know’ in the context of language skills.

- (5) a. *ei niken tietä(n) että mie tiijän*  
 nobody.NOM know:PST.CNG that I.NOM know.PRS:1SG  
*karjalan kielen*  
 Karelian:GEN language:GEN  
 ‘Nobody knew that I knew ( $\approx$  spoke) Karelian language.’ (LEZ 2017)
- b. *missä sie kielen tiijet*  
 where:ELA you.NOM language:GEN know.PRS:2SG  
 ‘How come do you know ( $\approx$  speak) the language?’ (LEZ 2018)
- (6) *a hän maltau kieli*  
 but s/he.NOM understand.PRS.3SG language.NOM  
 ‘But she understands the language.’ (LEZ 2018)
- (7) *saksan kieli puaji,*  
 German:GEN language.NOM speak.PRS.3SG  
*šuomen kieli puaji*  
 Finnish:GEN language.NOM speak.PRS.3SG  
 ‘He speaks German, he speaks Finnish.’ (OAP 2018)

Sometimes the same consultant produces both the “false” and the “correct” case-government pattern in a similar context and with the same verb; cf. examples (5a–b) and *tiesi kieltä* know:PST.3SG language:PART.SG ‘she spoke (lit. knew) the language’ (LEZ 2017).

What would explain the non-Partitive forms of the direct object in Table 30? At least two factors might be at play here. The Nominative form can be accounted for as reflection of Russian case-syncretism. In Russian the Nominative and the Accusative form of the word *язык* ‘language’ are identical (cf. *этот язык красивый* ‘this language is beautiful’ and *он очень хорошо знает язык* ‘he knows the language very well’). Although Finnic has differential object case-marking (depending on the resultativity and polarity of the predicate, and the totality/partiality and definiteness of the referent of the noun), the most frequent object case in Finnic is the Partitive which, therefore, could be expected to be conceived by Karelians as functionally equivalent to the Russian Accusative. The inference leading to the use of the Nominative<sup>136</sup> in examples (6) and (7) goes as follows: the Russian Nominative formally equals the Russian Accusative which functionally equals the Karelian Partitive; therefore, the Karelian Partitive must also formally equal the Karelian Nominative. By producing Nominative direct objects the last speakers of Kolvitsa Karelian complete the isomorphism between the two languages in this grammatical domain.

The Genitive object exemplified by (5a–b) can also be explained in terms of analogy. In Northern Finnic languages, verbs of knowledge, perception, and cognition (‘know’, ‘feel’, ‘remember’ etc.) are compatible with total object marking – in this case the Genitive<sup>137</sup> (see Ahtia 2014: 11, 34 for Karelian examples). Since total objects typically occur with resultative verbs, such semantically irresultative verbs have been called “quasi-resultative” (Itkonen 1976). Total object marking is, however, impossible when the verb conveys a permanent ability of an individual to communicate or understand a language. In other words, the noun ‘language’ does not occur as a total object of verbal expressions of mental ability. The Genitive has probably been generalized from other objects of perception and cognition predicates to objects of linguistic skills: i.e. *muissan šen* ‘I remember it’ – *muissan kielen* ‘I remember the language (i.e. I have not forgotten how to speak it)’ (SSA 2017). By extending the total object marking to ‘language’ after such verbs, the speaker promotes their formal similarity with resultative verbs and downplays their irresultative semantics. The Genitive form

136. Such morphologically unmarked direct object forms are regarded in Karelian grammaticography as Accusative (“Nominative-like Accusative”) forms, which are used to encode ‘total objects’ (Kar. *totalini objektit*, Zaikov 2002: 57–58, 152).

137. Such direct object forms are regarded in Karelian grammaticography as Accusative (“Genitive-like Accusative”) forms encoding total objects (Zaikov 2002: 57–58, 152).

of ‘language’ as an object of ‘know’ is not unique to Kolvitsa Karelian, though; according to Olga Karlova (p.c.), speakers of the Vuokkiniemi variety of White Sea Karelian also use the Genitive object in the context of (5a–b).<sup>138</sup>

There are also examples where we find the Genitive on the object argument instead of the expected Nominative or Partitive. This is the case with the 3PL Indicative form of transitive verbs which developed from the passive/impersonal form, and therefore requires the Nominative on total objects and the Partitive on partial objects; cf. *rahua ei ollun, annettih ruokan* ‘there wasn’t money, they gave us food’ (AAG 2017). The Genitive form<sup>139</sup> in this example occurs instead of the Nominative *ruoka* or the Partitive *ruokua*. Such occurrences of the Genitive where a Nominative/Partitive is due in object position are marginally attested also elsewhere in Karelian Proper (e.g. by Oja-järvi 1950: 105, 107–108 in southern Karelian Proper).

Although Kolvitsans are switching to Russian, analogical extension in their Karelian is not always provoked by models in this language, but is sometimes internally conditioned, and its outcomes can be contrary to the corresponding structures in Russian. After having discussed analogical change in verb–argument structures, now we will present an example from clause combining. The example concerns the homomorphy (or lack thereof) of conditional and temporal clauses. The northern dialects of Karelian Proper have three conjunctions marking the protasis of conditional clauses: *jesli*, *ku(i)n*, and *jos*. The first is borrowed from Russian (< *если* ‘if’) and occurs in all Karelian dialects; the other two are inherited and probably do not co-occur in all varieties of northern Karelian Proper.<sup>140</sup> While *jesli* and *jos* have conditional origins (‘if’), the source meaning of *ku(i)n* is manner, but it has been extended first to function as temporal (‘when’) and then as conditional adverbializer; these three functions of *ku(i)n* are productive in northern Karelian Proper.

Examples (8a–b) and (9) demonstrate that *jesli* and *jos* can be used in Kolvitsa Karelian as conjunctions introducing temporal clauses. In (8a–b), the English temporal adverbializer *when* is the apparent gloss for *jesli*; also

138. Ehala has studied the object-marking of Estonian spoken as L2 by native Russians and Russian-Estonian bilinguals (Ehala 2011; 2012) and arrived at the conclusion that the observed variation is due to multiple causes and not to a straightforward replication of Russian patterns in Estonian. Ehala argues, however, that all causes resort to analogy in the broadest sense of the term (Ehala 2012). Our analysis of the case marking of the word ‘language’ in object position corroborates his statement.

139. The expected Genitive form of the word ‘food’ is *ruuwan*. The consultant produces here a strong-grade form on analogy with the Nominative and Partitive. Such cases of paradigmatic levelling and analogical generalization were discussed in Section 5.4.

140. KKV and SSKGK are not sufficiently informative as to the occurrence of *jos* (or *josš*) in different subdialects of northern Karelian Proper.

note that in (8b) we have two clauses of time presenting consecutive events in relation to the state of affairs of the main clause: the first clause of time is headed by *konše* ‘when’, the second by *jesli*. In (9), we see a peculiar use of the dedicated conditional marker *jos* ‘if’ as a marker of temporal clause.

The only explanation for such uses is that they reflect the condition–time polysemy of *ku(i)n*; in other words, they are a result of the meaning analogy presented in Table 31 below. Kolvitsa Karelians answer to the question marks in the table by extending the conjunctions *jesli* and *jos* to adverbial clauses of time, copying this way the distribution of *ku(i)n* as adverbializer. Pattern replication from Russian can be ruled out here as Russian differentiates conditional and temporal conjunctions (and clauses). The most common conditional conjunction in Russian is *если*, the most common temporal one *когда*, but also other (rarer) conjunctions fulfil only one of these functional tasks, never both of them.

- (8) a. *jesli hän menöy kotih šyömä, tyttäri*  
 if he.NOM go.PRS.3SG home:ILL eat:INF daughter:PL.PART  
*svoih panou, i hyö karaulitah*  
 own(Rus) put.PRS.3SG and they guard:PRS.3PL  
 ‘When he goes home, he puts his daughters on guard duty.’ (GAB 2018)
- b. *mie olin jo ruavoš, konše hänen muamo*  
 I.NOM be:PST:1SG already work:INE when her mother  
*meni miehellä, a siitä jesli rot’iuhutih, – hän*  
 go:PST.3SG man:ALL and then if be\_born:PST.3PL she.NOM  
*on nuorempi kaikkien perhešta ...*  
 be.PRS.3SG younger all:GEN family:ELA  
 ‘I was already working when her mother got married, and then *when* her children were born; she is the youngest in the family ...’ (LEZ 2018)
- (9) *i hyö jos miula šoitetah, i – muamo kärissä*  
 and they.NOM if I:ALL call:PRS.3PL and mother.NOM fry.IMP.2SG  
*potakkua – mie šuuren skovorodkan kärissä potakkua*  
 potato:PART I.NOM big:GEN frying\_pan:GEN fry.PRS:1SG potato:PART  
 ‘And when they call me – mother, fry potatoes –, I fry a panful of potatoes in the frying pan.’ (LEZ 2018)

The most common source of protasis markers (‘if’) cross-linguistically are expressions of temporality (Traugott 1985: 292), but in this case we observe the reverse development: from ‘time’ to ‘condition’. This is not a normal grammaticalization path, but an occasional analogical extension which does not follow the direction of semantic shift from a concrete to abstract meaning.



Table 31. Spread of the condition–time polysemy among conjunctions

CONDITION	<i>ku(i)n</i> :	<i>jesli</i>	<i>jos</i>
TIME	<i>ku(i)n</i> :	?	?

Other syntactic “errors” typical for contemporary speakers of Kolvitsa Karelian concern head–dependent agreement in NPs and predicate negation. (10) and (11) are examples of agreement failure. The verb-governed internal local case on the head noun (*Kannanlahešša*) in (10) does not occur on the attribute where we observe an external local case (*Nižñoilla*). This violation of a Finnic agreement rule is probably semantically motivated: the landmark *Lower Kandalakša* is a composite of the town *Kandalakša* and the topological feature ‘lower’. While a location within the town is easily conceptualized in terms of confinement, encoded in this case by the internal local case *Inessive*, any landscape location can only be on its surface, which explains the external local case on ‘lower’. We may speculate further that the different marking of the head noun and its dependent is structurally supported by Russian in which these constituents receive different case-exponents (cf. *в Нижней Кандалакше*).

In example (11), the head noun ‘year’ is in the *Essive* and one would expect also the ordinal numeral 76 to be in this case, but the semi-speaker OAP produces the *Inessive* of the attributive numeral. This example can be explained in terms of language attrition. In 2017/2018 the inflection of ordinal numbers was a difficult task even for the best speakers, and the *Essive* is one of the least productive cases, whose inflection is exceptional as it is based on the strong grade of the stem. The consultant OAP resolves the insurmountable task of inflecting ‘76th’ in the *Essive* by producing a cardinal instead of the ordinal, and by replacing the *Essive* with a more conventional case ending which frequently occurs on numerals and has a similar function in this context.

- (10) *Nižñoi-lla*      *Kannanlahe-šša*      *jätti*      *porot*  
 lower-ADE/ALL    Kandalaksha-INE    leave:PST.3SG    reindeer:PL.NOM  
 ‘He left the reindeer in Lower Kandalaksha.’ (LEZ 2017)

- (11) *miun tuatto*      *kuoli,*      *oli*  
 my    dad.NOM    die:PST.3SG    be:PST.3SG  
*seičemänkymmentäkuuve-šša*    *vuote-na*  
 seventy\_six-INE                            year-ESS  
 ‘My dad died, it was in 1976.’ (OAP 2018)

Examples (12)–(14) demonstrate symmetric verbal negation which is ill-formed from a Finnic perspective. Symmetric negation is defined by Miestamo (2013: 1) as a structure which is identical to the structure of the affirmative except for the presence of the negative marker(s). In asymmetric negation, on the other hand, the structure of the negative differs from the structure of the affirmative in other ways too. While Russian has symmetric negation (cf. *знаю* ‘I know’ and *не знаю* ‘I don’t know’), Finnic has asymmetric negation: the negation of the Finnish *tiedän* ‘I know’ is not *\*en tiedän* but *en tiedä*, where the content verb is in a special connegative form different from the affirmative form. Occurrences of Russian-influenced symmetric negation in other Finnic varieties have been discussed by Kehayov (2017: 164–166). In the examples from Kolvitsa Karelian in (12)–(14), we seem to have two finite verb forms within one predicate: the negation verb (inflected for person) and the content verb (inflected for tense and person). Example (12) demonstrates a bridging context supporting the expansion of symmetric negation. The negative here can be analysed as part of the predicate verb, in which case we have symmetric negation; better, however, would be to analyse it as part of the AdvP *ei meijän puolella* ‘not at our place (i.e. somewhere else)’. In this case, the predicate verb *eli* is outside the scope of negation and can be regarded as affirmative; the meaning of the sentence would be ‘she lived not on our side (i.e. she lived somewhere else)’.<sup>141</sup>

The occurrence of constituents between the negator and the verb leads to reanalysis of the scope of the negator and facilitates the replication of the Russian symmetric negation pattern. The Russian translation of (13) with a universal quantifier (*nikonša* ‘never’) requires the verb *ottua* ‘take’ to be negated. The increased distance between the negator and the content verb prompts the speaker of Kolvitsa Karelian to mark the finiteness features (grammatical person) on the latter, using the symmetric negation model familiar from Russian. Examples like (14), where the negator and the content verb are next to each other, are rarer. In this example, the negator *en* (in *en kävelin*) is overtly marked for person (for 1SG) and therefore can only be analysed as a verb form; the example was produced by the youngest speaker of Karelian in the village. Symmetric negation is only an occasional phenomenon even in the output of semi-speakers; however, most of our consultants in 2017/2018 (GAB, SSA, LEZ, OAP, NVI) produced verb forms with symmetric negation. The earlier data (from 1972 and 1987), on the other hand, did not contain examples of

141. Russian supports such structures because its narrow scope negation is compatible with affirmative predicates; cf. *не один раз было* ‘lit. not-one-time was (i.e. this did not happen only once)’. In 2018 LEZ produced a predication mirroring this structure: *ei yksi kerta oli* NEG(.3SG) one time be:PST.3SG, in which the negator modifies ‘one time’, and not the verb which is affirmative.

symmetric verbal negation, which suggests that the phenomenon is conditioned by language attrition.

- (12) *hiän ei meijän puolella el-i*  
 s/he.NOM NEG(.3SG) we:GEN side:ADE live-PST.3SG  
 ‘She did not live on our side (of the river).’ (LEZ 2018)
- (13) *daže tuatto miu karauli, sm<sup>i</sup>etti, što hän*  
 even dad.NOM mine guard:PST.3SG think:PST.3PL that he.NOM  
*ottau, a hän ei nikonša ott-i, a*  
 take.PRS.3SG but he.NOM NEG(.3SG) never take-PST.3SG but  
*tovariššat hänen, kenen kera hän työjeli*  
 comrades.NOM his who:GEN with he.NOM work:PST.3SG  
 ‘Even my dad was guarding (the waterpower station), and they thought he was taking (i.e. was secretly fishing), but he never did, only his mates with whom he worked did.’ (GAB 2018)
- (14) *oltih, oltih, no mie en muissa*  
 be:PST.3PL be:PST.3PL but I.NOM NEG.ISG remember.PRS.CNG  
*mim-, sielä en kävel-i-n*  
 which- there NEG.ISG go-PST-1SG  
 ‘There were, there were, but I don’t remember which (ones), I didn’t go there.’ (NVI 2018)

Intrasentential switch of grammar, or “code mixing” (Sridhar & Sridhar 1980), is extremely common in the material. Elements of Karelian and Russian grammar co-occur within a clause and even within a phrase. The examples in (15)–(20) illustrate this with the most diverse phrase type – the VP. The finite verb in (15)–(19) is inflected according to the rules of Karelian grammar, whereas its dependent (printed in capitals) is grammatically encoded in Russian; in (20), conversely, the finite verb (printed in capitals) is inflected in Russian and the dependent in Karelian.

(15) and (16a–b), for example, contain predicative expressions of practicing a profession or being in certain state. We may speculate for each example what has activated this mixing of grammars. Among other things, code mixing can be motivated by achieving the communicative goal of verisimilitude (Sridhar & Sridhar 1980: 408), and in the case of (15) and (16a–b) the switch to the Russian instrumental predicative can be regarded as iconic with the temporal distance from the moment of speech. In other words, the phrase-internal code-mixing could be motivated by the goal of the speaker to frame the situation as detached from here-and-now and make this way his

description look more authentic. It is also possible that the words in capital in (15) and (16a–b) are perceived as conventionalized descriptions of states which have diverged from the concrete countable nouns from which they are inflected. As new lexemes, which are accessed holistically and not in terms of their morphological structure, they can be easily inserted in sequences of speech composed according to Karelian grammar. Typically, code mixing does not trigger code-switching; this is best demonstrated by examples (16a) and (20a), where the constituent in Russian is not only preceded but also followed by a chunk of speech in Karelian.

copula verb – predicative noun

- (15) *myö* [ *olima KOLKHOZNIKAMI* ]  
 we.NOM be:PST:IPL kolkhoz\_worker:INS.PL  
 ‘We were kolkhoz workers.’ (GAB 2017)

content verb – predicative adverbial

- (16) a. *a toatto konša [PRESEDATELEM työjeli],*  
 and father.NOM when chairman:INS.SG work:PST.3SG  
*ei ollu konša männä ... Velikanov*  
 NEG.3SG be:PST.CNG when go:INF Velikanov.NOM  
 [*työjeli RYBNADZOROM*]  
 work:PST.3SG fisher\_supervisor:INS.SG  
 ‘And when father worked as chairman of the kolkhoz, there was no time to go there ... Velikanov worked as the fishermen’s supervisor.’ (GAB 2018)
- b. *mie Maijan [muissan vielä DEVUŠKOJ]*  
 I.NOM Maija:GEN remember:PRS.ISG still girl:INS.SG  
 ‘I remember Maija as a girl.’ (LEZ 2018)

verb – direct object

- (17) *šemmañi hän oli, oikei*  
 such.NOM s/he.NOM be:PST.3SG very\_much  
 [*vieri BOKHA*]  
 believe:PST.3SG God:ACC.SG  
 ‘She was like this; she firmly believed in God.’ (AAG 2017)

verb – infinitival complement

- (18) a. *häntä [halutti RAZKULACHIVAT’]*  
 s/he:PART want:PST.3PL dekulakize:INF  
 ‘They wanted to dispossess him as a kulak.’ (AAG 2017)

- b. *tänäpeänä on pohjatuuli, i piä*  
 today be:PRS.3SG northwind.NOM NEG.3SG must.PRS.CNG  
*lähtie kalalla, [ei rupe KLEVAT']*  
 go:INF fish:ALL NEG.3SG begin.PRS.CNG bite:INF  
 ‘The wind is from the north today; we shouldn’t go fishing; fish will not bite.’ (GAB 2018)

verb – adverbial complement

- (19) a. *laivalla [viijäh V ARKHANGEL'SK]*  
 ship:ADE.SG transport:IMPS.PRS in Arkhangelsk.ACC.SG  
 ‘It will be freighted by ship to Arkhangelsk.’ (AKA 1972)
- b. *šomga konša makuau [tultih S KARELII]*  
 salmon.NOM when sleep.PRS.3SG come:PST.3PL from Karelia:GEN.SG  
 ‘When the salmon did not migrate (lit. when the salmon was sleeping), then they (the people) came from Karelia.’ (GAB 2018)

modifier – verb

- (20) a. *i pusurunkka [nii hyvin SOKHRANILAS'] meilä*  
 and knitted\_sweater.NOM so well preserve:PST.F:REFL we:ADE  
 ‘And the knitted sweater was so well taken care of in our home.’  
 (LEZ 2018)
- b. *miula [oiken PONRAVILAS']*  
 I:ALL very\_much please:PST.F:REFL  
 ‘I liked it very much.’ (LEZ 2018)

The examples with adverbial complements (19a) and (19b) present a transfer of prepositional phrase from Russian. Code-mixing (and -switching) affecting adpositional phrases is considered to be very rare (Poplack 1980: 602; Sridhar & Sridhal 1980: 410), but in Kolvitsa material code-mixing frequently occurs within such phrases. Typically, a Russian preposition co-occurs with a case-inflected Karelian noun whereby the case reiterates the meaning of the preposition. Such structures have been discussed by Kehayov (2017: 123–125) as examples of syntagmatic redundancy; examples from Kolvitsa Karelian are presented in (21)–(25).<sup>142</sup>

142. We distinguish between cases of code-mixing in adpositional phrases (discussed here) and cases in which the preposition in the phrase is a Russian loanword and which were presented in Table 11 in Section 5.2. Apart from being phonologically integrated in Karelian, the latter genuinely contribute to the meaning of the adpositional

- (21) *no vobše [IZ karjalaisi-sta] ken tietäy*  
 well in\_general from Karelians-ELA who.NOM know.PRS.3SG  
*kaikkien paremmin kielen, mie juuri jäin*  
 all:GEN best language:GEN I.NOM only remain:PST:1SG  
 ‘Well, generally, of the Karelians who speak the language best, I am  
 the last one.’ (LEZ 2017)
- (22) *oli master sporta [PO šukšiloilla]*  
 be:PST.3SG master of\_sport(Rus) in skis-ADE  
 ‘He was a master of sports in cross-country skiing.’ (LEZ 2017)
- (23) *mie kun näkisin kniškan, šütä mie*  
 I.NOM when see:COND:1SG booklet:GEN it.ELA I.NOM  
*[NA karjala-kši] ... perevodila=by*  
 to Karelian-TRNSL translate:PST.F=IRR(Rus)  
 ‘If I had the book in front of me, I would translate (from it) to Kareli-  
 an.’ (AAG 2017)
- (24) *[ZA yhe-ššä vuuve-ššaa(n)] še pitä(y) nii opaštua*  
 for one-INE year-INE it.NOM must.PRS.3SG so study:INF  
 ‘One has to learn it within one year, or so.’ (LEZ 2018)
- (25) *[UV Varniča-šša] terv<sup>a</sup> ... i šuolua keitetih*  
 in Varniča-INE tar.PART and salt.PART cook:IMPS.PST  
 ‘One used to boil (carbonize) pine tar and salt in Varniča.’ (OAP 2018)

This kind of linear redundancy, where speakers overmark relations between constituents, is typical for the language of atritters (e.g. Polinsky 1995: 119), and has been explained by their insufficient competence, uncertainty, and the drive for explicitness at any price (Kehayov 2017: 16, 123). As example (26) shows, the phenomenon is not restricted to adpositional phrases. Here the inherited purposive conjunction *jotta* is for no apparent reason doubled by its Russian equivalent *чтоб(ы)*. The only explanation is that the speaker insures herself that way against miscommunicating her message.

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phrase. Their meaning is not duplicated by a Karelian case-suffix, and they govern the same grammatical cases on the dependent noun (Partitive or Genitive) as their Karelian correlates. Thence, these are grammatically integrated Russian loans, and not parts of Russian structure mixed with Karelian speech.

- (26) *ei ollu vielä silloin rahua,*  
 NEG.3SG be:PST.CNG yet then money.PART  
 [*jotta ŠTOB*] *opašuttua*  
 PURP PURP study:INF

‘We didn’t have then money for her to go and study.’ (AAG 2017)

Of course, language attrition is not exclusively manifested as inclusion of Russian linguistic matter and pattern in Karelian, but also by loss of Karelian constructions without any compensation. An example of such structural reduction are deranked clauses with non-finite verb forms functioning as their syntactic heads. The material from 1972 is rich in such structures, called *lauseenvastikkeet* ‘clause substitutes’ in Finnish grammaticography. In (27), we have a Genitive form of the active present participle, and in (28) an Essive form of the passive/impersonal present participle; this modal construction expresses objective impossibility. (29) contains the Inessive form of the so-called second infinitive, which functions as a temporal clause. In 2017 and 2018, on the other hand, we could not elicit a single *lauseenvastike*. Given the fact that there is much more data from 2017/2018 than from 1972, this is an indication that the non-finite clause-substitutes have lost their productivity and have been replaced by finite constructions.

Participial complement clause

- (27) *mie en ole kuullun nimitä*  
 I.NOM NEG.ISG be.PRS.CNG hear:ACT.PST.PTCP nothing.PART  
*šano-va-n*  
 say-ACT.PRS.PTCP-GEN

‘I haven’t heard people say anything about it.’ (MIB 1972)

Participial predicative clause

- (28) *šomkua ... ei ollun pyyvve-ttävä-nä*  
 salmon.PART NEG.3SG be:PST.CNG catch-IMPS.PRS.PTCP-ESS  
 ‘Salmon could not be caught (i.e. was not available for fishing).’ (AKA 1972)

Converbal temporal clause

- (29) *šiitä kun sielä tyttärenä olle-šša aivan*  
 then when there girl:ESS be:INF-INE constantly  
*kalanpyyntöloiššä kulkima*  
 fishing:PL:INE go:PST.IPL

‘Then, as (young) girls, we were constantly fishing there.’ (MAK 1972)



## 6. Conclusions

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The Karelian varieties of Murmansk Oblast had not been studied before, and Kolvitsa Karelian, the most distant one from Karelia, was a good place to start with. We planned this study as variational in spirit and longitudinal in extent, but the scarcity of data made it impossible to follow this plan on each level of linguistic structure. Earlier expeditions to Kolvitsa had not collected place names, and therefore we were dependent on the material collected during our interviews in 2017 and 2018 when studying the toponymy of the village. Accordingly, we could not examine in detail the reduction of the (collective or individual) repertoire of place names brought about by changing living conditions. For the vocabulary of common nouns, phonology, morphology, and syntax, on the other hand, we could use material from 1972 and 1987 and study both variation between idiolects of the same generation and across generations, although not in the same depth for different levels of structure.

We were interested in how the external world – the geography and the temporal order of events and states of affairs – is reflected in the language of Kolvitsa Karelians. But in order to investigate linguistic variation in time and space we first had to study the historical, social, and cultural background of the region in scope. While we surveyed the pre-20th century history of the area based on secondary sources, we covered the recent history of the village mostly based on oral history data. Using this method, we also investigated how speakers' perception of their own condition across time and space is mirrored in their language attitudes and their linguistic output.

By focusing on the question how Kolvitsa Karelian varies within and across speaker varieties and how this variation correlates with linguistic, historical, and geographic circumstances, we might have disappointed those readers who expected a description of *what Kolvitsa Karelian is*. Crucially, we did not study a homogenous dialect but separate idiolects, and only in relation to specific variables. We focused on linguistic phenomena which, based on the available information, we did not expect to find in the material. Moreover, we did not only study the unexpected presence but also the unexpected absence of lexical, phonological, and grammatical structure.

We accounted for observed phenomena in terms of three concurrent forces: i) the pressure toward persistence of linguistic features inherited from different dialects in Mainland Karelia and manifested as path-dependence in the linguistic output of individual speakers, ii) the fusion of speaker

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varieties within the village (ideally leading to a uniform Kolvitsa Karelian), and iii) the force of approaching language death manifested as structural decay. From a linguistic point of view time has been compressed in Kolvitsa: subdialects of Karelian Proper came to the village, merged to some extent, and then idiolects started to grow apart due to the lack of communication between the last speakers and their deficient knowledge of Karelian. Likewise, one century was enough for a double switch of the language of place names: the toponymy first changed from Russian to Karelian and then back to Russian, i.e. the landscape was first linguistically appropriated and Karelianized, and then again Russified. Such a swift changeover in nomination of terrain features – a conservative part of vocabulary – provides precious evidence for future research.

The issue of dialect mixing and convergence had not been studied much in Finnic linguistics, but thanks to the increase of interest in the so-called Border Karelian dialects (especially among researchers at the University of Eastern Finland) it has been getting more attention in recent years. Modern corpus-based studies on these territorial varieties (e.g. Uusitupa 2017; Tavi & Tavi 2019; Moshnikov 2021) have investigated linguistic variation that is not always geographically conditioned. In this study, we hope to have contributed to the study of variation in Karelian with insights from a mixed migrant variety which developed in isolation from other forms of Karelian Proper.

We paid a great deal of attention to language contact. In addition to influences which were transmitted from the source to the target language through direct contact between their speakers, we also studied indirect contact, where a substrate from a language has been transmitted via an intermediary language to Kolvitsa Karelian; such an intermediary has been the local Pomor Russian dialect. We discussed in detail both cases of matter replication and pattern replication in different domains of grammar; besides vocabulary and syntax, the domains in which pattern replication is typically attested and investigated, we also discussed cases of pattern replication in morphology.

Studies on receding Finnic languages observe excessive variation in their structure (e.g. Partanen & Saarikivi 2016 on Olonets Karelian; Rozhanskiy & Schwarz 2022 on Soikkola Ingrian; Valijärvi & Blokland 2022 on Meänkieli). As if the language boils over just before it goes extinct. Occurrence of parallel forms with the same function abounds also in Kolvitsa material; we discussed examples from different domains of structure. Moreover, we observed extensive lexical and grammatical variation not only at an inter-person level (i.e. between idiolects) but also within idiolects.

What causes excess variation? Great variation at an inter-person level could be a sign that the speech community and its linguistic conventions are falling apart – idiolects become “unplugged” and start to diverge. Finding an explanation for the profusion of alternative forms in the linguistic output of individual speakers, on the other hand, is a more challenging task which requires deeper analysis. At any rate, isolation seems to function as a freezer of inherited dialectal differences. The absence of levelling pressure from closely related dialects in the area keeps a form from eventually winning the contest for the expression of certain meaning, and the limited communication between the last speakers leads to greater interspeaker variability.

## Appendix I: Borrowings from the 500 most frequent Russian verbs

Russian source verb (frequency rank in Lyashevskaya & Sharov 2011)	Example from Kolvitsa Karelian, grammatical gloss (language guide, year)
<i>думать</i> ‘think; intend’ (11)	<i>duumaičen</i> IND.PRS:1SG (GAB 2018)
<i>любить</i> ‘love, like’ (28)	<i>l’ubii</i> IND.PST:3SG (AAG 2017)
<i>считать</i> ‘count; regard, think’ (33)	<i>čitaitih</i> IND:PST:3PL (FSK 1972)
<i>пройти</i> (40) ‘pass, go through’	<i>proitimə</i> IND.PST:1PL (AAG 2017)
<i>играть</i> ‘play’ (49)	<i>igraijah</i> IND:PRS:3PL (MAA 1972)
<i>уйти</i> ‘leave, exit’ (52)	<i>ujin</i> IND.PST:1SG (LEZ 2018)
<i>называть</i> ‘call, name’ (61)	<i>nazivaita</i> INF (first infinitive) (LEZ 2018)
<i>просить</i> ‘ask, beg’ (94)	<i>proššitiih</i> IND:PST:3PL (AKA 1972)
<i>открыть</i> ‘open; discover’ (96)	<i>ei otkroiče</i> NEG:3SG IND:PRS.CNG (FSK 1972)
<i>принимать</i> ‘take, receive’ (100)	<i>priimitti</i> IND:PST:3PL (SSA 2017)
<i>предложить</i> ‘offer; suggest’ (107)	<i>pretložitah</i> IND:PRS:3PL (MIB 1972)
<i>попасть</i> ‘hit, find oneself’ (111)	<i>popadimə</i> IND.PST:1PL (SSA 2017)
<i>собираться</i> ‘gather; make up one’s mind, prepare’ (118)	<i>saberivut</i> IND:PRS:2SG (FSK 1972)
<i>требовать</i> ‘demand’ (120)	<i>triebuitih</i> IND:PST:3PL (MIB 1972)
<i>приходиться</i> ‘have to; suit’ (129)	<i>ei prihotiutun</i> NEG:3SG IND:PST.CNG (MIB 1972)
<i>стараться</i> ‘seek; try hard’ (132)	<i>staravuttih</i> IND:PST:3PL (MKA 1972)
<i>уметь</i> ‘be able, can’ (133)	<i>ei ume(i)</i> NEG:3SG IND:PRS.CNG (OAP 2018)
<i>нравиться</i> ‘please, like’ (139)	<i>ndraviutuu</i> IND:PRS:3SG (LEZ 2017)
<i>получиться</i> ‘turn out, prove’ (153)	<i>polučaitu</i> IND:PST:3SG (MKA 1972)
<i>остановиться</i> ‘stop; stay at’ (155)	<i>oletta ostanoviutu</i> AUX:PRS:2PL IMPS.PST.PTCP (LEZ 2017)
<i>согласиться</i> ‘agree to’ (159)	<i>soglašautuu</i> IND:PRS:3SG (LEZ 2017)

Russian source verb (frequency rank in Lyashevskaya & Sharov 2011)	Example from Kolvitsa Karelian, grammatical gloss (language guide, year)
<i>служить</i> ‘serve, work’ (167)	<i>sluūžimah</i> INF (third infinitive) (AAG 2017)
<i>попросить</i> ‘ask for, request’ (168)	<i>poprošainičai</i> IND:PST.3SG (AAG 2017)
<i>выступить</i> ‘come forward, speak, perform’ (171)	<i>vistupaitih</i> IND:PST.3PL (AAG 2017)
<i>называться</i> ‘be called’ (177)	<i>nazivavuttih</i> IND:PST.3PL (NAL 1987)
<i>помогать</i> ‘help, assist’ (178)	<i>potogaičii</i> IND:PST.3SG (LEZ 2017)
<i>получаться</i> ‘turn out, prove’ (187)	<i>polučautuu</i> IND.PRS.3SG (AAG 2017)
<i>родиться</i> ‘be born; occur’ (206)	<i>oli rotiiutun</i> AUX.PST.3SG ACT.PST.PTCP (LEZ 2018)
<i>отказаться</i> ‘renounce, refuse’ (207)	<i>otkaziutuu</i> IND.PRS.3SG (MKA 1972)
<i>звонить</i> ‘ring, telephone’ (211)	<i>zvanikkuo</i> IMP:2PL (LEZ 2018)
<i>выбрать</i> ‘choose, select’ (225)	<i>vjiberi</i> IND.PST.3SG (AAG 2017)
<i>простить</i> ‘forgive, excuse’ (238)	<i>prostikkua</i> IMP:2PL (MAA 1972)
<i>исчезнуть</i> ‘disappear, vanish’ (242)	<i>isčeznen</i> ACT.PST.PTCP (LEZ 2017)
<i>пригласить</i> ‘invite’ (247)	<i>priglassiu</i> IND.PRS.3SG (MKA 1972)
<i>закрывать</i> ‘close, cover’ (249)	<i>zakrojiah</i> IND.PRS.3PL (FSK 1972)
<i>попробовать</i> ‘try to do’ (251)	<i>provuičen</i> IND.PRS.1SG (LEZ 2018)
<i>заставить</i> ‘compel, enforce’ (269)	<i>zastavitii</i> IND:PST.3PL (LEZ 2018)
<i>встретиться</i> ‘meet, encounter’ (281)	<i>stretiutah</i> IND:PRS.3PL (LEZ 2018)
<i>строить</i> ‘build’ (305)	<i>strojima</i> IND:PST:1PL (SSA 2017)
<i>кончиться</i> ‘come to an end’ (306)	<i>koñčiutuh</i> IND:PST.3SG (FSK 1972)
<i>спасти</i> ‘save, rescue’ (314)	<i>spassittih</i> IND:PST.3PL (LEZ 2017)
<i>подать</i> ‘give, hand out’ (319)	<i>podaičou</i> IND.PRS.3SG (FSK 1972)
<i>встречать</i> ‘meet, encounter’ (328)	<i>en ole vstrečainun</i> NEG.ISG AUX.PRS.CNG ACT.PST.PTCP (AAG 2017)
<i>выделить</i> ‘pick out; provide’ (335)	<i>vid’elittih</i> IND:PST.3PL (AKA 1972)

Russian source verb (frequency rank in Lyashevskaya & Sharov 2011)	Example from Kolvitsa Karelian, grammatical gloss (language guide, year)
<i>следить</i> 'follow; look after' (338)	<i>sleditah</i> IND:PRS.3PL (LEZ 2017)
<i>допустить</i> 'allow, permit' (348)	<i>ei topusti</i> NEG.ISG IND:PRS.CNG (AKA 1972)
<i>приобрести</i> 'buy, acquire' (361)	<i>priobretittih</i> IND:PST.3PL (AKA 1972)
<i>познакомиться</i> 'become acquainted with sb./sth.' (384)	<i>poznakomivutti</i> IND:PST.3PL (AAG 2017)
<i>разрешить</i> 'allow, permit' (389)	<i>razrešittais</i> IMPS:COND (AKA 1972)
<i>подарить</i> 'give a present' (423)	<i>potari</i> IND:PST.3SG (MKA 1972)
<i>заставлять</i> 'compel, enforce' (425)	<i>zastavl'aič</i> IND:PST.3SG (FSK 1972)
<i>схватить</i> 'seize, grasp' (426)	<i>shvat'i</i> IND:PST.3SG (LEZ 2018)
<i>пропасть</i> 'get lost, vanish' (427)	<i>propad'i</i> IND:PST.3SG (AAG 2017)
<i>гулять</i> 'walk, stroll; enjoy oneself' (436)	<i>gul'aimah</i> INF (third infinitive) (FSK 1972)
<i>приказать</i> 'order, command' (440)	<i>prikašittih</i> IND:PST.3PL (FSK 1972)
<i>развиваться</i> 'develop; grow' (458)	<i>razvivaija</i> INF (first infinitive) (AKA 1972)
<i>обращать</i> 'turn, direct' (459)	<i>emmä obraššainu</i> NEG.IPL IND:PST.CNG (AAG 2017)
<i>договориться</i> 'come to an arrangement' (476)	<i>dogovoriutuh</i> IND:PST.3SG (AKA 1972)
<i>сдать</i> 'pass, hand over' (484)	<i>staettih</i> IND:PST.3PL (SSA 2017)
<i>вывести</i> 'take out, remove' (485)	<i>vivodi</i> IND:PST.3SG (LEZ 2017)
<i>спорить</i> 'argue about, debate' (488)	<i>spori(i)ti</i> IND:PST.3PL (NVI 2018)
<i>торопиться</i> 'be in a hurry, hasten' (495)	<i>toropitah</i> IND:PRS.3PL (FSK 1972)
<i>выиграть</i> 'win, gain' (496)	<i>vii(g)raiči</i> IND:PST.3SG (FSK 1972)
<i>переживать</i> 'experience; suffer' (499)	<i>pereživaičin</i> IND:PST:1SG (LEZ 2018)

## Appendix II: Glossary of rare words

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Words occurring in Kolvitsa Karelian but absent (at least with the given meaning) from the Web-dictionary of Karelian Language (KKV), Fedotova and Boiko's Dictionary of the Dialects of Karelian Proper in Karelia (SSKGK), and Zaikov and Rugoeva's Karelian–Russian Dictionary: North Karelian Dialects (KRS-SD).

<b>akarkaara</b> ( <b>akangaara</b> )	gelatinous substance derived from red algae (most likely <i>Ahmfeltia</i> or <i>Furcellaria</i> ) which used to grow in Kolvitsa Bay and was used for cooking marmalade and kisel
<b>alašpaikka</b>	low, usually wet piece of land
<b>ammuisin</b>	long ago
<b>čirhistyö</b>	(for a woman) to behave inappropriately and frivolously with men
<b>čolan terveh</b> ( <b>čolon terveh</b> )	hello, salute (cf. Rus obsolete <i>челобітье</i> [lit. 'hit one's forehead'] 'bowing down until forehead reaches the earth')
<b>elämät</b>	inhabitants, people living in certain area
<b>harkka</b>	Russian accordion with buttons
<b>heprasa</b>	(for a person) smarty-pants, nose-in-the-air, bighead
<b>hyyši</b>	dry toilet in the village
<b>hälläpirtti</b>	room in the house with icons hanging on the wall, where one used to pray
<b>höytiskä (kala)</b>	jellied fish; fish which is not tasty and therefore rarely eaten (like lumpfish or alike) (cf. Rus <i>холодѣц</i> )
<b>iltapäivä</b>	women's gatherings (after noon)
<b>kal'čiška</b>	small bottle (cf. Rus <i>шкálъчик</i> 'small bottle [with a strong alcoholic beverage]')
<b>kannaš</b>	part of the scythe (where the iron part joins the handle)
<b>kanšaš</b> (pl. <b>kanšahat</b> )	citizen
<b>katautuo</b>	sledge; skate (cf. Rus <i>катáться</i> 'skate; sledge; ride [boat, bicycle etc.]')
<b>kaunikki</b>	(for a male) hunk, beauty (also ironically)
<b>kerčäkkä</b>	goby (fish species); a nasty/evil person of small body size
<b>kerpačču</b>	armful of tied twigs with leaves used as cattle food
<b>kešäpirtti</b>	summer hut nearby fishing and hunting grounds
<b>kipavihañe</b>	hard, rough; severe (for a person)
<b>kirjavakiärmiš</b>	adder (lit. 'multicolored snake')



<b>kit'ikala</b> ( <b>tít'ikala</b> )	stickleback ( <i>Gasterosteidae</i> ) or another tiny fish
<b>koľča</b>	arctic char (fish) (cf. Rus <i>золёу</i> 'arctic char')
<b>kone(h)</b>	car, automobile
<b>koppinah</b>	completely, entirely, utterly ( <i>meillä kylä oli koppinah karjalaini</i> 'our village was entirely Karelian')
<b>kulmakka</b>	river trout
<b>kumppiä</b>	stupid, muddle-headed person
<b>kurikka</b>	child from an extramarital affair, bastard ( <i>hiän šai kurikan</i> 'she gave an extramarital birth')
<b>lakina (lokina)</b>	ice hole on the lake
<b>lapšu</b>	child, kid (cf. also <i>lapšunlapšu</i> 'grandchild')
<b>likamoarie</b>	dirty, unclean woman (lit. 'dirty Maria'; for a woman who does not keep her house clean)
<b>likaperše</b>	dirty person, mucky kid
<b>liäkä</b>	depression in the ground from which the water does not flow out at low tide, and which turns then into a large puddle
<b>lohi</b>	lazy person, idler
<b>läheštä</b>	close, near (adv.) ( <i>on läheštä</i> 'it is close')
<b>lärviskä</b>	woman of misconduct, woman behaving inappropriately
<b>maku(u)nšija</b>	bed
<b>mašuo</b>	lie; talk nonsense ( <i>Mitä mašot?</i> 'What are you blathering there?')
<b>molintanurkka</b>	prayer corner, sanctum corner (in the house)
<b>moločnoi</b>	dairy; place where cows were milked
<b>muamato</b>	snake (general name for <i>Serpentes</i> )
<b>muikiettava</b>	sourish
<b>mukava</b>	tasty, sweet ( <i>mukava konfetta</i> 'tasty/sweet candy')
<b>muštakiärmiš</b>	grass snake
<b>nyńnypiä</b>	head of a small fish (typically perch)
<b>ońnikko</b>	old bachelor, solitary man
<b>pahačči</b>	badly, rudely ( <i>kačoi pahačči</i> 's/he was looking badly')
<b>pahasin</b>	not well, badly, poorly (about physical condition and mental skills: <i>pahasin nyt puajiu</i> 's/he speaks poorly [Karelian]')
<b>pahasista(h)</b> ( <b>pahasesta</b> )	badly, clumsily, poorly ( <i>puajiu pahasista</i> 's/he speaks poorly [Karelian]')
<b>pakanuo</b>	curse, swear, scold ( <i>oikei pakanou</i> 's/he swears too much')
<b>pienivesi</b>	ebb, low tide (lit. 'small water')
<b>piimat</b>	'boots from reindeer skin (70-75 cm high) consisting of "stockings"; one half fur outwards, the other inwards' (cf. Northern Russian <i>numbı</i> ; cf. also <i>piimašukka</i> 'one of the stockings of <i>piimat</i> ')

<b>pikša</b>	haddock ( <i>Melanogrammus aeglefinus</i> ; cf. Rus <i>пíкша</i> )
<b>piloruama</b>	gang saw, mill saw (cf. Rus <i>пилора́ма</i> )
<b>pinakora (pino- kora, pinakara)</b>	lumpfish ( <i>Cyclopterus lumpus</i> ; cf. Rus <i>пинаго́р</i> )
<b>pomoska(t)</b>	scaffold, stage, wooden decks
<b>popuška</b>	piece of a broken cup (children used to play with such pieces) (cf. Northern Russian <i>бобу́шка</i> SRGK-SO I: 81; SRGS I: 97–98; Durov 2011: 32; Merkur’ev 1979: 22)
<b>port(t)uja (pert[t]uja)</b>	small fish (usually a small cod, but also other small species)
<b>pottu</b>	bottle
<b>puajie</b>	cast a spell, enchant
<b>puikko</b>	skinny person
<b>pusurunkka</b>	thick sweater from sheep-wool
<b>pyörykärry</b>	car, vehicle
<b>päššä (päššäpiä)</b>	stupid person
<b>pölkkypiä</b>	narrow-minded person
<b>raskulaččie</b>	dispossess (during the collectivization; cf. Rus <i>раскула́- чить</i> )
<b>ruašava (ruažava)</b>	rusty ( <i>ruažava nuakla</i> ‘rusty nail’)
<b>ruatava</b>	working, employed; hardworking, industrious
<b>runnikko</b>	copse, thicket (a spot in the forest with thick vegetation)
<b>ruppa</b>	trunk, torso (of a human, deer, etc.)
<b>ryššä</b>	dandy, fop
<b>ryššänkäsi</b>	inept, bungler
<b>ryyhkä</b>	an ancient Russian folk sport consisting of knocking down blocks with a stick (cf. Rus dialectal <i>рю́ха/рю́жа</i> )
<b>ryöššy</b>	a person wearing dirty clothes
<b>räpähäini</b>	in poor condition ( <i>räpähäini talo</i> ‘ruin’)
<b>fähti</b>	sinful (person)
<b>sav(i)eska(t)</b>	a type of fishnet, 23–36 metres long and 3–5 metres high, consisting of several nets with large holes (cf. Northern Russian <i>завеску</i> ‘fishing tackle; sea net for herring or salmon’)
<b>šavikakla</b>	person with a thin neck
<b>semerikka (semerikki)</b>	large barrel for salting fish (cf. Northern Russian <i>семёрка</i> ‘barrel of salted fish weighing seven poods’, <i>семерик</i> ‘measure of 110 kg – seven poods weight in the Russian system’)
<b>šilosahauta</b>	silo pit
<b>skuuppalutikka</b>	greedy person
<b>sualissella</b>	pity, feel sorry; spare

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<b>suinimi</b>	family name, last name
<b>šuola-aitta</b>	salt storage barn
<b>šuoлатukku</b>	lump, big piece of (imported) salt
<b>šuurilehti</b>	laminaria (seaweed)
<b>šyöntäri</b> (šyöntäriakka)	stepmother (in a fairytale)
<b>tervehytellä</b>	greet, salute ( <i>tervehyteläiĉčou</i> 's/he says hello')
<b>tiesijä</b>	sorcerer, healer (lit. knowledgeable) ( <i>tiesijät naiset</i> 'healer women')
<b>torapokko</b>	scrapper, brawler
<b>tork(k)a</b>	large sea boat with a flat bottom (cf. Northern Russian <i>дóрка</i> 'large boat for fishing on the sea')
<b>trutopäivä</b>	workday at the collective farm (cf. Rus <i>тpудодéнь</i> 'workday')
<b>tukkukieryä</b> (tukkukierä)	make the ground mellow around the plant
<b>tutkie</b>	think, guess
<b>tyršky</b>	atlantic cod (the usual form is <i>tröska, tröskö</i> )
<b>työjelijä</b>	worker
<b>täyšivesi</b>	high tide, sea at high tide
<b>törky</b>	dirty, unclean, bad housewife
<b>törvikkö</b>	fool, ridiculous person
<b>töykeytyö</b>	rouse oneself ( <i>töykeyvyin</i> 'I roused myself')
<b>upuak(k)una</b>	clumsy, awkward
<b>uslonča</b>	political prisoner (cf. Rus <i>услóнец</i> 'fugitive from prison camp')
<b>uťmura</b> (uĉmura)	Udmurt (a person of Udmurt nationality)
<b>uujuo</b>	roar (e.g. a bear)
<b>valkie</b>	vodka ( <i>juuvva valkieta</i> 'to drink vodka')
<b>vanhuksintalo</b>	nursing home
<b>vaša-aita</b>	deer corral
<b>vašottua</b>	calve (deer)
<b>vekkuli</b>	bum, loafer
<b>vesimiärä</b>	water metering station
<b>vesiropakko</b>	puddle
<b>viäntäytyö</b>	wind, twine around
<b>vuarničča</b>	saltern
<b>vuašakko (vua- žakko, vuaša- poro, vaššaporo)</b>	big reindeer, the leader among the reindeer drawing the sled (cf. Rus <i>вождь</i> 'chief, leader')

## Appendix III: Place names in and around Kolvitsa

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Aérodrom (Rus) (airfield)	Gigantskiï rucheï (Rus) (creek)
Ahvenlakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)	Haisujajoki (river)
Ahvenšuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)	Hankašlakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)
Akanjoki (river)	Happanuoja (var. Voñučoioja) (creek)
Akanšalmi (strait, Lake Kolvitsa)	Haukilampi (pond)
Akanšuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)	Haukišuo (var. Haukilamminšuo)
Alakylä (part of Šuuripuoli district of the village)	(bog)
Ananienoja (var. Pekkaľanoja) (creek)	Hiekkaniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)
Ananienranta (shore)	Hiršilamminšuo (bog)
Aniśśanoja (creek)	Hiršilampi Pieni (pond)
Aniśśanhete (spring)	Hiršilampi Šuuri (pond)
Aniśśantermä (hillock, slope)	Hirvilampi (pond)
Anninoja (creek)	Honkaniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)
Anninurmi (meadow)	Hotattaľanranta (shore, Pienipuoli district of the village)
Anninranta (shore)	Hukkalampi (pond)
Annin Šavihauta (clay pit)	Hukkatunturi (fell)
Ant'uhhanlakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)	Iikorinranta (shore)
Ant'uhhannurmet (meadows)	Iivananoja (creek)
Ant'uhhanpirtti (hut, cottage)	Iivananlakši (var. Iivananlahti) (bay)
Aroboloto (Rus) (see Arošuo)	Iivananpelto (field)
Aropelto (var. Arošuo) (field)	Iivananšuo (bog)
Arošuo Pieni (bog)	Iivananšuo) (meadows)
Arošuo Šuuri (bog)	Iivananšuo) (field)
Arošuo) (meadows)	Issakannurmi (meadow)
Art'yukha (Rus) (see Ant'uhhanlakši)	Issakanpirtti (fishing hut, Lake Kolvitsa)
Čokka (hillock, Pienipuoli district of the village)	Issakanšuo) (bogs)
Čuurulakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)	Ivanovka (Rus) (piscary)
Čuuruniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)	Ivanovskoi (piscary)
Ehätyšniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)	Ivanovskoi (fishing hut)
Faktorija (fish reception point)	Ivanovskiï rucheï (Rus) (creek)
Fuffajevanoja (creek)	Jermakanšarvet (shoal)
Gigantskoe pole (Rus) (field)	Jolkit (see Kuušitunturi)
	Jolkitundra (Rus) (see Kuušitunturi)

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Joventaka (see Pienipuoli)	Kelevajevanranta (shore)
Jelesseilänpelto (field)	Kentti (road)
Jelesseinoja (creek)	Keškikylä (part of Šuuripuoli district of the village)
Joučenlampi (pond)	Keškikyläntermä (hillock, slope)
Joučenšuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)	Kiärmisvuara (mountain)
Jyrkilänčokka (var. Jyrkiläntermä) (hillock)	Kiärmisoja (creek)
Jyrkilänoja (creek)	Kiiperin(skoi)ranta (reindeer pas- ture)
Jyrkilänjovenšuu (river mouth)	Kiiperinskoirannankiima (birds' mat- ing-place)
Jyrkilänkoivikko (birch forest)	Kippoiha (shore)
Jyrkilännurmi (meadow)	Kirilänlampi (pond)
Jyrkilänranta (var. Šaviranta) (shore)	Kirilänpelto (field)
Jäkäläharju (var. Jäkälätermä) (esker)	Kirilänšuo (bog)
Kaitalampi (pond)	Kirilänšuo (bog)
Kaitašuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)	Kirilänšuo (bog)
Kaivošlampi Pieni (pond)	Kirilänšuo (meadows)
Kaivošlampi Šuuri (pond)	Kiriläntermä (hillock, slope)
Kalapatuna (waterfall)	Kivičokka (hillock)
Kallijevanpuoli (see Alakylä)	Kivilakši (bay)
Kallivo (cliff)	Kivilomo (gorge)
Kalmismua Uuši (cemetery)	Kivitunturi (fell)
Kalmismua Vanha (cemetery)	Kivivuara (mountain)
Kalmismuantermä (hillock, slope)	Klementeinlampi Pieni (pond)
Kankaš (pine wood ground)	Klementeinlampi Šuuri (pond)
Kannanlahentalvitie (winter road)	Klementeinšuo (bog)
Kanojärvi (lake)	Klementeinšuo (meadows)
Kardona (hill)	Kločihanmalinnikko (raspberry thick- et)
Karpovnantermä (hillock, slope)	Kločihanranta (shore)
Kartofel'nye polya (Rus) (fields)	Kločihiña (bay)
Katajaniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)	Kločihiñajoki (river)
Katajaoja (creek)	Koivikko (birch forest)
Katalaslakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)	Koivušuari Pieni (island, Lake Kol- vitsa)
Katkolakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)	Koivušuari Šuuri (island, Lake Kol- vitsa)
Katko-oja (creek)	Kokko-oja (creek)
Katkošuo (bog)	Kolhosanpellot (fields)
Kaunismua (coppice)	Kolvičanjärvi (lake)
Kaunismuanporoaita (reindeer pas- ture)	

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Kolvičanjoki (river)	Kultaniluoto (islet, rock)
Kolvičanlakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)	Kuolienlampi (pond)
Kolvičankupa (bay)	Kuśmaľančokka (hillock)
Kolvičča (village)	Kuśmaľanpelto (field)
Końušńanpelto (field)	Kusmaľanoja (var. Kusmičanoja) (creek)
Kontajärvi Pieni (lake)	Kuuričantermä (hillock, slope)
Kontajärvi Šuuri (lake)	Kuušikko (cemetery)
Korkieniemi (var. Korkešniemi) (cape)	Kuušikko (part of the village)
Korppijärvi (lake)	Kuušiniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)
Korppišuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)	Kuušišuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)
Kosjakupa (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)	Kuušitunturi (fell)
Koshkorucheĩ (Rus) (creek)	Kuušivuara (mountain)
Kossolakši (var. Kosjakupa) (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)	Laivašuařenpelto (field)
Kossošuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)	Laivašuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)
Kotičokka (hillock, Pienipuoli dis- trict of the village)	Lammaššuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)
Kotihete (spring)	Lampahanšuari (island)
Kotilamminkiima (birds' mating- place)	Lapinniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)
Kotilaminriivikkö (bog)	Latolakši (var. Lahuška) (bay)
Kotilammintie (road)	Latoniemi (cape, Pienipuoli district of the village)
Kotilampi (pond)	Latošuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)
Kotiniemi (cape, Pienipuoli district of the village)	Lehtilampi pond)
Kotišuoť (bogs)	Leontinhete (spring)
Kotitermä (hillock, slope)	Leontinpelto (field)
Kotitunturi (fell)	Lepetihä (fell)
Kotivuara (mountain)	Lepetihä (piscary)
Kotivuarankankaš (pine wood ground)	Lepetihänhuavikko (aspen tree for- est)
Kotolasguba (var. Katalasguba) (Rus) (lip, Lake Kolvitsa)	Lepetihänmalinnikko (raspberry thicket)
Koulutermä (hillock, slope)	Lepetihänranta (shore)
Kulmakkalampi (var. Lohilampi) (pond)	Levielakši (bay)
Kulta(ni)korko (shoal)	Liäkä (var. Kotilakši) (tiny gulf)
Kultanilakši (bay)	Lieterannanniemi (cape)
	Lieteranta (shore, Lake Kolvitsa)
	Luiveńkajärvi (lake)
	Luiveńka(n)tunturit (fell)

- Luiveńka (village)  
 Lumihauta (var. Šuurihauta) (snow pit)  
 Luoto (piscary)  
 Luuvvon luona (raspberry thicket)  
 Makarientervahauta (tar pit)  
 Makrilamminšuo (bog)  
 Makrilampi (var. Muakralampi) (pond)  
 Maksimanoja (creek)  
 Maksimovka (Rus) (mushroom place)  
 Maksheevskii Gorodok (Rus) (place where the barracks of logging-workers were located)  
 Malaniennurmi (meadow)  
 Maliginanranta (see Anninranta)  
 Matrontermä (hillock, slope)  
 Meritunturi (fell)  
 Mečikkovuara (var. Mečikkovuara) (mountain)  
 Mertvye lambiny (Rus) (ponds)  
 Miikulanjoki (river)  
 Miikulankankaš (pine wood ground)  
 Miitrevskoi(niemi) (cape)  
 Miitrevskoi (piscary)  
 Miitrevskoilakši (bay)  
 Mitrofanovanrintiennurmi (meadow)  
 Mitrofanovantermä (hillock, slope)  
 Mitrofanovskoe boloto (Rus) (bog, meadows)  
 Moťkan Alankomua (meadow)  
 Moťkankoivikko (birch forest)  
 Moťkannurmi (meadow)  
 Moťkanranta (shore)  
 Muarienhete (spring)  
 Muarienluoto (islet, rock)  
 Muarienpelto (field)  
 Muarien Alankomua (meadow)  
 Muarienkoivikko (birch forest)  
 Muarienlakši (bay)  
 Muarientermä (var. Muarienčokka) (hillock)  
 Munalampi (pond)  
 Muššanjoventporoaita (reindeer pasture)  
 Muštajoki (river)  
 Muštajovennurmet (meadows)  
 Muštakivi (rock)  
 Muštakoški (rapids, Kolvitsa River)  
 Muštakuuši (shore)  
 Muštalakši (bay)  
 Muštalampi (pond)  
 Muštapatuna (waterfall)  
 Muštašuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)  
 Muštavuara (mountain)  
 Nekotnoilampi (see Pahalampi)  
 Niemi (var. Niemel'uška) (piscary)  
 Niška (isthmus, Lake Kolvitsa)  
 Nizhniĭ sklad (Rus) (storehouse)  
 Nizhnyaya doroga (Rus) (see Kentti)  
 Nizhnyaya laksha (Rus) (bay)  
 Nonnin bereg (Rus) (shore)  
 Okatti (var. Okattevskatunturi) (fell)  
 Okattivanvuara (mountain)  
 Okattiva (fishing hut)  
 Okattivanhuavikko (aspen tree forest)  
 Oľokanpirtti (piscary)  
 Oľokanranta (shore)  
 Ontonakannurmi (meadow)  
 Ontonkaivo (var. Jyrkilänkaivo) (well)  
 Ontonniemi (cape)  
 Ontonranta (shore)  
 Ontonšuari (island)  
 Ontonšuo (bog)



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Ontonšuoennurmet (meadows)	Riemiemi (cape)
Ontonšuoennelto (field)	Riihilampi Ala (pond)
Pahalampi (pond)	Riihilampi Keški (pond)
Palolaita (berry picking place in forest)	Riihilampi Yli (pond)
Palolampi (pond)	Riijonlampi (pond)
Palotermä (hillock, slope)	Rissinšuari (var. Ristišuari) (island, Lake Kolvitsa)
Patuna (waterfall)	Ristiniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)
Pekka'antermä (hillock, slope)	Ruškiekivi (rock)
Peräpelto (field)	Ryššänniemi (cape)
Petralampi (pond)	Šalmijärvi (lake)
Pienipuoli (village district at the left bank of Kolvitsa River)	Šalmilampi (pond)
Pikkujoki (river)	Saňkanpelto (field)
Pirttikivi (piscary)	Šarvet (see Jermakanšarvet)
Pirttišuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)	Šärkilakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)
Pitkälampi (pond)	Šärkilampi (pond)
Pitkäniemi (cape)	Šärkiniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)
Pitkäranta (shore)	Saššeikanšuot (bogs)
Plotina (dam)	Saššeikka (see Niška)
Podzimets (Rus) (raspberry thicket)	Saššeikka (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)
Podymnikovskiĭ ručeĭ (Rus) (see Aniššanoja)	Se'onnoi(poru) (Rus Zelenoborsky) (urban-type settlement)
Poikkijoki (river)	Siikapl'ossa (stretch of Kolvitsa River)
Porja(kupa) (village)	Silietunturi (fell)
Porošuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)	Simč(č)a (hill, cliff)
Puolivälinlampi (pond)	Šini(ni)kivi (piscary)
Pyörievuara (mountain)	Smolennikovskiĭ mys (Rus) (cape)
Pyörielakši (bay)	Sosinantermä (var. Sosinovantermä) (hillock, slope)
Pänteinniemmi (cape)	Starikovskaya Rvan' (Rus) (see Ukonrevittämä)
Rautaveräjänmalinnikko (raspberry thicket)	Šuarvaaja (pond)
Rautaveräjät (gorge)	Šuarvašuo (bog)
Rauvistermä (hillock, slope)	Šuarvašuoahot (coppice)
Rauvisvuara (mountain)	Šuarvašuoennurmet (meadows)
Repošuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)	Šuarvalampi (pond)
Restoran-skala (Rus) (place where people were hanging around after work)	Suavanšuo (pond)
	Šulaoja (creek)

- Šuurijoki (river)  
 Šuurikivi (rock)  
 Šuuripuoli (village district at the right bank of Kolvitsa River)  
 Šuurivuara (mountain)  
 Šyväjärvi Pieni (lake)  
 Šyväjärvi Šuuri (lake)  
 Šyväoja (creek)  
 Zheleznye Vorota (Rus) (see Rautaveräjät)  
 Zolotaya gubka (Rus) (little bay)  
 Taipalenniemi (cape, Lake Kolvitsa)  
 Takatunturi (fell)  
 Taloioja (see Šulaoja)  
 Tarabarinskoihete (spring)  
 Tat'ananniemi (fishing hut, Lake Kolvitsa)  
 Tantere (var. Tanteri) (game venue)  
 Tervahauta (tar pit)  
 Tiikšijoki (river)  
 Tiikšilakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)  
 Tiikšilampi (var. Tiiksjärvi) (pond)  
 Tiikšinkošet (rapids)  
 Tiikšinšuot (bogs)  
 Timonšuo (bog)  
 Timonšuo pelto (field)  
 Timo-ukonpelto (field)  
 Timo-ukonranta (shore)  
 Tonya (Rus) (piscary)  
 Tuarienkoivikko (birch forest)  
 Tunturinlakka (summit of a mountain)  
 Tupakkilaučat (place for smoking)  
 Turpašuari (island, Lake Kolvitsa)  
 Tyhjälakši (bay, Lake Kolvitsa)  
 Ukonrevittämä (depression, dell)  
 Ukonrevittämänkankaš (var. Ukonrevittämänkanta) (place in the forest)  
 Ullananpelto (field)  
 Ummantalvitie (winter road)  
 Umpa (Rus Umba) (urban-type settlement)  
 Valkiejärvi Pieni (lake)  
 Valkiejärvi Šuuri (lake)  
 Valkiejoki (river)  
 Valkiejovennurmet (meadows)  
 Valkiejovenporoaita (reindeer pasture)  
 Valkiekivi (shore)  
 Valkielampi (pond)  
 Valkiešalmi (strait)  
 Valkietunturi (var. Valkievuara) (mountain)  
 Vanhankalmismuanniemi (cape)  
 Vaša-aita (pastureland)  
 Vaskol'ančokka (hillock)  
 Vaskol'anoja (var. Vaškanoja) (creek)  
 Vaskol'anmua (field)  
 Vaskol'anpiä (part of Šuuripuoli district of the village)  
 Verešjoki (see Katajaoja)  
 Verkhnyaya doroga (Rus) (see Ylätie)  
 Vesimiäränpl'ossa (river stretch)  
 Viäräkoški (rapids, Kolvitsa River)  
 Vierašlampi (pond)  
 Vlasov ostrov (Rus) (see Lampahanšuari)  
 Vlasovanšuari (see Lampahanšuari)  
 Vuarničča (piscary)  
 Vydrapole (Rus) (field)  
 Yamka (Rus) (swimming place)  
 Yläjärvi (lake)  
 Yläkylä (part of Šuuripuoli district of the village)  
 Ylätie (road)  
 Ylijärvenšuo (bog)

## House names

The number of recorded house names is somewhat higher than the actual number of houses in the village. Some names presented in different rows in the list might refer to the same house. Houses had different owners at different times and people from different generations named the houses according to the person who was head of the house at the time they lived in the village. Names for which we are certain that they refer to the same house are presented on the same row and separated by an equals sign. The surname of the inhabitant(s) of the house is presented in brackets, followed by its Karelian equivalent occurring in the villages of White Sea Karelia from which Kolitsans migrated. Houses named after the name of a person of Russian or Finnish origin are specified as such in separate brackets. Surnames are sometimes in the masculine and sometimes in the feminine form (cf. *Arkhipov* and *Arkhipova*), depending on the person after whom the house is named.

### Šuuripuoli 'Big Side' (on the right side of Kolvitsa River)

Aleksanterintalo = Aniśántalo (Podymnikov)	Jelessein Ort'ontalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Ananien Šanterintalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	Jestafeintalo = Šanterin Nonnantalo (Langueva, Lankoini)
Ananientalo (Bogdanov)	Jest'uhan Matintalo = Šimanan Fii-santalo (Kollieva, Koll'oni)
Anterintalo (Prokop'ev, Prokkoni)	Kiril'antalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Feñantalo (Smolennikova, Tervani)	Kost'antalo (Kas'yanov)
Fil'an Okaintalo (Talykh) (Rus)	Kusmañan Sašantalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Fjodorintalo (Fufaev) (Rus)	Kuśmañantalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Gorskoin Al'uškantalo (Gorskaya) (Rus)	Kuśman Oleksintalo (Fomin)
Hilimontalo (Smolennikov, Tervani)	Kusmičantalo = Kusmičan Šanterintalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Hilipän Iivanantalo (Ivanov) = Luupan Tuorientalo (Arkhipova, Arhippainei)	Kusmoñantalo = Kusman Iivanantalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Huotarın Jelesseintalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	Larintalo = Il(l)arintalo = Katintalo (Smolennikov, Tervani)
Irontalo (Kollieva)	Leontein Ipatintalo = Leontein Iikorintalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Issakan Makarientalo = Mäkäräntalo (Prokop'ev, Prokkoni)	Leonteintalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Issakkalantalo (Prokop'ev, Prokkoni)	
Jelesseiläntalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	

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Luuppaľantalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	Oprohkantalo (Languev, Lankoini)
Luupantalo = Lupontalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	Orťťolantalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Luupan Krikuntalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	Orťon Marfantalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Luupan Sahareintalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	Pekkaľantalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)
Luupan Serkeintalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	Rudantalo (Kozlov) (Rus)
Malaškantalo (Bogdanova)	Šimanaisen Vassileintalo (Smolennikov, Tervani)
Mannuntalo ( $\approx$ Mannantalo) (Languev, Lankoini)	Tanilan Matintalo = Matin Šimanantalo (Kolliev, Kolťoni)
Miihkalintalo (Velikanov) (Rus)	Tarabarinan Toňantalo (Tarabarina) (Rus)
Miikkulantalo (Bogdanov)	Timolľan Stepanantalo (Artem'ev, Orťťoni)
Matřontalo (Kolleeva)	Vaskoľantalo = Vaskon Viitantalo (Ivanov)
Onton Ananientalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	Vaskon Okaintalo (Markova)
Onton Pekantalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei)	Vassilein Soffontalo (Artem'ev, Orťťoni)

### Pienipuoli 'Small Side' (on the left side of Kolvitsa River)

Ananien Ustintalo (Lysova) (Rus)	Pekantalo = Heklantalo (Palokangas) (Fi)
Hotattaľantalo = Arkatintalo (Mitrofanov)	Puavilantalo = Karpan Okaintalo = Karpovnantalo (Prokop'eva, Prokkoni)
Hvorostovantalo = Maruřakintalo (Hvorostov) (Rus)	Romanantalo = Romanan Irontalo (Kelevaev, Kielöväini) = ? Olekseintalo
Iivanan Puavilantalo (Yakovlev, Juakkoni)	Serkeintalo = Luupan Olonantalo (Prokop'eva, Prokkoni)
Jyrkilän Iivanantalo = Iivanan Vassileintalo (Yakovlev, Juakkoni)	Sosinantalo (Sozinov) (Rus)
Marjuřkantalo = Čipirikki-Muarintalo (Timofeeva)	Šuavantalo (Arkhipov, Arhippainei) = Romanantalo = Šuavan Moťkantalo (Klěnova)
Matin Jehhimäntalo (Malygin = Malikin, Malini)	Šuavantalo = Šuavanakantalo = Maijantalo (Timofeeva)
Matin Jyrintalo (Potapov)	Timon Olekseintalo = Šeňkantalo (Kelevaev, Kielöväini)
Miikkulan Ontontalo = Puapontalo (Prokop'eva, Prokkoni)	
Miikkulan Vaskontalo = Onton Marinantalo (Kolleeva)	

## Appendix IV: Texts

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The sample contains transcribed parts of interviews recorded in 2017 and 2018. All language guides in the sample are female. The title of each text consists of the date of the interview and a list of major topics discussed in the text. Language guides are represented by the initials of their three names (just like elsewhere in the book); the initials PK and DK stand for the interviewers (the authors of the book).

### Transcription conventions

- (.) pause in the speech (on the object language line)
- ,
- comma is used in the object language, when the semantic structure of the sentence presupposes a pause, but no actual pause can be observed in the speech
- (aa) inarticulate sound production by the speaker; usually, this is a sign of difficulties in continuing the speech, finding the right word, etc.
- ... in the Russian and English translation three dots correspond to (.) and (aa) on the object language line
- (xxx) unclear pronunciation: a sound, a word, or a phrase that cannot be identified
- (*word*) unclear pronunciation: we have a suspect, but we are not entirely sure this is the sound or the word produced by the speaker
- (:) the speaker is laughing; laughter is marked in the translation lines by (смеется), resp. (laughing)
- 'speech' pieces of text in Russian (i.e. composed according to the rules of Russian grammar) are presented in the object language in vertical upper dashes; such pieces of text are transliterated according to DIN transliteration system ([https://www.uni-oldenburg.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/slavistik/download/Transliterationstabelle.pdf](https://www.uni-oldenburg.de/fileadmin/user_upload/slavistik/download/Transliterationstabelle.pdf)).

### Sounds

- ř, ś, k', š', ž, l', n', t', d', č, č', v'*: palatalized consonants
- л*: dark *l* (velarized alveolar lateral approximant)
- ɛ*: open-mid front or central unrounded vowel
- ɨ*: central vowel corresponding to the Russian *ы*.

**SSA (b. 1944)**

1st August 2017

**Holidays, drinks, food**

SSA *Pruasniekoille* (aa) *no* (.) *kuin meilä* (.) *oli ämmöllä* (.) *ka- kakši* *č- čikkuo t'iälä* (.) *velli* (.) *oli* (.) *i kaikin käytih miän luokše at'ivoih pruasniekoille.*

На праздники ... поскольку ... у нашей бабушки ... было две сестры здесь ... брат ... был ... все вместе ходили к нам в гости на праздники.

For the the holidays ... since ... our grandmother ... had two sisters here ... a brother ... she had ... all came together to visit us for the holidays.

SSA *V- vot, silloi(n)* (.) *v- viinua juotih oikein vähä, čäijy.*

Вот тогда алкоголя (вина) пили очень мало, чай пили.

Well, back then people drank very little alcohol, they drank tea.

DK *Ruškieta vai valkieta* (.) *viinua?*

Красное или белое ... вино?

Red or white ... alcohol (brandy or vodka)?

SSA *A* (aa) *ukko ta* (.) *t'iät'ä ta miehet, nu miehet ken tultih, ne oltih, juotih valkieta, akkapuolet dak ei nimitä, čäijyö* (.) *vain.*

Ну, дедушка и дядя и мужчины, ну мужчины, кто приходил, они пили беленькую (водку), женщины – так ничего, чай ... только.

Well, grandpa and uncle and the men, well, the men who came, they drank white alcohol (vodka), the women, nothing really, tea ... only.

SSA *A potom iče laitettih* (.) *'kak govorjat' praškua, pr- praškua laitettih.*

А потом сами готовили ... как говорят бражку, бражку ставили.

And then we made our own ... as they say, *braga, braga* (brews, a home-made beverage with 3-8% alcohol) we made.

SSA *Nu vot, sitä juotih.*

Ну, вот, ее пили.

Well, yeah, people used to drink it.

PK *A mitä syötih* (.) *prasnikalla?*

А что ели на праздник?

What did you eat on the holiday?

- SSA *A šyötih (.) a šyötih mitä vaan oli parempua, kaikki pruasnikoilla pantihi stolalla.*  
 А ели ... а ели, что только было лучшего, все в праздники на стол ставили.  
 We ate ... we ate the best food we could afford, we put everything on the table for the holidays.
- PK *A ei ol- ei oltu semmonen tietty praanikkaruokaa, pruasnikka-.*  
 А не было ли такой определенной праздничной еды?  
 Wasn't there some specific holiday food?
- SSA *Ei (.) nu kalakukko (aa) kalakukko še oli (.) vot (.) vot.*  
 Нет ... ну, рыбник ... рыбник это был ... вот ... вот так.  
 No ... well, *kalakukko* ... *kalakukko* (a special fish pasty) was ... there ... certainly.
- SSA *Siitä lihašta (.) lihašta (.) oli nn- nu (.) 'kak zapečennyj èto' paissettu lihat kiukuašša.*  
 Потом, из мяса ... из мяса ... были (блюда), как запеченный, это, запеченное мясо в печи.  
 Then, with meat ... with meat ... there were meat dishes, like roasted, you know, roasted meat in the oven.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 Yeah.
- SSA *(xxx) oikeh makiet vot s- eto s- siitä šankie, šankie.*  
 (xxx) очень вкусные, вот это ... потом шаньги, шаньги (хлебобулочное изделие, похожее на ватрушку, с картофелем, ягодами, крупами).  
 (xxx) very tasty, this one ... then *šanki, šanki* (a bakery product like cheesecake, with potatoes, berries, cereals).
- DK *Aha.*  
 Так  
 Yeah.
- DK *No mi oli siun niku lempiruoka, pruasniekalla?*  
 А какое было твое любимое блюдо (еда) на праздник?  
 What was your favorite holiday dish (food)?



- 
- SSA *Miula, miun?*  
У меня, моё?  
Mine, my (favorite dish)?
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yeah.
- SSA (aa) *mitä mie šuvaičín, šankie, šankie šuvaičín, lättyä šuvaičín. (:)*  
... что я любила? – Шаньги, шаньги любила, блины любила.  
(смеется)  
... what did I like? – I liked *šanki*, I liked *šanki*, I liked pancakes.  
(laughing)
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yeah.
- SSA *I s- siitä (aa) bimp m- mb- marj- t- marjua no meilä šokerie oli, šokerie oli vähä (.) silloin to- oli kallis.*  
А что еще ... ягоды ... ягоды, ну у нас сахарный песок был, песка было мало, тогда-то был дорогой (песок).  
And what else ... berries ... berries, well we had sugar, sugar was scarce ... sugar was expensive then.
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yeah.
- SSA *Nu vot dak meilä marjat oltih nu 'v sobstvennom soku' omašša (:)* *vot ne šuvaiči(n).*  
Ну так вот, у нас ягоды были в собственном соку, в собственном (смеется), вот их любила.  
Well, we preserved berries in their own juice, in their own (laughing), that's how I liked them.
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yeah.

- 
- SSA *Os- osobenno hillo, hillot (.) aha (.) vot.*  
 Особенно морошку, морошку ... да ... вот.  
 Especially cloudberrries, cloudberrries ... yeah ... right.
- DK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 Yeah.
- DK *Oliko teilä sguščonka?*  
 Была ли у вас сгущёнка?  
 Did you have condensed milk?
- SSA *Ei.*  
 Нет.  
 No.
- DK *Ei ollun?*  
 Не было?  
 There wasn't?
- SSA *Ei ol- (.) (xxx) silloin, silloin ei ollun.*  
 Не бы(ло) ... (xxx) тогда, тогда не было.  
 There wasn't ... (xxx) then, there wasn't then.
- DK *A šanottihko sguščonkua niku šokerimajokši?*  
 А называли ли сгущенку сахарным молоком?  
 Was condensed milk called sugar milk?
- SSA *(aa) šokeri, a meilä šokerie, šokerie oli šemmoset šuuret palat ...*  
 ... сахар, а у нас сахара были такие большие куски ...  
 ... sugar, but we had sugar only in big chunks ...
- DK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 Yeah.
- SSA *... jotte piti heitä (.) 'ščip- ščipcami k- kololi', šemmoset oltih (.) nu vot.*  
 ... что нужно было их ... щипчиками к- кололи, такие были (пока-  
 зывает), вот так.  
 ... it was necessary to ... crack them with tweezers, they were like this  
 (showing with her hands), like this.

- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yeah.
- SSA *Nu kaupassa (.) kaupassa tai jo (.) kuinše sitä jo oli äijä joka jok- joka paikka ei jollun niity sis no oli.*  
Ну, в магазине ... в магазине или уже ... как же, его (сахара) уже было много, везде не было, но в общем было.  
Well, in the shop ... in the shop or, how to say this, there was a lot of sugar, not everywhere, but in general there was enough.
- SSA *'Tak čto' (.) a myö (.) emmä ollun oikein (.) pohatat, no i keyhät (e-) ...*  
Так что ... а мы ... не были очень ... зажиточными, но и бедными не были ...  
So ... we ... weren't so ... affluent, but we weren't poor either ...
- SSA *Meile aivan oli ruokua, hyvvyä ruokua.*  
У нас всегда была еда, хорошая еда.  
We always had food, good food.
- SSA *Mie muissan dak mie (.) konše vot olin pikkaraiñi (.) dak miule (.) tovarissa e- eli (: ) yksi termä, termällä talo (.) talo, dak mie tulen hiäl luokše, heilä oli (aa) šuuri šuuri pereh heilä oli.*  
Я помню, так я ... когда была маленькой ... вот так ... у меня ... одна подруга жила (смеется) на горке, на горке дом был ... дом, так я прихожу к ним, у них была большая ... большая семья у них была.  
I remember, I ... when I was little ... like this ... I had ... a friend who lived (laughing) on the hill, their house was on the hill ... so I came to them, they had a big ... big family.
- SSA *Hyö issutah šyuvväh, mie oven luona šeison (.) i kačon, a miula niisi niin himottau, a heilä niin oli šemmoñi ruoka pahaččaiñi ta haisuja ta š- šemmosie (.) a hyö niin leivät kaššetah i (: ) šyuvväh, miula niisi niin himotta, niin himotta.*  
Они сидят едят, я у двери стою ... и смотрю, а мне тоже так хочется поесть, а у них такая никудышная еда и плохо пахнувшая, и такие ... а они хлеб макают во что-то и (смеется) едят, мне тоже так хочется, так хочется.  
They're sitting, eating, and I'm standing at the door ... and I look, and I want to eat so much, and their food is so bad and smelly, and so ... and they dip the bread in something and (laughing) eat it, and I want to eat it so bad, so bad.

- SSA *A hiän muamo (.) Muarie kučuttih häntä (.) – Onko sie, joko sie olet Svetlana šyönyn tänäpäänä?*  
 А ее мама ... Мария ее звали ... (спрашивает) – А ты уже, а ты уже поела сегодня Светлана?  
 And her mother ... Maria was her name ... (asked me) – Have you, have you eaten today, Svetlana?
- SSA *Aha (.) mie, jotta jo olen šyönyn.*  
 Да ... (отвечаю) я, что уже поела.  
 So ... I (am answering), I already ate.
- SSA *No mitä sie olet šyönyn?*  
 А что ты ела?  
 What did you eat?
- SSA *Mie jotta še sitä, sit- sitä ta (.) maituo joen, leipyä šöin (.) da šankie.*  
 Я (говорю), что это ... молока попила, хлеба съела ... и шанежек.  
 And I'm like ... I drank some milk, ate bread ... and šanki.
- SSA *A sie naverno et miän rupie miän ruokua šyömäh?*  
 А ты, наверно, не будешь нашу еду есть?  
 So, you're probably not going to eat our food, are you?
- SSA *Mie jotta mintäh en rupie, rupien. (:)*  
 Я же, – почему не буду, буду. (смеется)  
 And I'm like – why not, I will. (laughing)
- SSA *(:) No istu. (:)*  
 (смеется) Ну, садись. (смеется)  
 (laughing) Well, sit down. (laughing)
- SSA *No istuuvun stolan takuakši i miule aš p- aš pah(ekš)- jotta mie tämmöistä en en haluo.*  
 Уселась за стол и мне поплохело, что я такого не, не хочу.  
 I sat down at the table, and I felt sick, I didn't, I didn't want that.
- SSA *A eikö teilä tämmöistä ruokua ole?*  
 (ее мама:) Разве у вас такой еды не готовят?  
 (her mother:) Don't you have this kind of food at your home?
- SSA *Eei meil tämmöistä.*  
 Не бывает у нас такой (еды).  
 We don't have such food.

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 Encounters with bears

- SSA *Kontieta oli äijä meilä, oiken oli äijä kontieta.*  
 Медведей было много у нас, очень было много медведей.  
 We had a lot of bears here, a lot of bears.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 Yeah.
- PK *Oletko nähnyt kontieta?*  
 Ты видела медведя?  
 Have you seen a bear?
- SSA *Mie nähnyt en ole i kertua, a vot kuulin lässä (.) oikein (.) myö täin kera puolua keräsimä mm- tälä mečäššä.*  
 Я не видела ни разу, но вот слышала (его) рядом ... совсем (рядом) ... мы с тётёй собирали бруснику здесь в лесу.  
 I've never seen one, but I've heard (him) around ... very (close) ... my aunt and I used to pick lingonberries here in the woods.
- SSA *Aha, i niin oli, kačon jotta (.) kivi, a kivellä oikein äijä še sitä puolua (.) a myö kot'ih s- š- šuorisima männä. (:)*  
 И, значит, было так: вижу, что ... камень, и на камне очень много этой брусники ... а мы домой собрались идти. (смеется)  
 And so, it was like this: I see that ... there is a rock, and there are a lot of lingonberries on this rock ... and we were about to go home. (laughing)
- SSA *Ladno vo- en (.) vielä mie, nno no marjat vielä keryän (.) i š- šem- moñi (.) 'röv takoj' niinku niinku ukon 'takoј chrap takoj vot'.*  
 Ладно, могу ... еще я, в общем, ягоды еще собираю ... и такой ... рёв, такой, как раскат грома, такой храп, такой вот.  
 Okay, I can ... I'm still picking berries ... and (I hear) such a ... roar, such as a thunder, such a snore, such a thing.
- SSA *Aha (.) I täti piätä nošti (aa) no keryäy marjoja.*  
 Значит ... а тётя голову подняла ... значит, ягоды собирает.  
 So ... and my aunt raised her head ... she was picking berries.

- 
- SSA *Tois- kerran vielä lujasti (.) i uujo vielä lässä, ihan ihan lässä.*  
 Второй раз еще громче ... и ревет еще ближе, совсем, совсем близко.  
 The second time even louder ... and it was roaring even closer, very, very close.
- SSA *Mitä ei lietä (.) ken tämä on?*  
 Что не будет ... кто это?  
 What is that ... who is that?
- SSA *A hä šano et “konti”.*  
 А она сказала „медведь“.  
 And she said “bear”.
- SSA *Oi (.) mie kuin sieltä läksin. (:)*  
 Ой, я как оттуда убежала. (смеется)  
 Oh, how I ran away from there. (laughing)
- SSA *Hän termällä oli, a mie termän alla.*  
 Он (медведь) на горке был, а я под горкой.  
 He (the bear) was on the hill, and I was under the hill.
- SSA *(aa) mie sinne i vakan i vakan jätin. (:)*  
 ... я там и корзину, и корзину оставила. (смеется)  
 ... I left the basket; I left the basket there. (laughing)
- SSA *Ss- siitä aa puol- i jol- marjua, marjua suali i varaja(n) (.) 'no vsěže' kävin kävin otin i läksimä kot'ih.*  
 Половина (ведра) было ягод, ягод жалко, а я боюсь ... но все же сходила, сходила, взяла и мы пошли домой.  
 Half bucket with berries, it was a pity, and I was afraid ... but I still went, went there, took the bucket and we went home.
- SSA *Emmä rupie, emmä ruven en enämpi ...*  
 Не стали мы, не стали мы больше ...  
 We didn't, we didn't anymore ...
- DK *A termyä kuin kučuttih?*  
 А горку (ту) как называли?  
 What was the hill called?

- 
- SSA 'A vot na tože' Pala- Palatermä.  
А вот, ну, тоже Пало- Палотермя.  
Well, yeah, Palo- Palotermä, too.
- DK *Palotermäll(ä)?*  
На горке Палотермя?  
On Palotermä?
- SSA *Palatermällä sii(s).*  
На горке Палотермя, так.  
On Palotermä, right.
- SSA *Sielä sielä oli, sielä olle(h) i nyt vielä ollah oikein hyvät marjapaikat.*  
Там, там были, там были и теперь есть очень хорошие ягодные места.  
There, there were there, there were and still there are very good berry places.
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yeah.
- PK *A konti(e) suvaič- suvaiččou (.) malinaa ja puolua.*  
А медведь любит малину и бруснику?  
And the bear likes raspberries and lingonberries?
- SSA *A šuvaiččou, šuvaiččou, še ma- malinua oikein šuvaiččou.*  
Любит, любит он, эту, малину очень любит.  
He likes, he likes, he likes raspberries very much.
- SSA *Hm, a vot viimev- viime vuožet viime vuuvvet jo dak (.) tänne kyläl- luokše, ihan (.) talojen luokše tulleh.*  
Хм, а вот в последние годы уже так ... и сюда к деревне ... к домам приходят.  
Hm, but in recent years ... they even come here to the village ... to the houses.
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yeah.



- SSA *Aha* (.) *mečäššä* (.) *naverno on nälkä* (.) *viime vuotta (ta i) marjua vähä kripua vähä nu vot i hyö kyläh, kylän luokše.*  
 Вот ... в лесу ... наверно, голод ... в прошлом году ягод мало, грибов мало, ну, вот и они в деревню, к деревне (приходят).  
 Well ... in the forest ... they are probably starving ... last year there were only few berries, few mushrooms, well, therefore they come to the village.
- DK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 Yeah.
- SSA *Vot tak* (.) *kontieta äijä, äijä, äijä, a nyt heitä ei voi* (.) *tappua ei voi, vot.*  
 Вот так ... медведей много, много, много, а теперь их не можешь ... убивать, не можешь, вот.  
 And so ... there are many, many, many bears, and now you can't ... kill them, you can't.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 Yeah.
- PK *A talvella voi, kesällä ei voi.*  
 А зимой можно, летом нет?  
 In the winter you can, but not in the summer?
- SSA *A pomoemu ei ni talvella ei ni kešällä.*  
 А по-моему, ни зимой, ни летом.  
 As far as I know, neither in winter nor in summer.
- SSA *'Nn- nu vot kak s vertolëta (aa) tam za nimi nabljudali dak gde-to* (.) *vot po Kolvice'.*  
 Ну, вот, как с вертолëта ... там за ними наблюдали, так (там) где-то ... по Колвице, вот.  
 Well, from a helicopter ... there were watching them, from above ... Kolvitsa and the surroundings.
- PK *Šanokoa karjalakši!* (:)  
 Скажите по-карельски! (смеется)  
 Say this in Karelian! (laughing)

- SSA *Nu vot šiiitä (.) vertoljotoista konša ne kačotah ta luvetah (aa) äij- äijä-kö on (.) dak šš- šata (.) enämpi šatua kontieta vot tiälä.*  
 Так вот ... с вертолета, когда они наблюдают и считают ... сколько есть, так сто ... больше ста медведей здесь, вот.  
 Well, yes ... from the helicopter, when they observe and count ... how many bears there are, so there are hundred ... more than hundred bears here.
- DK *Нукужäh?*  
 В настоящее время?  
 Currently?
- SSA *Miän, miän paikašša?*  
 В наших, в наших местах.  
 In our, in our area.
- DK *Нукужäh?*  
 В настоящее время?  
 Currently?
- SSA *Нукужäh da (vot da), enämpi šatua, aha.*  
 В настоящее время, да, больше ста, вот.  
 Currently, yes, over a hundred, yes.
- DK *Aha.*  
 Понятно.  
 I see.
- DK *Oliko hukkuu?*  
 Были волки?  
 Were there wolves?
- SSA *A ke- ken ke(i)-to ee- näki (.) a oikein äijä on tuolla puolella.*  
 Кто-то видел, очень много на той стороне (реки).  
 Some people saw (wolves), there were many of them on the other side (of the river).
- SSA *A tuolla puolelle (.) nu juštih vi-, miun talo a hiän 'čerez rečku vot naprotiv'.*  
 На той стороне, ну как раз мой дом здесь, и она (сторона деревни) через речку напротив.  
 On the other side, well, here is my house, and this (the other part of the village) is just across the river.

- SSA *I sielä mieš, mieš eli, tak häntä kontie tappo, aha tappo.*  
 Там мужчина, мужчина жил, так его медведица убила, вот, убила.  
 There was a man, a man lived there, and a bear killed him, yeah, killed him.
- DK *Aha.*  
 Понятно.  
 I see.
- SSA *A mitä lien- šan- šanottih jotta kontie häntä oikei(n) (.) ečči pitälti sitä mieštä.*  
 Как будто бы говорили, что медведица его очень долго ... искала, того мужчину.  
 There was a rumor that the bear had been ... looking for him, for that man, for a very long time.
- SSA *Hän häneltä lapši, yhen lapšen (.) otti ta (.) vobšem, vei, vei kunne lienöy, mitä lienöy laitti ili (.) nu vot.*  
 Он у нее одного детеныша ... забрал ... в общем, увез куда-то, что-то сделал (с детенышем) ... вот.  
 He took one of her cubs away ... well ... he took it away somewhere, he did something with it ... you see.
- DK *Aha.*  
 Понятно  
 I see.
- SSA *I ko- kontie hänt oikein (.) pitälti ečči, no löysi.*  
 И медведица его очень ... долго искала, но нашла.  
 And the bear looked for him for a very ... long time, until she found him.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Понятно.  
 I see.
- SSA *Hiän tuli kot'ih omalla konehella, tuli, a ikkuna oli pikkusen (.) au- auki.*  
 Он приехал домой на своей машине, (медведица) пришла, а окно было немного ... приоткрыто.  
 He came home with his car, the bear came, and the window was a little ... ajar.

- SSA *Aha* (.) *i kontie eta avasi enäm̄pi, häntä sieltä veti.*  
И вот ... и медведица эта открыла пошире, его (мужчину) вытащила.  
And so ... and the bear, opened it more, and pulled him (the man) out.
- SSA *Aha* (.) *še* (aa) *eta* (.) *auton 'nu pod mašinu' hän häntä i siel teki kaikki.*  
Вот ... она ... затащила его под машину, ну, под машину она его там, и сделала все (убила).  
So ... she ... dragged him under the car, well, under the car, and she did it (killed him).
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yeah.
- SSA *'Skal'p snjal, ët- medvedica snjala skal'p s nego'.*  
Скальп сняла, эта медведица сняла скальп с него.  
She scalped him; the bear scalped him.
- SSA *I* (.) *häntä Kannanlahteh Kannanlahteh pol- pol'niččah* (.) *vie- viemä, a hän* (.) *'kak most ëto vot čerez reku to u nas most'.*  
И ... его в Кандалакшу в больницу ... отвезли, а он ... как „мост“ будет – вот через реку то у нас мост.  
And ... he was taken to the hospital in Kandalaksha ... they took him, and ... how do you say “bridge”, there’s a bridge over the river.
- PK *Sillan, sillalla.*  
Моста, на мосту.  
Bridge, on the bridge.
- SSA *Sillalla, aha i šielä kuoli, ei ei ni pol'niččah šuatettu häntä.*  
На мосту, точно, и там умер, и даже в больницу не довели его.  
On the bridge, right, and he died there, they couldn’t even get him to the hospital.
- SSA *'Tak što' šem- šemmoset, pitä- pitältihän häntä* (.) *ka- karauli.*  
Так что, такие дела, долго она его ... караулила.  
That’s how it was, she was waiting for him for a long time.

**GAB (b. 1940)**

1st August 2017

**Mother of a friend, healer women in the village**

- PK *A muiššatko šie (.) ta A. (.) AAG-n ämmö (.) oli semmoine uskovainen.*  
 А помнишь ли ты, ... бабушка А. (имя) ... ААГ ... была верующим человеком.  
 Do you remember ... A. (name) ... AAG's grandmother ... she was sort of religious.
- PK *Uskovainen nainen, muiš- muiššatko häntä?*  
 Верующая женщина. Помнишь её?  
 A religious woman. Do you remember her?
- GAB *Häntä muissan, täšša eli (.) täšša (.) meän rannalla (.) oi ei rannalla kun pirtillä.*  
 Её помню, здесь жила ... здесь ... на нашем берегу ... ой, не на берегу, а в избе.  
 I remember her, she lived here ... here ... on our bank ... oops, not on the bank, but in a hut.
- PK *Mimmoine- millainen nainen hä- hän oli?*  
 Какой женщиной она была?  
 What kind of woman was she?
- GAB *Oikei hyvä (.) hyvä naiini \_oli.*  
 Очень хорошей ... хорошая женщина она была.  
 A very good ... good woman she was.
- GAB *Mie häntä muissan (.) täšš \_oli kyly \_heε a täšša meän kyly.*  
 Я её помню ... здесь была баня её, а здесь наша баня.  
 I remember her ... here was her sauna, and here was our sauna.
- GAB *'Nu vot (.) i éto kak ego (.) ei nu vot za \_ét' parnikam' (.) tošša (.) nu vot i hä kaik iče ...*  
 Ну вот ... и, это, как его ... ну вот, за этим парником ... там ... ну вот, и она всё сама (ходила в баню) ...  
 Well ... and how do you say it ... well, here behind this greenhouse ... there ... so, and she (went to the bath) all by herself ...

- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Ага.
- GAB *'Devjanosto (.) skol'ko' (.) konša še hän kuoli?*  
Девяносто ... сколько ... когда же она умерла?  
Ninety ... how many ... when did she die?
- GAB *Hänel\_oli (.) i\_šaa šan- (.) ykš, kakš, kolm, nel'läy (.) viisi, kuuš, šeit'semen, kahekšan, yhekšän\_ž (aa) 's\_šem-to let'.*  
Ей было ... не могу сказ- ... один, два, три, четыре ... пять, шесть, семь, восемь, девять ... с чем-то лет.  
She was ... I can't say ... one, two, three, four ... five, six, seven, eight, nine ... and something (ninety something) old.
- PK *Yhekšäkymmentä?*  
Девяносто?  
Ninety?
- GAB *'Daa'.*  
Да.  
Yes.
- PK *– vuotta vanha?*  
– лет?  
– years old?
- GAB *Vu- da oli vanha (.) aha (.) i iče kävi kylyh.*  
Ле-, да была старой ... ага ... и сама в баню ходила.  
Year-, yes, she was old ... yeah ... and she used to go alone to the sauna.
- PK *Iče lämmitti kylyn, ja?*  
Сама топила баню, да?  
She was heating the sauna herself, really?
- GAB *Net, kyly\_joo lämmitti ei ää (.) hän, aa kävi-to (.) iče.*  
Нет, баню она не топила ... а ходила то она ... сама в неё.  
No, she didn't heat the sauna herself ... but she went there ... alone.
- PK *Mie kuulin što hän ei syöny lihua (.) ja (.) paastoi, paastoi (.) ku-pashatah.*  
Я слышал, что она не ела мяса ... и ... постилась, постилась ... когда постятся.  
I heard she didn't eat meat ... and ... fasted, fasted ... when people fast.

- GAB *Ei* (.) *ei, ei* (aa) *pani marjat* (aa) 'brusnika' *kuin še šou*-?  
 Нет, нет ... клала ягоды ... брусника, как же она называется?  
 No, no ... she put the berries ... lingonberries, what is it called?
- GAB 'Brusni-' *no ruškie marja i mušta marja* (.) 'na zimu', *konša* (aa) (.)  
 'éto (.) post, kogda post byl' (.) *to* (.) *š- sitä šyödää*.  
 Брусника, ну, красная ягода и черная ягода ... на зиму, когда ...  
 это ... пост, когда пост был ... то и её едят.  
 Lingonberries, well, red berries and black berries ... for the winter,  
 when ... the fasting time ... comes, during the lent ... then people eat  
 them.
- GAB *Aa* (.) *no vobšem ei šyöny* (.) *konša oli post ei šyöny* (.) *ei ní lihua, ei ní*  
*maitoa, ei nímitä*.  
 Ну ... вообще, не ела ... когда был пост не ела она ... ни мяса, ни  
 молока, ничего.  
 Well ... in general, she didn't eat ... when she was fasting, she didn't  
 eat ... no meat, no milk, nothing.
- PK *Hän oli pikkurainen nainen?*  
 Она была небольшого роста?  
 She was a small woman, right?
- GAB *Pikkuraini, očeñ tämmöne* (.) 'podžaristaja'.  
 Маленькая, очень такая ... поджарая.  
 Small, and very ... wiry.
- PK *A tietkö, mie kuulin što* (.) *täällä oli vanhastaan se- sellaisia naisia,*  
*jo(t)ka olivat* (.) *vähän niinku lääkäreitä* (.) *osasivat lääkitä* (.) *kun* (.)  
*ihminen oli läššivä* (.) *ku läššitii* (.) *ku lapšella oli kri-* (.) *ku oli križa, ja*  
 (aa) *malttoivat* (.) *malttoivat lääkitä*.  
 А знаешь, я слышал, что ... здесь издавна были такие женщины,  
 которые были ... немного наподобие лекарей ... умели лечить ...  
 когда человек болезненный ... когда болели ... когда у ребенка  
 грыжа была ... умели лечить.  
 And you know, I heard that ... there have been women here from long  
 ago who were ... a bit like healers ... knew how to heal ... when a person  
 was ill ... when a child had a hernia ... they knew how to heal it.
- PK *Muiššatko?*  
 Помниш ли?  
 Do you remember?



- GAB *Muissan* (.) *o- oli t'ät'i šemmoñi.*  
 Помню ... была тётушка такая.  
 I remember ... there was an old woman like that.
- GAB *Hiän* (aa) '*étogo*' (aa) *no* (.) *kaikkie, ken* (.) *no 'podzovet'* (.) *no no* (.) *kučču, kučču aha* (.) *ken kučču, što lapšeni* (aa) *läsiy* (.) *hän tulou i kaikkie 'dobro delala'*.  
 Она ... этого ... ну всех, кто ... ну подзовет ... ну ... подзовет (позовет), позовет, так ... кто позовет, что „ребёнок мой ... болеет“ ... она приходит и всякое добро делала.  
 She ... yeah ... well, everyone who ... who calls ... well ... calls her, so ... who says “my child ... is sick” ... she comes and does all kinds of good things.
- GAB '*Nu čto* (.) *tol'ko dobro*' (.) *hyu- hyvää kai-* (.) *tol'ko hyvää kaikilla.*  
 Ну что ... только добро, добро ... только добро всем.  
 Well ... only good, good ... only good to everyone.
- PK *Hyvää teki.*  
 Добро делала.  
 She was doing good.
- GAB *Pahoa ni- ei nikonša kellel luaji.*  
 Зла никогда никому не делала.  
 She has never done evil to anyone.

### The boarding school in Knyazhaya Guba

- PK *Šiun muamo, šiun tuatto kävi kaččomašša šinua.*  
 Твоя мама, твой отец приходили навещать тебя.  
 Your mother and your father were coming to visit you.
- GAB *Ei, ei, ei* (.) *muamo kä- kävi, a tuatolla ei ole konša* (.) *hän työjeli.*  
 Нет, нет, нет ... мама приходила, а у отца никогда (времени не было) ... он работал.  
 No, no, no ... my mom came, but my dad didn't have any (time) ... he was working.
- PK *Muamo kävi kaččomašša šinua internatissa kun šie ...*  
 Мама приходила навещать тебя в школе-интернате, когда ты ...  
 Your mom came to visit you at the boarding school when you ...

- GAB *Nu eto ei äijä kertua yksi (aa) kolme (.) yksi (.) 'vv- v god èto budet' (.) yheššä vuosša yhen kerran da tulou da i ...*  
 Ну это ... немного раз, один ... три ... один раз в год, это будет ... за год один раз и приходит, да и ...  
 Well, this is ... only a few times, one ... three ... once a year, that would be ... once in a year she came, yeah, and ...
- GAB *Potomu što vet' oli (.) ii hep- oi eta (.) ovečkie dak lampahie 'daa (.) kuročki da korova (.), aa korova to kak èto budet' ?*  
 Потому что ведь была ... и лошадь эта ... овечки т. е. овечки, да ... курочки, да корова ..., а „корова“ то как это будет?  
 Because there were ... and a horse ... and sheep ... and hens ... and a cow ... how do you say “cow”?
- PK *Lehmä.*  
 Корова.  
 Cow.
- GAB *Lehmä lehmä aha, kunne panna ...*  
 Корова, корова, ага, куда положить ...  
 Cow, cow, yeah, where to put it ...
- PK *Oli paljo ruat- äijä ruatua.*  
 Было много работы, много работы.  
 There was a lot of work, a lot of work.
- GAB *Ruatua da, lapšie oli kuuši.*  
 Работы да, детей было шесть.  
 Work, yes, we were six children.
- PK *Mie kuulin što (.) sielä internatassa Knäžöissä oli (.) ei annettu hyvin šyövvä (.) rokkua oli ...*  
 Я слышал, что ... там в интернате, в Княжгубе было ... не давали нормально поесть ... суп был ...  
 I heard that ... there in the boarding school, in Knyazhaya Guba ... the food was not good ... there was some soup ...
- GAB *Oi oi oi kui miun paha paha oi oi ei ni, 'golodovali vobšem' näläššä olima kaikičči.*  
 Ой, ой, ой, как мне плохо (было), не было ... голодовали в общем, голодали всегда.  
 Oh, oh, oh, how bad I felt, there was no ... we simply starved, starved always.

- PK *Nälässä olit.*  
Голодала ты (значит).  
So, you were starving.
- GAB *Nu vot, a kanikulašša konša olima tuamo panou (.) lampahien (aa) 'ljašku vot etu (aa) skoptit' kiukuašša.*  
Ну вот, а когда мы были на каникулах, мама ставила ... баранью ... ляжку, вот это ... скоптить в печи.  
Well, when we were on vacation, mom would put ... a lamb thigh, well ... to get it smoked in the oven.
- PK *Rasvaa pani.*  
Жир клала.  
And she put some fat.
- GAB *'Da, s- suhoe takoe'.*  
Да нет, сухое такое.  
Well, no, it was kind of dry.
- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.
- GAB *Aha, a toisilla še ei jollun me- myö 'bolee menee' niine- elimme.*  
Ага, а у других этого не было ... мы более-менее так и жили.  
Yeah, and others didn't have even this ... we were more or less living that way.
- GAB *Konša, nu vot dak (.) tyttäret šanotah G. sie annat meilä hot' pikkusin, mie ko ny- kuin še en anna, kuin k- kuñi on niis- i rupiemma šyömäh (:).*  
Когда, ну вот так ... девочки говорили: „Г. (имя), ты дашь нам хоть чуть-чуть“, я ли как будто бы не дам, раз уж есть ... так и начинаем есть (смеется).  
When, like ... the girls were asking, “G. (name), will you give us just a little bit”, how could I refuse when I had ... so we started eating (laughing).
- GAB *Vot tak vot oiken (.) pahasistah ...*  
Вот так, вот, очень ... плоховастенько ...  
Well, so it was, it was ... kind of bad ...

- PK *A lap- lapšien va- vanhemmat työnsivät (.) paketti sinne rokko- rokon keralla, a?*  
 А родители детей передавали ... пакетик, туда вместе с пищей, а?  
 And the children's parents used to pass ... a parcel there, with food, right?
- GAB *Konša (.) 'o- o- oočen' (.) potomu što(n)' piti, piti, i vjekhä oli, i piti työjellä kaikella.*  
 Когда ... очень ... потому что нужно, нужно, и не хватало (на еду), да нужно работать всем.  
 When ... very much ... because you need it, you need it, and there was not enough (food), everyone had to work.
- PK *Vähä ...*  
 Мало было (не хватало) ...  
 There was not enough ...
- GAB *Kaikella, o- oiken kaikille ei \_jollu(n) (aa) tuattoja (.) 'v voinu pogibli'.*  
 У всех, очень у многих не было ... отцов ... в войну погибли.  
 All, many of them didn't have ... fathers ... they died in the war.
- PK *Kuo- kuoltii sovassa.*  
 Погибли на войне.  
 They died in the war.
- GAB *Da kuoltih da vot (.) 'a vot étot spisok ja šas pišu' nap- (aa) mie kirjuttin (.) 'nu vot (.) u nas' sielä 'časovnju' luajitah 'okolo mosta to'.*  
 Да, умерли, вот так ... а вот этот список я сейчас пишу, нап(ишу) ... я написала, ну вот ... у нас там часовню строят около моста.  
 Yes, they died, that's it ... and this is the list I'm writing now, I'm wri(ting) ... I wrote, well ... now they are building a chapel near the bridge.
- GAB *Nu vot, sielä obeliski 'vot éti nu vse (aa) zapisany to kto umer vo vremja', ken kuoli 'v vojnu'.*  
 Ну вот, там обелиск, вот эти ... ну все уж записаны, кто умер во время войны, кто умер в войну.  
 Well, there's an obelisk, well ... all of them are already listed there, who died during it, who died during the war.

- PK *Sovan aikana.*  
Во время войны.  
During the war.
- GAB *A a nämä k- ken mäni vo- 'na voinu' (.) i ken tuli (.) i siitä kuoli (.) spiska tulou, nu vot i mie nyt kaikkie kirjutin ken Kolvičašta mäni (.) i tuli.*  
А эти, кто ушел на войну ... и кто вернулся ... и после этого умер ... список будет, ну вот я всех теперь записала, кто из Колвицы ушел ... и вернулся.  
And those who went off to war ... and who came back ... and died after that ... there will be a list, well, now I have written down all those Kolvitsans who went ... and came back.
- PK *Aha.*  
Понятно.  
I see.
- PK *Niin, nii että (.) pikkaraiset lapset sielä oli nälässä vähän ...*  
Так, так что ... маленькие дети там голодали немного ...  
So, and ... the little kids there were starving at times ...
- GAB *Nälässä, nälässä, myö olima nälässä.*  
Голодали, голодали, мы голодали.  
We starved, we starved, yes, we starved.
- PK *A työ elitte sielä internatassa Kolvičan (.) Kolvičan tytöt (.) yhdessä (.) Kolvičan lapset olitte yhdessä?*  
А вы девочки из Колвицы жили там в интернате вместе ... колвицкие дети были вместе?  
And you Kolvitsa girls lived there in the boarding school together ... Kolvitsa kids were together?
- GAB *Ei (xxx) (aa), to oolima myö yhdessä yhdessä komnatašša.*  
Нет (xxx) ... были мы вместе в одной комнате.  
No (xxx) ... we were together in the same room.
- PK *Aha.*  
Понятно.  
I see.

- GAB *A meilä oli (.) kolme komnattua potomu što meilä oli äijä tyttöjä.*  
 А у нас три комнаты ... было, потому что у нас девочек много было.  
 But we had three rooms ... because we were a lot of girls.
- PK *Kolme komnattua Kolvičan las- la- ...?*  
 Три комнаты для дет- детей из Колвицы?  
 Three rooms for ki- kids from Kolvitsa?
- GAB *Da, nii nii, no okolo kolmie da, aha.*  
 Да, так и было, ну, около трех, да.  
 Yes, it was so, well, about three, yes.
- PK *A oli, oli toinen komnatta, oli Koutajärven- Koutajärvenpään lapset?*  
 А была ли другая комната для детей из Ковдозера-, Конца Ковдозера?  
 Was there another room for kids from Kovdozero-, Konets Kovdozero?
- GAB *Daа Kout- Koutajärven- (aa) (.) elettih tože vmeste.*  
 Да, коvd- коvdозерские жили тоже вместе.  
 Yes, those from Kovd- Kovdozero lived together, too.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Понятно.  
 I see.
- PK *A Mošša- Moššan kylän lapšilla oli toinen?*  
 А у детей из деревни Мошша была своя (комната)?  
 And the children from Mošša village, did they have their own (room)?
- GAB *No, niin niin kaikki ...*  
 Ну, да, да, все ...  
 Well, yes, yes, all had ...
- PK *Mistä kylistä oli sielä vielä lapšie muiššatko?*  
 Из каких деревень там еще дети были, помнишь?  
 What other villages the children were from, do you remember?
- GAB *A ei, en muista.*  
 А нет, не помню.  
 No, I don't remember.

- GAB *Luviñkašta oli.*  
Из Лувеньги были.  
There were some from Luvenga.
- PK *Luiveñkasta oli?*  
Из Лувеньги?  
From Luvenga?
- GAB *Nii.*  
Да.  
Yes.
- PK *Oli oma, oma komnatta?*  
Была ли своя, своя комната?  
Did they have their, their own room?
- GAB *Nu ke(n) (.) esli yksi oli naprimer (.) lapšet toisin keralla ži- eletti (.) no nellä da viisi eta lapšie oli yheššä komnatašša nii (.) 'kak polučilos'.*  
Ну, кто ... если один, например ... дети с другими жили ... ну четыре и пять, это, детей в одной комнате было ... как получилось.  
Well, one ... if one (kid) was alone, for example ... s/he lived with children from elsewhere ... well, there were four or five children in one room ... as it turned out.
- PK *A kun (.) (aa) työ työ puajitte keskenään venäjäkši vain karjalakši?*  
А как ... вы, выговорили между собой, по-русски или по-карельски?  
And how ... did you, did you speak to each other, in Russian or in Karelian?
- GAB *Venäjäkši (.) 'v osnovnom'.*  
По-русски ... в основном.  
In Russian ... mostly.
- PK *A a illalla Kolvičan, Kolvičan lapšet ku oli yhessä komnatassa puajittih karjalakši vain venäjäkši?*  
А вечером, когда в одной комнате вы были дети из Колвицы, разговаривали по-карельски или по-русски?  
And in the evening, when you were with children from Kolvitsa in the same room, did you speak Karelian or Russian?



- GAB *Nu karjalakši oikein (.) pikkuúi pikkuúi.*  
 Ну, по-карельски совсем ... немного, немного.  
 Well, in Karelian just ... a little bit, a little bit.
- GAB *Potomu što (.) konša (.) e- elimä kaikki nu sielä internatašša, to (.) kak-to šano oi 'ëti nerusskie'.*  
 Потому что ... когда ... мы жили все, ну там, в интернате, то ... как-то говорили, „ой эти нерусские“.  
 Because ... when ... we all lived there in the boarding school ... they used to say, “oh those non-Russians”.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Понятно.  
 I see.
- GAB *Ei (.) ei venäläiset kak-to nu (.) 'nemnožko bylo otčuzhdenie tako-, da nu vot'.*  
 Нерусские, как-то ну так ... немножко было отчуждение такое, вот так.  
 Non-Russians, somehow, well ... there was a little bit of alienation, in fact.
- PK *Kačotii ...*  
 Смотрели ...  
 They were staring ...
- GAB *I myö emme i vot i iis- i poëtomu myö i karjala(n) šentäh myö i pahasti rupiemma ruajie.*  
 И мы не ... вот и поэтому мы по-карельски и плохо начали разговаривать.  
 And we don't ... and that's why we didn't learn to speak very well Karelian.
- PK *Sentäh.*  
 Из-за этого.  
 Therefore.
- GAB *Potomu što (.) meilä olik yksi(k)- toista, kakšitoista vuotta ni mitä sitä (.) 'a vremja to (.) šas mne sem'desjat sem' dak vot'.*  
 Потому что ... нам было по одиннадцать-двенадцать лет, так что уж там ... а время то ... сейчас мне семьдесят семь, вот так.  
 Because ... we were eleven-twelve years old, so that's ... and the time was ... I'm seventy-seven now, like this.

- PK *Pikkarainen tyttö.*  
Маленькая девочка (была).  
A little girl.
- GAB *Da da aa a a pikkaraisi- -sen ko- konša ol'in oikei hyvesisi puajin potomu što kaikičči (.) koissa pa- puajimma tol'ko karjalakši.*  
Да, да, а когда маленькой была, очень хорошо говорила, потому что всегда ... дома говорили только на карельском языке.  
Yes, yes, and when I was a little girl, I spoke very well, because we always ... spoke only Karelian at home.
- PK *A kun olit kanikulassa täällä karjala- ...*  
А когда на каникулах ты была здесь, по-карельс- ...  
And when you were here on vacation, in Kareli- ...
- GAB *Karjalakši puajimma da da da.*  
По-карельски разговаривали, да-да-да.  
We talked in Karelian, yes, yes, yes.
- PK *A muiššatko että opa- opaštajat oliš (.) opaštajat oli ryššiä, naverno ja ...*  
А помнишь ли чтобы учителя, учителя были русские, наверно ...  
And do you remember if the teachers, the teachers were Russian, probably ...
- GAB *Ryššä, ryššät oltih.*  
Русские, русские были.  
Russians, they were Russians.
- PK *He naverno ei kaččonut ei kaččonut hyvin kun lapšet, kun lapšet šanoo jotain karjalakši.*  
Они, наверно, не считали особо хорошим моментом, что дети говорили что-либо по-карельски.  
They probably didn't think it was a good thing when children said something in Karelian.
- GAB *'A možet byt', tiälä še oli tol'ko kakši (aa) opettajua, potomu što ei oiken äijä oli lapšia (.) i (aa) 'pervyj' ei toiini 'pervyj i tretij klass, a potom vtoroj i četvërtj'.*  
А может быть, здесь было только два ... учителя, потому что не было особо много детей ... и ... и первый, нет второй, первый и третий класс, а потом второй и четвертый.  
Maybe, there were only two ... teachers, because there weren't so many kids ... and ... and first, no second, first and third grade (for one teacher), and then second and fourth grade.

- PK *Ensimmäinen ja kolmas ...*  
Первый и третий ...  
First and third ...
- GAB *'Da o- odna tol'ko obučala dva kl- klassa i vtoraja dva klassa'.*  
Да, одна только обучала два класса и вторая два класса.  
Yes, one taught two classes and the other one two classes.
- PK *Yksi opettaja, aha.*  
Одна учительница, понятно.  
One teacher, I see.
- GAB *Yksi da, vot.*  
Одна, да, так и есть.  
One, yes, right.
- PK *Kui- kuin mon- kuin äijyä klassua sie kävit sielä Knäžöissä?*  
А сколь- сколько классов ты отходила там в Княжгубе?  
And how many classes did you attend in Knyazhaya Guba?
- GAB *Ss- uuh tiälä nellä a sielä kuuši, kymmenen vuotta opaštija.*  
Здесь четыре, и там шесть, была ученицей десять лет.  
Four here and six there, I studied ten years.
- PK *Ja kuuši vuotta šie olit Knäžöissä, internatassa?*  
И шесть лет ты была в Княжгубе, в интернате?  
And you were six years in Knyazhaya Guba, at the boarding school?
- GAB *Niin, da.*  
Так, да.  
Correct, yes.
- GAB *A siitä mie (aa) vielä ei opaššuin K- Knäžöissä mie olin 'učitel' načal'nych klassov'.*  
А потом я уже (досл. ещё) не училась в Княжгубе, я была учителем начальных классов.  
And then I was no longer (lit. still not) a student in Knyazhaya Guba, I was an elementary school teacher.

## Sisters and brothers

- PK *Hän hän (.) malttaa karjalakši?*  
Она ... понимает по-карельски?  
Does she ... understand Karelian?
- GAB *Malttau, malttau ka kuin še-*  
Понимает, понимает, а как же.  
She understands, she understands, of course.
- PK *Mie mie eklen aa näin (.) häntä mie kysyin maltatko sie karjalaksi (.)  
hän sano, että ei nimitä en malta, ei nimitä.*  
Я вчера видел ... её, я спросил – понимаешь ли ты по-карельски ...  
она сказала, что – „ничего не понимаю, ничего“.  
I saw ... her yesterday, I asked her – do you understand Karelian ... she  
said – “I don’t understand anything, nothing”.
- GAB *No (.) malttau no hän pahan puajiu, (.) a pakanou.*  
Как так ... она понимает, но она плохо говорит ... а ругается.  
To some extent ... she understands, but she doesn’t speak well ... but  
she is swearing (a lot).
- PK *Pakanou aha?*  
Ругается, да?  
She is swearing, really?
- GAB *Pakanou, oikei pakano.*  
Ругается, очень ругается.  
She is swearing, swearing too much.
- PK *A šiun toinen šiš- (.) toinen čikko?*  
А твоя вторая сес- ... вторая сестра?  
And your other sis- ... your other sister?
- GAB *Tože pa- pahasin nyt puajiu (.) a net a hän on no normal’no ...*  
Тоже плохо теперь говорит ... а нет, она нормально ...  
He doesn’t speak well either ... no, she does fine ...
- PK *A hän malttaa (.) ja ...*  
А она понимает и ...  
But she understands and ...

- GAB *Maltau.*  
 Understands.  
 She understands.
- PK ... *pahasti puajiu.*  
 ... плохо говорит  
 ... does not speak well.
- GAB *Pahašt, aha nii nii.*  
 Плохо, вот так.  
 Not well, exactly.
- GAB *Eklen oli i-i-i toini niisi tiälä (.) hän oli ...*  
 Вчера и вторая (сестра) была тоже здесь ... она была ...  
 Yesterday, the second (sister) was here too ... she was ...
- PK *Toinen čikko oli täälä a?*  
 Вторая сестра была здесь, да?  
 The second sister was here, really?
- GAB *Tože oli, aha.*  
 Тоже была, да.  
 She was, yes.
- PK *A missä hän on nyt?*  
 А где она теперь?  
 Where is she now?
- GAB *'Go- go- v gor-' kaupunkišša (.) sielä elää niisi.*  
 В гор-, в гор-, в городе ... там живет тоже.  
 In the to-, in the to-, in the town ... she lives there too.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Понятно.  
 I see.
- GAB *No hän pahasi 'čuvstvuet', mnogo läsiy, pikkuse aha (.) jalkat kivet-.*  
 Но она плохо чувствует себя, много болеет, немного ... ноги бол(ят).  
 But she doesn't feel well, she is often sick, a little ... her legs hur(t).
- PK *Läsiy.*  
 Болеет.  
 She is sick.

- PK *Hän on nuorempi sinua.*  
Она младше тебя.  
She's younger than you.
- GAB *Ei.*  
Нет.  
No.
- PK *Toinen on vanhempi?*  
Вторая старше?  
Is the second one older?
- GAB *Vanhempi.*  
Старше.  
Older, yes.
- PK *Sie olet keskimmäinen.*  
Ты средняя.  
You are the middle one.
- GAB *Nii, nii (. ) aha.*  
Именно так ... так.  
That's right ... right.
- GAB *Meilä viel oli ve- veikko Toivo (. ) 'Finsкое imja'.*  
У нас был еще брат Тойво ... финское имя.  
We also had a brother Toivo ... a Finnish name.
- PK *A mintäh oli 'finsкое imja' ?*  
А почему финское имя (дали ему)?  
Why (was he given) a Finnish name?
- GAB *A en tija mintäh (aa) pantu šemmoń \_nimi.*  
А не знаю, почему ... было дано такое имя.  
I don't know why ... he was given such name.
- PK *Hän oli nuorempi sinua, vai ... ?*  
Он был младше тебя или ... ?  
He was younger than you, or ... ?
- GAB *Ei (. ) toi- toisen (. ) eto sisaren kolme vuotta niise starše (. ) i vielä oli Saša.*  
Нет ... это, на три года также старше ... второй сестры ... и еще был Саша.  
No ... this one, he was three years older than ... the second sister ... and then there was Sasha.

- GAB *Kaikki (.) kakši veikkuo i nellä (.) sisärtä meil li.*  
 Всего ... у нас было два брата и четыре ... сестры.  
 In all ... we were two brothers and four ... sisters.
- PK *A ken oli neljäs, neljäs čikko?*  
 А кто была четвертая сестра?  
 Who was the fourth sister?
- GAB *Ušti, Ušti, 'samaja staršaja'.*  
 Усти, Усти, самая старшая.  
 Usti, Usti, the oldest.
- PK *Ušti (.) hiän on kuo-, hiän on kuollun?*  
 Усти ... она умер-, она умерла?  
 Usti ... is she de-, is she dead?
- GAB *Kuollun.*  
 Умерла.  
 Dead.
- GAB *Kakšikymmentäkolmašta vuošt- vuotta oli nii ...*  
 С 1923 года была ...  
 In 1923, she was (born) ...
- PK *Šyntynyt?*  
 Рожденной?  
 Born?
- GAB *Aha.*  
 Да.  
 Yes.
- PK *A kuin on Ušti venäjäksi?*  
 А как (имя) Усти будет по-русски?  
 How is (the name) Usti in Russian?
- GAB *A niin i oo 'Ustin'ja'.*  
 А так и есть – Устинья.  
 The same – Ustin'ya.
- PK *'Ustin'ja'.*  
 Устинья.  
 Ustin'ya.



- PK *Toi Ust' Ust'i* (.) *puaji karjalakši naverno?*  
Та Усти ... говорила по-карельски, наверно?  
That Usti ... was speaking Karelian, wasn't she?
- GAB *Hyvästä, hyvästä* (.) *i veikko* (aa) *Saša tože puaji oikei hyvästä.*  
Хорошо, хорошо ... и брат Саша ... тоже говорил очень хорошо.  
Very well, well ... and, and brother Sasha ... also spoke very well.
- GAB *Potomušto hyö oltih muamon ta tuaton keralla kaikičči* (.) *da tiälä työjeltih.*  
Потому что они были с мамой и отцом всегда ... и здесь работали.  
Because they were always with mom and dad ... and they worked here.
- GAB *A myö tak kui nel'ä klassua i läksimä* (.) *'po miru'*. (:)  
А мы так, как четыре класса (закончили) и разъехались (.) по миру. (смеется)  
And we were like, finished four grades and left (.) around the world. (laughing)
- PK *A tuo veikko Toivo, hän puaji?*  
А тот брат Тойво, он говорил?  
And that Toivo brother, did he speak (Karelian)?
- GAB *Puaji, puaji, puaji, aha.*  
Говорил, говорил, да.  
He did, he did, yes.
- PK *A veikot, veikot on kuoltu?*  
А братья, братья умерли?  
And your brothers, your brothers have passed away?
- GAB *Kuoltu* (.) *'na Ukraine'*.  
Умерли ... на Украине.  
Passed away ... in Ukraine.
- PK *A, mintäh?*  
А почему (на Украине)?  
But why (in Ukraine)?
- GAB *'Za ukrainku vyšel, tuda uehal'* (.) *nu sinne mäni elämäh.*  
За украинку вышел, туда уехал ... ну туда и уехал жить.  
He married a Ukrainian, went there ... well, went to live there.

- PK *Aha.*  
Понятно.  
I see.
- GAB 'No vot, i (aa) *kakoj den' roždenija u' (.) no naisella oli (.) i lähtih (.) naisen kera lähtih (.) 'v gosti, v gosti'.*  
Ну вот ... какой(-то) день рождения у ... ну, у его жены был ... и они поехали ... с женой они поехали ... в гости, в гости.  
And ... there was a birthday with ..., well, his wife had birthday ... and they went ... with his wife they went ... to visit, to visit friends.
- PK *Aa, vieraisille?*  
А, гостем?  
Oh, as guests?
- GAB *Naverno (.) i sielä mitä liene šyöi, i juotih i šyötih 'potomušto den' roždenija bylo (.) i polučil' ...*  
Наверно ... и там что-то ел, и пили, и ели, потому что день рождения был ... и получил ...  
Probably ... and he ate something there, they ate and drank, because it was a birthday ... and he got ...
- PK *Šynnyntäpäivä?*  
День рождения (по-карельски)?  
Birthday (in Karelian)?
- GAB '*Da da da (.) nu vot i (.) prišěl domoj, odin, emu stalo plocho'.*  
Да, да, ну вот и ... пришел домой один, ему стало плохо.  
Yeah, yeah, well ... he came home alone, he got sick.
- PK *Tuli kotih.*  
Пришел домой (по-карельски).  
He came home (in Karelian).
- GAB *Tuli kotih, venyyti i kuoli, naisii tuli sieltä, a hän on kuollun jo (.) 'neizvestnoe otravlenie'.*  
Пришел домой, улегся (спать) и умер, женщины пришли оттуда (с дня рождения), а он уже умер ... неизвестное отравление.  
He came home, laid down (to sleep) and died, the women came from there (from the birthday party) and he was already dead ... poisoning from unknown source.

**AAG (b. 1938)**

30th July 2017

## Woman disappeared and another drowned

AAG *Mie em\_muissa, a hän (aa) kun (.) naverno hän tiesi jotta konša hän kuolou ...*

Я не помню, а она ... наверное ... знала, что когда она умрет ...

I don't remember, but she ... must ... have known that when she dies ...

DK *Aha.*

Так.

Yeah.

AAG *Hän otti trupan samovarašta.*

Она взяла трубу от самовара.

She took the pipe from the samovar.

DK *Aha.*

Так.

Yeah.

AAG *Samovara, kun (aa) trupa on, šen otti trupa.*

Самовар, когда ... труба есть, взяла труба.

The samovar, when ... there is a pipe, she took it, the pipe.

AAG *'Kak skazat' u- u- uglej?'*

Как сказать ... углей?

How do you say ... coals?

DK *Hiili, hiiltä.*

Уголь, угля.

Coal, coals.

AAG *Kui, hiiltä, hiiltä otti, (aa) 'v paketik', vaššan (.) i läksi meččäh.*

Как, угля, угля взяла ... в пакетик, веник и отправилась в лес.

Then, the coal, took the coal ... in a bag, a broom, and went to the woods.

DK *Aha.*

Так.

Yeah.

- AAG 'Vot o- ot ihnego, vot šas gde doroga vot éta i s"ezd pervyi v Kolvicu v samu na nižnjuju dorogu, i po étoj tropke naverh uš- ušla v les'.  
Вот от их, вот сейчас, где дорога, вот эта и съезд первый в Колвицу в саму на нижнюю дорогу, и по этой тропке наверх ушла в лес.  
Well, from their place, where the road is now, that's the first exit to Kolvitsa on the lower road, and she took this path and went up into the woods.
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yeah.
- PK *Meni, meni meččäh, ja.*  
Пошла, пошла в лес.  
She went, went into the woods.
- AAG 'Pošla v les' (.) meččäh, ei níimitä kellä šanon.  
Пошла в лес ... в лес, ничего никому не сказала.  
She went into the woods ... into the woods, didn't say anything to anyone.
- AAG *Mäni i vs-, aa a hänellä oli jo paha piän keralla.*  
Пошла и ... а у нее было плохо (не в порядке) с головой.  
She went and ... and her head was out of order (she was not mentally sound).
- AAG 'Nu a nemnožko kak by pomešalas''.  
Ну а немножко как бы помешалась.  
Well, she was kind of crazy.
- PK *Aha, piän keralla.*  
Ага, с головой  
Yeah, her head.
- AAG *No vot, piän keralla oli paha jo.*  
Но вот, с головой было худо (не в порядке) уже.  
Well, yeah, she was a little crazy already.
- AAG *Aha, i šitä hänen lähettih eččimäh, tullih, a häntä ei ollu koissa.*  
Ага, и потом ее отправились искать, пришли, а ее не было дома.  
Yeah, and then they went looking for her, and they went there, and she wasn't home.

- AAG *I ru-, lähettih kaiken, ky- kylällä lähettih eččimäh.*  
И отправились всей, деревней отправились искать.  
And they went, all around the village, to look for her.
- AAG *I häntä ei nimissä löyvetty, löyvettih yhen puun (aa) 'no, u kornja dereva'.*  
А ее нигде не обнаружили, нашли у одного дерева ... у корня дерева.  
And she could not be found, they found by one tree ... at the root of the tree.
- AAG *Trupan (.) (aa) löyvettih, toisen hiilet, mitä hän otti koista, i kolmannen paikka ...*  
Труп ... (не) нашли, во втором (месте) угли, что она взяла из дома, и в третьем месте ...  
The body ... was (not) found, a piece of charcoal she took from the house (was found) in another place, and in a third place ...
- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.
- AAG *A iče ei nimistä, kaikki ečtiti i (.) ili še hän propađi (aa) 'v boloto, što uto nula, no vobšem vsě iskali i s sobakami, i ne našli eč'.*  
А ... ниоткуда, все искали и ... или же она попала ... в болото, и утонула, но вообще всё искали, и с собаками, и не нашли.  
And they didn't find her, all were searching and ... maybe she fell ... into a swamp and drowned, but they searched everywhere, also with dogs, and did not find her.
- PK *Ei löyvetty.*  
Не нашли.  
She was not found.
- AAG *Ei löyvetty, ei löyvetty, niin hän i propađi, hänellä pantih (aa) 'ëto zemel'ku otnesli da sdelali takoj kak by mogilku i krestik postavili i vsë'.*  
Не нашли, не нашли, так она и пропала, ей поставили, земельку отнесли да сделали такую как бы могилку и крестик поставили, и всё.  
They didn't find her, didn't find her, she disappeared, they put some earth, made it look like grave, put a cross and that's it.

- PK *Kirill, aha.*  
Кирилл, да.  
Kirill, right.
- AAG 'Ěto Kiril- Kirila žena'.  
Это Кирилла жена  
That was Kirill's wife.
- PK *A kui ihminen katosi, kuin ihminen, ei löyvetty, sitten pantih, pantih kalmismualla, aha kivi?*  
А как человек пропал, когда человека не нашли, потом поставили, поставили на кладбище камень?  
And when a person went missing, when s/he could not be found, then they put, put a stone in the cemetery?
- AAG *Da, da, da, aha, aha, aha.*  
Да, да, да, аха, аха, аха  
Yes, yes, yes, уер, уер, уер.
- AAG 'Čtoby znali, čto ona, ona š ne i dolgo', äijä häntä (aa) pitälti ečittih häntä.  
Чтобы знали, что она, она же не ... и долго, много ее ... долго искали ее.  
For people to know that she was not ... for long ... one was searching for her long time.
- PK *Šano karjalakš.*  
Скажи по-карельски.  
Say it in Karelian.
- AAG *I i yksi päivä i toisena päivänä miehet tuaš lähettih i koirien kera i i karjuttih i 'kak skvoz' zemlju provalilas', tak i ne našli'.*  
И один день и во второй день мужчины опять отправились с собаками и кричали и как сквозь землю провалилась, так и не нашли.  
One day and another day, the men went out with the dogs again, and were shouting, and as if the earth opened and she disappeared, and so they couldn't find her.
- DK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.

- AAG 'U nih vobše bylo kakoe-to' heilä oli šemmoñi ...  
 У них вообще было какое-то, у них было такое ...  
 They had some kind of, they had some ...
- AAG *A toiñi heilä oli vielä vot 'u étovo u Kirila dočka'.*  
 А другая у них была еще вот у этого у Кирилла дочка.  
 And the other case in the family, well, it was Kirill's daughter.
- AAG 'Vot éto babuška, éto vsě raskazyvala'.  
 Вот это бабушка, это всё рассказывала.  
 Well, grandmother, she told me that.
- PK *Tytär oli, tytär.*  
 Дочь была, дочь.  
 He had a daughter, a daughter.
- AAG *Tytär, tytär.*  
 Дочь, дочь.  
 Daughter, daughter.
- AAG *Ämmö miula šaneli (aa), muamon muamo, jotta läksi vejellä, a (aa) (.) šiinä še missä hyö eletäh 'naprotiv bolota i Artem'evy žyvtut, Fed- éta'.*  
 Бабушка мне говорила ... мать мамы, что пошла за водой, а ... там это, где живут напротив болота, и Артемьевы живут, Фед- ... эта.  
 My grandmother told me ... my mother's mother, that she went for water, and ... there was ... they lived across the marsh, and the Artem'evs live there, Fed- ... that.
- AAG 'Fedos'ja, nu ona kupila étot dom'.  
 Федосья, ну она купила этот дом.  
 Fedos'ya, well she bought this house.
- AAG 'I (aa) prišla k kolodcu naklonilas'', tuli 'k rodničku i étov' (aa) nakloniutu 'čerpanut' kovšikom' i šiih i lankei i ei voinun nošša 'i zadohnulas', vodoj zahlebnulas''.  
 И ... пришла к колодцу, наклонилась, пришла к родничку и это ... наклонилась черпануть ковшиком и туда упала, и не могла подняться, и задохнулась, водой захлебнулась.  
 And ... she came to the well, bent down, came to the spring and ... bent down to scoop water with the ladle and she fell there, and could not get up and choked, choked on water.



## Grandparents and the time spent with them during WW2

- AAG *Myö emmä ollun näläššä, myö emmä ollun vot (.) meilä oli kakši ämttyö i kakši ukkuo.*  
 Мы не голодали, мы не (голодали), вот ... у нас было две бабушки и два дедушки.  
 We didn't starve, we didn't, well ... we had two grandmothers and two grandfathers.
- AAG *A ukko, (aa) muamon ukko, oli oikein (.) 'kak skazat' rukastyi'.*  
 А дедушка ... отец мамы, был очень ... как сказать „рукастый“.  
 And our grandfather ... our mother's father, was very ... how do you say “handy” (skillful).
- AAG *'On byl na vsë (.) master svoevo dela da, on'.*  
 Он был на всё ... мастер своего дела да, он.  
 He was in everything ... a master of his craft, yes, he was.
- PK *Malttoi, malttoi hyvin (.) da, malttoi hyvin ...*  
 Умел, умел хорошо, да, умел хорошо ...  
 He was very capable, yeah, he was skillful ...
- AAG *Hän oikein äijä, hän oli 'nu kak vot skazat'.*  
 Он очень много, он был – ну как вот сказать.  
 He did very much, he was, well, how should I say it.
- AAG *'On byl i plotnik i stoljar i rybak, i on i dom postrait i' ...*  
 Он был и плотник, и столяр, и рыбак, и он и дом построит и ...  
 He was a carpenter, and a joiner, a fisherman, and he would build a house and ...
- PK *Stroji.*  
 Построит (по-карельски).  
 He would build (a house) (in Karelian).
- AAG *I talon strojiu i liävän i kylyn, i kaikki iče pili (.) tämmösellä pilalla (.) 'doski' (.) lauvat.*  
 И дом строит, и хлев, и баню, и все сам пилил ... такой пилой ... доски, доски.  
 And he would build a house, and cowshed, and bathhouse, he sawed everything himself ... with such a saw ... there were boards, and boards.

- AAG *Stroji rahvahalla kä- kaikilla, niin i kävele hänellä oli (aa) tämmöni juaššikka (aa) š- i- instrumentat šielä, i hän niin i kävi ky- kylyä myöt'en.*  
 Строил народу всем, поэтому и ходил так, у него ... был такой ящик ... и инструменты там, и он так и ходил по деревне.  
 He built for people, for everyone, he walked like that, he had ... such a box ... and tools there, and he walked around the village like that.
- AAG *Ke- ken kunne kučču, hot' yöllä, hot' päivällä, konša kučutah šiel niin i (xxx) kaikičči ...*  
 Кто куда зовет, хоть ночью, хоть днем, когда зовут там и (xxx) всегда ...  
 Whoever calls him, even at night, even during the day, when they ask him to come, and (xxx) always ...
- AAG *I hän oikein (aa) 'nu ka- kak skazat', deneg to togda ne bylo', a rahua ei ollun (.) a annettih ruokana (.) kellä mitä oli.*  
 И он очень ... ну как сказать, денег то тогда не было, а денег не было ... платили едой ... у кого что было.  
 And he was very ... well, how to say it, there was no money then, there was no money ... they compensated him with food ... everyone gave him what s/he could.
- AAG *Ken (aa) tappau (aa) šielä lam- 'a èto ne' lampahan – barana, pokon, pokon, ili (aa) kun lehmä šuau (aa) 'byčka'.*  
 Кто ... забивает ... там овцу, а это не овцу – барана, барана, или корова родит ... бычка.  
 One ... would slaughter ... a sheep there, not a sheep but a ram, a ram, or a cow will give birth to ... a steer.
- AAG *Kuin še 'byčok to nazyvaetsa' ?*  
 Как бычок называется (по-карельски)?  
 How do you say steer (in Karelian)?
- DK *Vaša.*  
 Теленок.  
 Bull calf.
- AAG *'Kak?'*  
 Как?  
 How?

- DK *Vasa, vaša.*  
Теленок, теленок.  
Bull calf, bull calf.
- AAG *Va- vaša, vaša 'ëto u tëločka'.*  
Теленок, теленок, это у телочки.  
Bull calf, bull calf, of the heifer.
- AAG *'A byčok?'*  
А бычок?  
And steer?
- DK *Vasikka.*  
Теленок.  
Calf.
- AAG *Vasikka.*  
Теленок.  
Calf.
- PK *Tapettih vasikka, ja?*  
Забивали бычка, да?  
A bull calf was slaughtered, right?
- AAG *Aha, tapetah vasi- (aa) lihua annetah.*  
Ага, забивали быч- ... мясо давали.  
Yeah, they slaughtered the calf ... they fed us with meat.
- AAG *Kalua annetah, i iče hän piti tože skot'inua, i vot šillä hyö eletti i meilä aivan autettih.*  
Рыбу давали, и сам он тоже держал домашнюю скотину, и вот на это они жили и нам всегда помогали.  
They fed us with fish, he also kept cattle, and that's what they lived on, and they always helped us.
- AAG *I tämä Marfa babuška i ukko, i i ne ukko ta akka.*  
И эта бабушка Марфа и дедушка, и эти дед и бабушка.  
And grandma Marfa and the grandpa, and these grandpa and grandma.
- AAG *I myö vot nälkyä emmä (aa) 'osobenno ëto', milma otettih srazu hyö.*  
И мы вот голода не ... особенно, это, меня взяли сразу они.  
And so, from hunger we didn't (suffer) ... especially because they took me right away.

- AAG *Mie oliv viijes tyttö pereheššä, milma tullih ukko i ämmö i šanottih: antakua myö- meilä A.!*  
 Я была пятой девочкой в семье, меня пришли (забирать) бабушка с бабушкой ... и говорили – „Отдайте нам А. (имя)!“  
 I was the fifth girl in the family, my grandparents came (to take me away) ... and said, “Give us A. (name)!”
- AAG *Ullana, siula nellä (.) henkie jäy, a hot' myö yhen otamma, jotta rupi-emma šyöttämäh i i juottamah i šuorittamah.*  
 Ульяна, у тебя четыре ... ребенка остается, а мы хоть одного возьмем, начнем (будем) кормить, поить и одевать.  
 Ul'ana, you have four ... kids left, we take just one kid and will start feeding her, will give her water, and clothe her.
- AAG *I hyö, mie koko (aa) šovan ajan olin hiän luona.*  
 И они (взяли), я всю ... войну была у них.  
 And they (took me), I was living with them ... during the whole war.
- AAG *Muato inogda šano, jotta tule sie hot' at'ivoih meäl\_luo.*  
 Мама иногда говорила, что „приходи хоть в гости к нам“.  
 My mother sometimes told me, “Come and visit us!”
- AAG *A mie tulen at'i- i šuoritettih\_hyö milma oikein (.) (aa) hyvin šuoritettih, mie ...*  
 А я приду в гост ... и оденут они меня очень ... хорошо оденут, я ...  
 And I will go to visit them ... and they will dress me (before the visit) very well ... they will dress me, I ...
- AAG *Vot, a miula (aa) čikot ta vell'et 'drug po družke vot, ja ne znaju kak skazat'.*  
 Вот, а у меня ... сестры да братья друг по дружке вот, я не знаю, как сказать.  
 Well, and my ... sisters and brothers, from one to the other, well, I don't know how to say it.
- AAG *'Ot staršego dostovalos' mladšim, a mladšemu uže to što dostanetsja (:), vot.'*  
 От старшего доставалось младшим, а младшему уже то, что достанется (смеется), вот.  
 From the older child clothes fell in the share of the younger, and for the youngest, whatever is left then for him/her (laughing).

- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.
- PK *A šano karjalakši.*  
А скажи (то же) по-карельски.  
And say it now in Karelian.
- AAG *'Aa ёto, a menja odevali oĉen' horo-', milma šuoritettih, aha, hyvin.*  
А это, а меня, меня одевали очень хоро-, меня одевали, ага, хорошо.  
And well, they dressed me very well, they dressed me, yeah, well.
- PK *Šiula oli hyvä, aha ...*  
У тебя была хорошая (жизнь) ...  
You had a good (life) ...
- AAG *Mie kun tulen, huomenekšella noušen, ei ole yhtä šukkuua, ei ole plat'ua, hyö o-jo ajettu iĉellä (: ) šuorit- (:).*  
Я как приду, утром встаю, нет ни одного носка, нет платья, они о ... забрали себе (смеется) ... одели- (смеется).  
When I visit them, I get up in the morning, there's not a single sock, no dress, they have taken them for themselves (laughing) ... put it on- (laughing).
- AAG *Mie iten, muamo tulou, heitä (: ) lyöy viĉalla etta miksi työ ottija hänen vuatteet, antakkuu seiĉa- (: ) ...*  
Я плачу, мама приходит, их (смеется) бьет вицей, почему вы взяли ее одежду, (от)давайте сейча- (смеется) ...  
I'm crying, my mom comes in, whips (laughing) them, why did you take her clothes, give them back now (laughing) ...
- AAG *A heilä še himottau tože jotta ...*  
А им хочется тоже, чтобы ...  
But they also want to ...
- AAG *Milma šuoritettih oikein, niinku 'kukolku oni deržali menja'.*  
Меня одевали очень ... как куколку они держали меня.  
They dressed me very ... they held me like a doll.

31st July 2017

### The life of a friend, who recently passed away

AAG *Aa hän (aa) slu- sluuzi šielä Kiestinkissä, i šielä hyö t'ot'a Luban kera poznakomiuvuttih.*

А он ... слу- служил там в Кестеньге, и там они с тетей Любой познакомились.

And he ... ser- served there in Kiestinki, and that's where he and aunt Lyuba got acquainted.

AAG *I hän tuoi hänen tänne.*

И он привез ее сюда.

And he brought her here.

PK *Poznakomiuvuttih.*

Познакомились.

They got acquainted.

AAG *Hänellä oli (.) olis nyt 'odinnadcatogo sentjabrja' yhekšän kymmentä vuotta (.) vot, hän vähäistä ei elä-, ei elän 'do de- do devjanosto'.*

Ей было ... было бы теперь одиннадцатого сентября девяносто лет ... вот, она немного не дож- не дожила до де- до девяноста.

She was ... would have turned ninety now, on the eleventh of September ... yeah, she didn't live to nine- ninety.

AAG *A hyö kun tullih (.) no mie em \_muissa että (.) konša hyö tullih Kolviččah 'v kakom godu'.*

А они когда приехали ... так я не помню ... когда они приехали в Колвицу, в каком году.

And they, when they came ... well, I don't remember ... when they came to Kolvitsa, in what year.

AAG *Mie oliv \_vielä pikkaraini, i mie jo häntä (.) hy- hyväsištäh muissan kun hän koulušša ruato meilä (.) koulušša hyö i eletti Ruud'an kera, miehen.*

Я была еще маленькой, и я уже её ... хорошо помню, поскольку она у нас в школе работала ... в школе они и жили с Рудей, мужем.

I was just a little girl, but I still ... remember her well as she worked at our school ... at the school, and they were living with Rudyä, her husband.

- AAG *I heilä oli (.) oma (aa) komnatuška šielä, hyö ši- i elettih, šielä hän ni šai i Nina-tyttö i Rud' tämän, oi Kol'an, ken nyt hänen talošša.*  
И у них была ... своя ... комнатушка там, они там жили, там же она родила дочку Нину, и Рудь ... этого, ой Колю, кто теперь в её доме.  
And they had ... their ... little room there, they lived there, she gave birth to her daughter Nina, and Rud' ... that, no Kolya, the one who is living in her house now.
- AAG *A työ että käynyn hiän luo?*  
А вы не ходили к ним?  
Didn't you go to them?
- PK *Ei käy-.*  
Не ходили.  
We didn't.
- AAG *Olis pitän, no ei piäh nyt, hyö, heil lon šemmoñi, hyö oikein pereživaitih.*  
Нужно было бы, но не должны теперь, они, у них, такое, они очень переживали.  
We should have, but no, now they, they have, the thing is, they were very sad (when she died).
- AAG *Ta väkie on äijä heilä še šinne tullih i Niinan lapšet, po- poika, kakši poikua i tytär.*  
И народа много у них, туда приехали и дети Нины, сын – два сына и дочь.  
And there are a lot of people there now, Nina's children also came, a son, two sons, and a daughter.
- PK *A hyö, hyö poznakomiuvuttih (.) Kiestinkissä?*  
А познакомились они ... в Кестеньге?  
But they met ... in Kiestinki?
- AAG *Kiestinkiššä hyö Ruud'an kera, Ruud'a oli hänen mieš, hyö šielä Kiestinkissä poznakomiuvuttih (.) Luuba še šielä eli, hänellä oli čikkoja i veikkoja äijä.*  
В Кестеньге они с Рудей, Рудя был ее муж, они там в Кестеньге познакомились ... Люба, это, там жила, у нее сестер и братьев много было.  
In Kiestinki, she and Rudy, Rudy was her husband, they met there in Kiestinki ... Lyuba lived there, she had many sisters and brothers.

- AAG *No hän konešno oikein (aa) kuin še šanotah 'tja- tjažoluju žizn'.*  
 Но она, конечно, очень ... как говорят тяжелую жизнь (прожила).  
 But she certainly had a very ... hard life, as they say.
- PK *Vaikie.*  
 Сложную.  
 Difficult.
- AAG *Aha, vaikie.*  
 Ага, сложную.  
 Yeah, difficult.
- DK *Jykie.*  
 Тяжелую  
 Hard.
- AAG *Jykie eloš heilä oli kun heitä (aa) vietih 's Karelii' še vietih kaikkie 'v Arhangel'skuju oblast'.*  
 Тяжелая жизнь была, когда их ... вывезли из Карелии, вывезли всех в Архангельскую область.  
 They had a hard life when they were ... taken out from Karelia, taken all to Arkhangelsk Oblast.
- AAG *Potomuš- ...*  
 Потому ч- ...  
 Because ...
- PK *Evakuatsija.*  
 Эвакуация.  
 Evacuation.
- AAG *'Evakuaciju, oni tam byli ka oni golodovali'.*  
 В эвакуацию, они там были, так они голодали.  
 They were evacuated, they were there, and they were starving.
- PK *Oli sielä, (aa) oltih.*  
 Была там ... были.  
 She was there ... they there.
- AAG *Oli sielä, šielä oli, 'v Arhangel'skoj'.*  
 Была там, там была в Архангельской (области).  
 She was there, there in Arkhangelsk (Oblast).



- PK *Nälässä oli.*  
Голодала.  
She was starving.
- AAG *Nälässä oltih, muamo šielä kuoli heilä (.) šitä vanhempi čikko tuoi hiät\_tänne, Luiveńkašša hyö eletti, tät'i oli heilä Luiveńkašša.*  
Голодали, мама там умерла у них ... потом старшая сестра привезла их сюда, в Лувеньге они жили, тетьа была у них в Лувеньге.  
They were starving, their mother died there ... then their older sister brought them here, they were living in Luvenga, their aunt was with them in Luvenga.
- AAG *Vot, (aa) ž- ž- še pitäis vot ken- (.) a Luiveńkašša naverno ei niket ole nyt enämpi jotta ken häntä i muistau, kaikin on kuoltu jo.*  
Вот ... нужно вот кто- ... а в Лувеньге наверно никого больше теперь нет, кто ее помнит, все уже умерли.  
So ... you need somebody ... and there are probably no more people in Luvenga who remember her, they're all dead now.
- AAG *Vot, no hän oli, oli, nu oikein hyvä oli.*  
Вот, но она была, была, очень хорошая была.  
Yes, but she was, she was very kind.
- AAG *Myö kun mie kun Kolvičašša elin ta miula oli äijä lašta i hän i t'ot'a Taša vot Slavika muamo, miula oikein äitä- a- autettih häijäl\_lapšien kera eihän še ollun ja- ennen eikä jaslie eikä ...*  
Мы когда ... я когда в Колвице жила и у меня было много детей и она, и тетьа Тася, Славика мать, мне очень помо- помогали с детьми, не было же раньше ни яслей, ни ...  
When we ... I lived in Kolvitsa and I had many children and she and auntie Tasya, Slavik's mother, they helped me a lot with the children, there were no day nurseries then, no ...
- AAG *'Ni sadikov ni jaslej, a u menja deti malen'kie, rabotala na ru-' työjelin pekarnäšša, piti männä puoli kolmen aikah yöllä ...*  
Ни садиков, ни яслей, а у меня дети маленькие, работала в пекарне, нужно было уходить (из дома) в полтретьего ночи ...  
No kindergartens, no daycare, and I had small children, I was working in a bakery, and I had to leave (from home) at half past three in the morning ...

- AAG 'testo zakladyvat' da pečku zataplivat'.  
тесто закладывать и печку затапливать.  
to put the dough in and fire up the stove.
- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Аха.
- AAG *I ei ollun kenen kera jättyä, muamo eli etähänä, ni hyö milma aina vi-  
ručaitih (.) 'të- to tëtja Ljuba to tëtja Tasja' šanotah (.) šano vain, jotta  
siula pitää lähtie, ni mie tulen issun ili tuon konša tuon hiäl\_luo.*  
Не было с кем оставить, мама жила далеко, вот они меня всегда  
выручали ... то тетя Люба, то тетя Тася ... говорят, „скажи только,  
что тебе нужно идти, так я приду, посижу“, или я принесу (приве-  
ду) к ним.  
There was nobody to leave the kids with, my mother was living far  
away, and they always helped me out ... aunt Lyuba, aunt Tasya ... they  
said, “just tell me that you need to go, so I will come and stay”, or I  
would bring the kids to them.
- AAG *Kun on kumpani, pikkaraini ni (.) šinne vien hiäl\_luona da hyö miula  
autettih nancut.*  
Когда есть, который маленький, так туда отведу к ним и они мне  
помогали нянчить.  
When I had small ones, that's where I would take them, and they  
would help me and babysit them.
- AAG *Oikein hyvä nainen oli oikein hyvä, i kaikin i šemmoini, jotta et vain käy  
ne konša, männä vuotena mie hänen luo (aa) 'kak skazat' často?'*  
Очень хорошая женщина была, очень хорошая и всегда, и такая,  
что когда бы ты не навестил её, в прошлом году я к ней ... как ска-  
зать „часто“?  
Such a kind woman she was, very kind and always, and the type of a  
woman that whenever you visited her, last year I went to her ... how  
do you say “often”?
- DK *Šakieh.*  
Часто.  
Often.

- AAG *Šakieh kävin kun häi jo vanhañi oli, ei nä- nähnyñ tože, nyt miul ičel- läni šemmoñi še (.) vot a ...*  
 Часто ходила, так как она уже старая была, не видела уже, теперь у меня самой то же самое ... вот а ...  
 I often visited her, because she was already old, she didn't see any- more, now I have the same problem ... so, and ...
- PK *A hän hän ruavoi ' uborščicei', hän rua- ...*  
 А она работала уборщицей, она раб- ...  
 And she worked as a cleaning lady, she wor- ...
- AAG *Hän ruato koulušša ' i storožem i uborščicei'.*  
 Она работала в школе и сторожем, и уборщицей.  
 She worked at the school as a janitor and as a cleaning lady.
- AAG *Šentäh heilä annettih šinne komnatuška, heilä omua ei ollun (.) missä elyä, taluo omua ei ollun heilä.*  
 Поэтому им дали там (в школе) комнатушку, своего у них не было ... где жить, дома своего не было у них.  
 So, they were given a room there (at the school), they didn't have their own ... where to live, they didn't have their own house.
- AAG *Ku hyö tulñtñ Karjalašša, vähäñi aikua čokol \_луона elettih, a šielä oli tože kahekšan lašta (.) ta ukko vielä Isak Vasil'evič elošša, ni hyö šielä pikkaraisešša konurkaisešša elettih Ruud'an kera.*  
 Когда они приехали из Карелии, недолгое время жили у сестры, а там тоже было восемь детей ... да дед Исак Василевич был еще жив, поэтому они там в маленькой конурке (= комнатке) и жили с Рудей.  
 When they came from Karelia, they lived for a short time at her sister's, but there were eight children already there ... and the old Isak Vasilevich was still alive, so they were living there in a small hovel with Rudyä.
- AAG *Šiitä vot heitä häntä otettih, a mieš hänellä oli svjazist.*  
 Потом у них ее забрали, а муж ее был связист.  
 Then it was taken from them, and her husband was a telephone operator.

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 The life of a friend (continuation)

- AAG 'No žensčina konešno očen' horošaja'.  
 Но женщина, конечно, очень хорошая.  
 She was, of course, a very good woman.
- PK *Hyvä, hyvä nainen.*  
 Хорошая, хорошая женщина.  
 A good, good woman.
- AAG 'Vot vse (.) na pominkah'.  
 Вот, все ... на поминках.  
 Well, everyone ... was at the wake.
- PK *Šano karjalakši.*  
 Скажи по-карельски.  
 Say this in Karelian.
- AAG (aa) *oltih 'po- na pominkah' ne kaikin naiset vot, ket viel\_on elošša, ne muisseltih, jotta kun myö še olima pikkaraisina koulušša, ni hän meilä potakkua keittäy, čäijy (.) keittäy (.) šovan aikah.*  
 ... были на поминках все женщины, да ... кто еще жив, вспоминали, что, когда мы были маленькими в школе, так она нам картошку варит, чай кипятит во время войны.  
 ... they were at the wake, all the women, yes ... those who were still alive, they remembered that when we were small, in school, she used to cook potatoes and boil tea for us during the war.
- AAG *Ńii eto (aa) šyöttäy šielä (aa) kaikičči, hot' mitä lienöy palañi leipua, ni šen (.) 'po kusočkam' (.) antau kaikiлла ларšille että ...*  
 Так ... кормила там всегда ... хоть будет кусочек хлеба, так и его по кусочку даст всем детям, чтобы ...  
 She fed us always ... if there was a piece of bread, so she would share it to all children, so that ...
- AAG *No hän oli meil (aa) meilä niin kun ämmö i tuato i (.) tuatot še kaikin oltih työssä.*  
 Таким образом, она была для нас как бабушка и мама ... (наши) мамы же все были на работе.  
 Thus, she was ... like a grandmother and a mother to us ... (our) mothers were all at work.

- AAG *Kaikki*lla piti šovan aikah i miehet i nai-, miehie ei ni ollun kyläššä, ukkoset kumpaset jeli jeli käveltih.  
 Для всех нужно в военное время, и мужчины, и женщ-, мужчин не было в деревне, старики (только), которые еле-еле ходили.  
 Everybody was in need in wartime, both men and wome-, there were no men in the village, only old men who could barely walk.
- AAG *Nu* vot hän oli meilä vot kaikin naiset (.) mie vot nyt olin i kävin tuošša čäijyö juomah ni (.) muisseltih jotta vot vot LEZ da GAB da ... kaikin muistelima jotta hän oli šemmoñi (.) 'nu prosto o- ot ot vsej duši, vse eë ljubili'.  
 Ну вот, она была у нас ..., вот все женщины ... я вот теперь ходила туда чая попить, вспоминали чтобы ... вот ЛЕЗ, да ГАБ, да ... все мы вспоминали, что она была такая, ну просто от всей души, все ее любили.  
 Well, she was like ... well, all women ... I was there now, I went there for a cup of tea, and we all remembered that ... well LEZ, and GAB, and ... we all remembered what she was like, just from the bottom of our hearts, we all loved her.
- AAG 'Nn- naverno človeka net', ei\_jole kyläššä, jotta kumpani ei sožaleiččis, što hän mäni.  
 Наверно, нет человека, нет такого в деревне, который бы не сожалел бы, что она ушла (из жизни).  
 Probably there is no such person, there isn't a person in the village who doesn't regret that she passed away.
- AAG *Muö* vielä hänen keran vašta e- (.) e- emmä ammui kaikičči kävimä tänne (.) Luiveñkah meitä kučutah.  
 Мы еще с ней недавно ... недавно всегда ходили сюда ... в Лувеньгу нас звали.  
 She and I recently ... recently used to come here ... they asked us to come to Luvenga.
- AAG 'Vot veterany truda, deti vojny', vot mie olen, i hän tože vot, no hän on, hän oli (aa) 'ne veteran truda, veteran vojny'.  
 Вот ветераны труда, дети войны, вот я являюсь, и она тоже ... но она не была ветеран труда, ветеран войны.  
 Well, labor veterans, war children, this is what I am, and so was she ... but she was not a labor veteran, she was a war veteran.

- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.
- AAG 'Vot, aa a my deti vojny uže vot naše pokolenie.'  
Вот, а мы дети войны уже, вот наше поколение.  
Well, but we are children of war, this is our generation.
- PK *Šovan lapšet.*  
Дети войны (по-карельски).  
Children of war (in Karelian).
- AAG *Šovan lapšet, aha.*  
Дети войны, да.  
Children of war, yeah.
- AAG 'Vot i sobiralis'' ka- keräytymä tänne (.) klubih, meitä kučuttih (aa) 'priglašali i my vsegda, den' požilogo čeloveka pervogo oktjabrja'.  
Вот и собирались сюда ... в клуб, нас приглашали ... приглашали и мы всегда день пожилого человека первого октября (отмечали).  
So, we used to come here ... to the club, we were invited ... we were invited, and we always celebrated the International Day of Older Persons on 1 October.
- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.
- AAG *V- v- vanhoja (.) vanhoja akkoja, ukkoja ei ole i yhtä meän keralla (:)  
ei ni yhtä, kaikin on kuol-.*  
Старые ... старые женщины, стариков совсем нет среди нас (смеется), ни одного, все умерли.  
Old ... old women, there are no old men among us at all (laughing), not even one, they are all dead.
- AAG *A akkaset viel ollah (.) i keräytymä, a männä vuotena jo ei voinun  
häl\_lähtie.*  
А старушки еще есть ... и мы собирались, а в прошлом году уже не могла она приходить.  
But the old ladies are still there ... and we were gathering, but last year she couldn't come anymore.

**LVS (b. 1934)**

29th July 2017

## School education and what it means to be Karelian outside Kolvitsa

- PK *A sie sie kävit koulua, ja tässä Kolvitsassa.*  
 А ты в школу ходила, здесь в Колвице.  
 And you went to school here in Kolvitsa.
- LVS *Kolvičašša mie o- opin nellä vuotta (.) meilä ol'i näin (aa) 'do četyräh klassov', nellä.*  
 В Колвице я училась четыре класса ... у нас была ... до четырех классов, четыре.  
 In Kolvitsa, I went to four grades (of school) ... we had ... up to four grades here, four.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 I see.
- LVS *A siitä (aa) vuuvem mie opin Knäžoissa internatašša (.) a siitä tulii ii (.) 'eto byl (aa) t- ol'i v- (.) nu, posle vojny'.*  
 А потом ... год я училась в Княжгубе в школе-интернате ... а потом приехала ... это было ... ну, после войны.  
 And then ... for a year I studied at the boarding school in Knyazhaya Guba ... and then I came ... that was ... well, after the war.
- LVS *Ää čikko (aa) täštä 's Vyborga (.) priehala i zabrala menja, ona žila v Kandalakše' (.) Kannallahešša eli (.) ii v- opetti.*  
 А сестра ... из Выборга ... приехала и забрала меня, она жила в Кандалакше ... в Кандалакше жила ... и преподавала.  
 And my sister ... from Vyborg ... she came and took me away, she was living in Kandalaksha ... in Kandalaksha ... and was teaching there.
- LVS *Koulušša hän työjeli (.) opetti hän, otti milma (.) i mie yu- 's šestogo klassa', kuuvvešta luokašša (.) opiin jo hänel luona Kannallahešša.*  
 В школе она работа ... преподавала, она забрала меня ... и с шестого класса, с шестого класса ... училась у нее в Кандалакше.  
 She worked at school ... taught there, she took me ... and from the sixth grade, from the sixth grade ... I was studying by her in Kandalaksha.

- LVS *Vot ni- niil'äh* (aa) *siitä ...*  
 Вот так ... потом ...  
 It was like this ... then ...
- DK *Oliko šielä karjalaisie?*  
 Были ли там карелы (в школе)?  
 Were there Karelians there (in school)?
- LVS *Karjala? – ei, venäläiset oltih, možet byt' i oltih, no* (.) *e-y ol'i šem-  
 moiñe aika* (.) *jottaa* (aa) *'stešnjaliś'*.  
 Карелы? – Нет, русские были, может быть и были (карелы), но ...  
 нет, было время такое ... что ... стеснялись.  
 Karelians? No, there were Russians, maybe there were (Karelians),  
 but ... no, the time was such ... that ... we were ashamed.
- LVS *Vot* (aa) *'bylo takoe vremja, čto stesnjalis' čto i* (.) *i karely'*.  
 Вот ... было такое время, что стеснялись, что и ... карелами  
 являемся.  
 Well ... the time was such that we were ashamed that we ... are Karelians.
- LVS *Mie tulin konša v Murmañnih* (aa) *työjelemäh* (.) *miula ol'i kakškynt-  
 mentäkuuši vuotta*.  
 Когда я приехала в Мурманск ... работать ... мне было 26 лет.  
 When I went to Murmansk ... to work ... I was 26 years old.
- LVS *Nu vot* (.) *ii mie* (aa) *v- venäläksi puajin, ei ni t'ijetty, jotta mi oleε  
 karjalaini*.  
 Ну вот ... и я ... по-русски говорила, не знали, что я карелка.  
 Well ... and I ... spoke Russian, they didn't know I was Karelian.
- DK *Aha*.  
 Так.  
 I see.
- LVS *Eei* (.) *työššä, työššä*.  
 Нет ... на работе, на работе.  
 No ... at work, at work.
- DK *Aha*.  
 Так.  
 I see.



- LVS *A sitä kuin-too vot iče (aa) rupesin šanelomah, jotta-a (.) mie olen kylästä (.) i karjalaini.*  
 А потом как-то вот сама ... и начала рассказывать, что ... я из деревни ... и карелка.  
 And then somehow, I ... began to tell people that ... I am from the village ... and Karelian.
- LVS *'Nu vot, a vsë ravno(i)' ei \_jole kenen k- keralle p- p- puajie.*  
 Ну, вот, а всё равно, не было с кем говорить (на карельском).  
 Well, anyway, there was nobody with whom I could talk (in Karelian).
- LVS *Y- yksi naini sielää t- työjeli, sotrudnica ol'i (.) aa hän ol'i (aa) hyö oltih 's Petrozavodska' (.) i moama hänellä ol'i (.) veps.*  
 Одна женщина там работала, сотрудница была ... а она была ... они были из Петрозаводска ... и мама у нее была вепс.  
 A woman was working there, a colleague ... and she was ... they were from Petrozavodsk ... and her mother was Veps.
- DK *Mm.*  
 Так.  
 I see.
- LVS *'Nacional'nost' takaja ve- veps'.*  
 Национальность такая вепс.  
 There is such a nationality, Veps.
- DK *Vepsä.*  
 Вепс.  
 Veps.
- LVS *'Veps ... niu (aa) nemnožko različalsja jazyk (.) èto самое (.) ona kak-to' ...*  
 Вепс ... ну, немножко различался язык ... это самое ... она как-то ...  
 Veps ... well, their language was slightly different ... like that ... she somehow ...
- DK *A kun siun s- (.) siun susieta on karjalaini, AAG (.) hän pakajau tai puajiu hyvin karjalakši?*  
 А поскольку твоя ... твоя соседка карелка, ААГ ... она говорит хорошо по-карельски?  
 And since your ... your neighbor is Karelian, AAG ... does she speak good Karelian?

- LVS *Ka* (aa), AAG?  
 A (кто), ААГ?  
 Who, AAG?
- DK *AAG, nu.*  
 ААГ, да.  
 AAG, yes.
- LVS *Daa* (.) '*ona ka-*', *hän on karjalaini, hän tiälä* (xxx) (aa) *da* (.) *hyväsiestä.*  
 Да ... она, она карелка, она здесь (xxx) ... да ... хорошо (говорит).  
 Yes ... she, she is Karelian, she is here (xxx) ... yes ... (she speaks) well.
- PK *Ku šie kui šie olit pikkaraine lapsi, sie ei malttan venäjää* (.) *venäjäksi?*  
 Когда ты была маленьким ребенком, ты не понимала русского языка ... по-русски?  
 When you were a little kid, you probably didn't understand Russian ... in Russian?
- LVS *V- venäjän kielie* (.) *a mie maltoin, 'potomu štoo'* (.) *miule* (.) *čikko,* *hän tiälä ol'i koulušša, hän ol'i opettajana.*  
 Русский язык ... а я понимала, потому что ... у меня сестра, она здесь была в школе, была учительницей.  
 The Russian language ... I understood, because ... my sister, she was in the school here, she was a teacher.
- LVS *Ope-* (aa) *hän joo v- opetti* (.) *venäjäkše.*  
 Препода- ... она уже преподавала на русском языке.  
 She was teach- ... she was teaching in Russian.
- LVS *A iče hän šuomen kielellä* (aa) *oppi.*  
 А сама она на финском языке училась.  
 But she herself studied in Finnish.
- LVS *Vot F- Feña ol'i* (.) *čikko miule* (.) *i kaikiv\_ vanhempi še čikko ol'i Mañu* (.) *a hän* (.) *ken on koulušša* (.) *työjeli.*  
 Вот, Феня ... сестра у меня ... и самая старшая была сестра Маню ... и она ... которая в школе ... работала.  
 So, Fenya ... my sister ... and the oldest sister was Manyu ... and she ... the one who worked ... at the school.

- LVS *Nii hyö p- opettih (.) f- finskoilla kie- kelellä (.) 'na finskom jazyke obučališ, i obučali ich tut'.*  
 Вот они учились ... на финском языке ... на финском языке обучались, и обучали их тут.  
 Well, they were taught ... in Finnish ... in Finnish they were taught, and they went to school here (in Kolvitsa).
- PK *A sie, a sie ot sie olet opaššut (.) šuomen kieltä?*  
 А ты, ты учила ... финский язык?  
 And you, did you learn ... Finnish?
- LVS *En (.) en (.) mie venäjäksi.*  
 Нет ... нет ... я по-русски.  
 No ... no ... I studied in Russian.
- LVS *Mie kul\_läksin kouluh (.) juštih šota (aa) 'ff sorok pervyj god'.*  
 Я когда пошла в школу ... как раз война (началась) ... в сорок первом году.  
 When I went to school ... the war just (started) ... in forty-one.

1st August 2017

### Domestic religious practices

- PK *Hän, hän, malttaa karjalakši?*  
 Он, он понимает по-карельски?  
 Does he, does he understand Karelian?
- LVS *Da hiän, nu možet byt ei niin hyvästäh puaji no malttau ymmärtä (aa) tože 'on vospityvalsja moej mamо-'*  
 Да, ну может быть, он не так хорошо говорит, но понимает, понимает ... тоже, он воспитывался моей мамой.  
 Yeah, well, maybe he doesn't speak as well, but he understands, he understands ... too, he was raised by my mom.
- PK *Hän malttaa karjalakši?*  
 Он понимает по-карельски?  
 Does he understand Karelian?
- LVS *Malttau.*  
 Понимает.  
 He does.

- PK *Hän on nuorempi.*  
Он моложе.  
He is younger.
- LVS *Nuorempi, hiän on kymmenen vuotta nuorempi milma (.) ta hänellä i  
ratjat' on hyvämpi čet miula.*  
Моложе, он на 10 лет младше меня ... да у него и память лучше,  
чем у меня.  
Younger, he is ten years younger than me ... and he has a better mem-  
ory than me.
- PK *Aha, muissa ...*  
Ага, помнит ...  
I see, he remembers ...
- LVS *Muistau, muistau hyväsištäh.*  
Помнит, помнит хорошо.  
He remembers, he remembers well.
- PK *A, mie mie halusin kyšyä muissatko kuin šie olit lapši, että että vanhat  
naiset käytih moli- moliuttumaan.*  
А я, я хотел спросить, помнишь ли ты, чтобы старые женщины  
ходили моли- молиться, когда ты была ребенком.  
Well, I, I was wondering if you remember old women pray- praying  
when you were a child.
- LVS *Ei, meilä čerkkuo ei\_jollun.*  
Нет, у нас церкви не было.  
No, we didn't have a church.
- PK *A kotona, kodissa?*  
А дома?  
And at home?
- LVS *A koissa ikonnoja piettih i moliuvuttih (.) vot mamal oli tuošša puolešša  
'ška- škafčik takoj i tam ikony hranila'.*  
А дома иконы держали и молились ... вот у мамы в той стороне  
был шка- шкафчик такой и там иконы она хранила.  
And at home they kept icons and prayed ... well, my mom had a cabi-  
net over there and she kept icons there.

- DK *Škuappi.*  
Шкаф.  
A cabinet.
- LVS *Škuappi aha a tuatto oli (.) 'partijnyj po-russki (:)' govorja i on protivilsja tomu čto' (.) vot ei ei ei raz- ei (jakalla) razrešaičči a ei antan a hän nu 'po prjatkam prjatal prjatalas'.*  
Шкафчик, да, а отец был ... партийный, по-русски (смеется) говоря, и он противился тому, что ... вот, не раз- разрешил, он не давал, а она по пряткам пряталась.  
A cabinet, yes, and my father was ... party member, to put it in Russian (laughing), and he resisted ... didn't all- allow, he didn't allow her (to keep icons), and she was playing hide-and-seek with him.
- PK *Hän ei moliutun, ei antanut.*  
Она не молилась, он не давал.  
She didn't pray, he didn't allow her.
- PK *Siun tuamolla oli semmone (.) molintanurkka?*  
У твоей мамы был этакий ... угол для моления?  
Did your mom have this ... prayer corner?
- LVS *Da da da šielä oltih ikonat hä- heitä peitti daže sieltä škafčikašta ubiraičči kunneñih i eto koñša tuatto (.) a tuatto hän mereh kävi kapitanana oli, dak häntä často koissa ei\_jollun 'ona molilas' osobenno' kun oltih vanhat pruasnikat (.) 'eti ne prazdnovali v derevne a oni pomnili'.*  
Да, да, да, там иконы были, она их прятала, даже оттуда из шкафчика убирала куда-нибудь, и когда отец ... а отец, он в море капитаном ходил, поэтому его часто не было дома, она молилась особенно, когда были старинные праздники ... эти не праздновали в деревне, а они (старые люди) помнили.  
Yes, yes, there were icons there, she was hiding them, she even took them out of the closet, and when my father ... and father, he worked on the sea as a captain, so he was often away from home, she was praying especially when there were ancient holidays ... these were not celebrated in the village, but they (the old people) remembered them.
- PK *Ei piettih kylässä, vai?*  
Не праздновали в деревне, да?  
They were not celebrated in the village, right?

- LVS 'Oni vsë babuški pomnili i prihodila tētuška Fëkla' ...  
Они – бабушки всё помнили, и приходила к нам тётушка Фёкла ...  
Old women remembered everything, and auntie Fëkla came to us ...
- PK Šano karjalakši, karjalakši.  
Скажи по-карельски.  
Say it in Karelian.
- LVS Täjit, tätit tultih i i tože issutah puajutah i siitä 'na kolenki vstavali (.)  
da ne pomniš vsëžto'.  
Мамины сёстры приходили и тоже садятся, разговаривают и  
потом на коленки вставали ... да не помнишь всё уже то.  
My mom's sisters would come and sit and talk and then get on their  
knees ... but who would remember all this.

### The man who jinxed domestic animals

- LVS Nu vot hiän sitä vei tytär (.) hänellä akka kuoli.  
Ну вот его потом увезла дочь ... у него жена умерла.  
Well, his daughter took him then away ... his wife died.
- LVS 'V obšem' kanto samovuarua 'kipjačënyj i oprokinula na sebja'.  
В общем, несла самовар кипяченный и опрокинула на себя.  
What happened, she was carrying a samovar of boiling water and  
poured it over herself.
- LVS Kuato iččieh piällä i kuoli.  
Опрокинула на себя и умерла.  
She poured it over herself and died.
- LVS 'Èto самое, ne mogli spasti'.  
Это самое, не могли спасти.  
That's it, they couldn't rescue her.
- LVS Nu vot i siitä hänt\_tytär vei (.) Sevastopol'ašša eletti\_hyö, mieš hä-  
nellä oli voennoj.  
Ну вот и потом его дочь увезла ... в Севастополе жили они, муж у  
нее был военный.  
Well, then his daughter took him away ... they were living in Sevas-  
topol, her husband was in the military.

- LVS *I vietih häntä sinne (.) sielä siitä sielä siitä kuoli.*  
И увезли его туда ... там потом, там потом умер.  
And they took him there ... there, there he died then.
- LVS *A tiälä a hiän oli (.) äijä laitto rahvahalla pahua (.) pahua.*  
А здесь он был ... много плохого сделал народу ... плохого.  
And here he was ... a lot of bad things he did to the people ... bad things.
- LVS *Hän tiesi äijä (.) äijä tiesi tože no hän pahua ruato, ruato.*  
Он знал много ... много знал тоже, но делал худое (людям).  
He knew a lot ... he knew a lot too, but he did bad things (to people).
- LVS *Miän tuo (.) muamo ta \_i Karpovna hyö kaikki rahvahalla hyvyä luajittih, a pahua ei nikonša.*  
Моя мама ... и Карповна – они все народу (жителям деревни) делали добро, а плохого никогда.  
My mother ... and Karpovna, they did good to the people (villagers), they never did bad things.
- LVS *Vot ei ni yksi vot no nyt jo vähä konešno heitä on i elošša (.) da rahvašta.*  
Вот, ни одна, вот, а теперь уже, конечно, мало их в живых ... народа.  
Well, no one, well, and now of course few of them are alive ... the villagers.
- LVS *Nu vot.*  
Ну вот.  
So it is.
- PK *A mintäh hän mintäh hän (.) luaji pahašti?*  
А почему, почему он ... плохое делал?  
But why, why would he ... do bad things?
- LVS *A en tiijä šemmoni oli šemmoni oli (.) ei \_jollun 'porjadočnyi'.*  
А не знаю, такой был, такой был ... не был порядочным.  
I don't know, he was like this, like this ... he wasn't a decent man.
- PK *A muissatko joku muissatko joku tapahtuma 'kakošto slučaj pomnite' konša konša hiän luaji pahašti?*  
А помнишь, какой-то случай, какой-то случай, когда он плохое сделал?  
And do you remember some occasion, an occasion when he did something bad?

- LVS 'Slučaj šas' ...  
Случай, сейчас ...  
An occasion, let me think ...
- PK *Konš hän luaji perheellä pahašti kaččo pahašti.*  
Когда он сделал семье плохо, сглазил их.  
When he did wrong things to a family, jinxed them.
- LVS (aa) *on (.) oli täl\_oli kolhos (.) i kolhosašša piettih (.) oli oo- oli heposet.*  
... есть ... был здесь колхоз ... и в колхозе дер- держали ... лошадей.  
... there ... was a kolkhoz here ... and the kolkhoz kept ... horses.
- LVS *Oli (aa) nämä no lehmät oltih il heposet i lambahat lampahat vot 'uže zabyła čto vot' ...*  
Были эти ... ну коровы были и лошади, и овцы, и овцы, вот уже забыла, что вот ...  
There were ... there were cows and horses, and sheep, and sheep, well, I have already forgotten ...
- LVS *i lamp- missä piettih lampahie (aa) 'éto samoe' i rupesi käymäh (aa) siihe paikkah missä piettih lampahie (aa) kontie i (aa) vei rupesi viemäh to kakši (.) lammašta to kolme (.) yöššä viey.*  
и овец, где держали овец ... это самое и начал ходить ... в то место, где держали овец ... медведь и ... забирал, начал забирать то две овцы ... то три ... ночью забирает.  
and the sheep, where they kept the sheep ... this very thing and he (the bear) started going ... to the place where they kept the sheep ... the bear and ... took away, started taking away, first two sheep ... then three ... in the night he took them away.
- PK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Right.
- LVS *Nu vot a yhen kerran (.) tultih i 'v obšem (.) eto samoe' (.) äijä kaikki ov\_vereššä nu i ruvettih nämä ken ... 'oho- ohotjatsja kak ohotjatsja?'*  
Ну вот, однажды ... пришли и в общем ... это самое ... многие все в крови, ну и начали эти, кто ... охотятся – как охотятся (по-карельски)?  
Well, one day ... they came, and in general ... there was a lot of ... all were in blood, well, they started, those who ... hunt – how do you say hunt (in Karelian)?



- PK *Mečä- mečäššä.*  
В лесу.  
In the woods.
- LVS *Aha mečäššä 'nu vot oho- ohotniki, tut vot Pëtr Antonyč, papa naš, Ivan Egoryč, nu vot, stali, nu v obšem, ohotitsja, na štob pojmat', storožit', karaulit', karaulit' ' ...*  
Итак, в лесу, ну вот, охотники, тут вот Петр Антонович, папа наш, Иван Егорович, ну вот, стали, в общем, охотится, чтобы поймать, сторожить, караулить ...  
Well, in the woods, well, the hunters, Petr Antonovich, our father, Ivan Egorovich, well, in general they began to hunt, to catch, to guard, to keep watch ...
- PK *Aha (.) kara- karaulittih.*  
Так ... кара- караулили.  
I see ... they were guarding.
- LVS *Karaulittih täššä pihalla vuotettih konša še tulou kontie.*  
Они караулили в этом дворе, ждали, когда же придет медведь.  
They were keeping watch over that yard, waiting for him to come, the bear.
- LVS *Nu vot hän tulou i 'počustvoval' (.) kuulou jotta tuuli kun tuulou täštä paikašta jot \_tiälä on rahvaš i hän obratno meččäh.*  
Ну вот, он приходит и почувствовал, чует (то), что когда ветер дует из этого места, то здесь есть люди, и он обратно в лес.  
Well, he came, and he felt, felt the wind blowing from that place, that there were people there, and he turned and went back to the woods.
- PK *Čustvuiči.*  
Почувствовал.  
(The bear) felt it.
- LVS *Nu i vot obratiututtih tähä Gr- Grigorij Lupovičalla jotta auttasi jotta kuin kak ...*  
Ну и вот обратились к этому Григорию Лупповичу, чтобы он помог, чтобы как-то как ...  
So, they turned to this Grigorii Lupovich for help, so that he would somehow ...

- LVS *No ta hän sielä 'rjadyškom' eletti hyö (.) hänel\_oli talo 'rjadyškom'.*  
 Ну и он там, рядышком жили они, у него дом был рядышком.  
 Well, he was there, they were living nearby, he had a house nearby.
- LVS *Nu vot i hän značit hyö mužikall\_että oštua (.) butylka viinua.*  
 Ну вот, и он, значит, он к мужикам, чтобы купили бутылку водки.  
 Well, and he, he went to the men and asked them to buy a bottle of vodka.
- PK (aa) *pullo viinua.*  
 ... бутылку водки.  
 ... a bottle of vodka.
- LVS (aa) *'vo- vodki, ne vina, a vodki'.*  
 ... водки, не вина, а водки.  
 ... vodka, not wine, but vodka.
- LVS *Nu vot, 'nu i prišli eti s' ...*  
 Ну вот, ну, и пришли эти с ...  
 Well, and then these came with ...
- PK *Tulivat, tultih.*  
 Пришли, пришли.  
 They came, they came.
- LVS *Tultih i hän jotta nu vot kač- kaččokkua nyt, jotta ken\_on luatin jotta 'kto-to sdelal čto da kto-to vot èto sam nabadokuril što vot èto samoi' ...*  
 Пришли и он „дескать“ – „посмотрите теперь, что кто-то сделал так, что кто-то сделал что-то и кто-то, вот это, сам набедокурил, так что, вот это, самый ...“  
 They came and he is like, “Look now, who did that, somebody did something and who did what, someone has gotten himself up to mischief, well, this one ...”
- PK *Ken (.) a šano karjalakši, a.*  
 Кто ... а скажи по-карельски, а.  
 Who ... say this in Karelian.

- LVS *Aha, nu vot, nu i butilkah kačotah 'é- èto samoe' (.) selenäini (.) šilmie ei nävy niin vot niin ollah (aa) 'vobšem gluboko tam'.*  
Итак, ну вот, ну и в бутылку смотрят, это самое ... зеленных ... глаз не видно таким образом, вот так, они находятся ... в общем глубоко там.  
Well, well, they looked in the bottle, it was like ... green ... you can't see with your eyes, like that, they were ... it was deep there.
- PK *Šyvä, šyvällä.*  
Глубоко, глубоко.  
Deep, deep in there.
- LVS *Nu vot (.) 'i (.) što vot èto samoe' ...*  
Ну вот ... и ... что вот это самое ...  
Well ... and ... how was it ...
- LVS *'poka oni smotreli' (.) kuni kačottih nu vot kontie tuli mitä oli sielä ambarissa (.) eto lammašta hän kaikki (.) tappo.*  
пока они смотрели ... пока они смотрели, ну и медведь пришел, что там было в амбаре ... овец он всех убил.  
while they were watching ... while they were watching, the bear came, what was there in the barn ... the sheep, he killed them all.
- PK *Ei!*  
Нет!  
No, really!
- LVS *'V obšem vseh ubil'.*  
В общем всех убил.  
Yeah, he (the bear) killed them all.
- PK *Kaikki tam lampahat tappo?*  
Всех там овец убил.  
He killed all the sheep there.
- LVS *'Da peregryz gorlo' da tappo (.) 'peregryz'.*  
Да, перегрыз горло и убил ... перегрыз.  
Yes, chewed their throats open and killed them ... chewed their throats.

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 Landscape features, storing potatoes and carrots for the winter

- PK *Aa (.) oliko teilä semmonen (.) kuoppa?*  
 А ... была ли у вас такая ... яма?  
 And ... did you have such a ... pit?
- LVS *Kuoppa daa.*  
 Яма, да.  
 A pit, yes.
- PK *... jossa, jossa säilytettiin potakkaa ja ...*  
 ... где хранили картофель и ...  
 ... where potatoes were stored and ...
- LVS *Potakkaa (aa) pijämme (.) kuopassa (: ) termän \_алла (tuol on ku-).*  
 Картофель ... мы храним ... в яме (смеется) под горкой (там есть яма).  
 The potatoes ... we keep them ... in a pit (laughing) under the hillock (there's a pit there).
- DK *A kuin termyä kučutah tuota (.) termyä?*  
 А как тут горку именовали ... горку?  
 And what was the name of the hillock ... the hillock?
- LVS *Termä.*  
 Горка.  
 Hillock.
- DK *Termä, no možt \_oli Ivanantermä, Ol'okantermä, Annintermä ...*  
 Горка, ну может была Иванова горка, Александрова горка, Аннина горка ...  
 Hillock, well, but maybe it was Ivan's hill, Alexander's hill, Anna's hill ...
- LVS *Ter- (aa) t- tak a miäm o- oma oma tervä.*  
 Гор- ... так, наша собственная, собственная горка.  
 Hill- ... like, our own, our own hillock.
- DK *Oliko hänellä oma nimi?*  
 Было у нее название?  
 Did it have a name?

- DK *Oma termä.*  
Своя горка.  
Our hillock.
- LVS *Aha (.) vot tuloo (.) 'rjabina gde' (.) š- še my kuččumma Kal'livokše.*  
Ага ... вот будет ... рябина где ... это мы называем Скалой.  
Yeah ... you see ... the rowan tree there ... that's what we call the Cliff.
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Okay.
- LVS *'S- skala (.) vot\_e- (.) na gorke, gde vot tut vot (.) dom'.*  
Скала ... вот ... на горке, где вот тут ... дом.  
The Cliff ... well ... on the hill, somewhere there ... there is a house.
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Okay.
- LVS *'Vot tam skala, tam mi\_i e-' ...*  
Вот там скала, там мы ...  
That's where the Cliff is, that's where we ...
- DK *Kal'livokši šanotah.*  
Называют Скалой.  
It's called the Cliff.
- LVS *Kal'ливо (.) aha 'skala' (aa) kal'лива (.) sielä myö 'i i ii vrod'e' kunn ...*  
Скала ... да, Скала ... Скала ... там мы и, вроде, когда ...  
The Cliff ... yes, the Cliff ... the Cliff ... this is where we sort of, when ...
- LVS *Nyt on (.) p- pienekši männyn, a ennen š- (.) šemmo(i)ñii (.) termä oli, jotta (aa) 'na lyžach katalis'.*  
Теперь ... стала маленькой, а раньше ... такая ... горка была, что ... мы на лыжах катались.  
Now it is ... smaller, but before it was ... such ... a hill that ... we were skiing there.

- PK *Kallivo oli (.) oli (.) šuuri?*  
 Скала была ... была ... большая?  
 The Cliff was ... was ... big?
- LVS *Is kallivo (v)ot e- 'i vniz sjuda na dorogu (.) mašyny togda ne hodili' (.) mašinat ei käyty ... oli 'svobodno čisto'.*  
 И со Скалы вот вниз сюда на дорогу ... машины тогда не ходили ... машины не ходили ... было свободно, чисто.  
 And from the Cliff, (we were skiing) downhill to the road ... there were no cars then ... no cars ... it was free, clean.
- DK *Tak šanottihko Kallivotermäksi tai Kallivočokakši?*  
 Так называли ли (это место) Скалистая горка (*termä*) или Скалистый пригорок (*čokka*)?  
 Was this place called Rocky Hill(ock) (*termä*) or Rocky Hillock (*čokka*)?
- LVS *Ž- Kallivookšu kučuttih.*  
 Скалой называли.  
 It was called the Cliff.
- DK *Vai- vain Kallivo?*  
 Только Скалой?  
 Just the Cliff.
- LVS *Läkkäh Kallivo Kallivolla -l- läkkekä ...*  
 Пойдем на Скалу, пойдем ...  
 Let's go to the Cliff, let's go ...
- DK *Läkkä, aha.*  
 Пойдемте, да.  
 Let's go, yes.
- LVS *... katautuma(h) (.) läkkä (aa) kal'l'ivolla!*  
 ... кататься ... пойдемте ... на Скалу!  
 ... to sledge ... let's go ... to the Cliff!
- DK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 Right.

- LVS *'I na sankah spuskalis' s"eža-*  
И на санках спускались, съезжа(ли).  
And we sledged down, went down.
- DK *A onko šemmoni šana kuin (.) čurata (.) 'katats'a (.) na sankah',  
čurata?*  
А есть ли такое слово ... как *čurata* ... „кататься“ ... на санках, *čurata*?  
Is there such a word ... as *čurata* ... “to ride” on a sledge, *čurata*?
- DK *Ei jollut.*  
Не было.  
There wasn't.
- LVS *Ei.*  
Нет.  
No.
- DK *Aha.*  
Так.  
Yes.
- PK *A millainen tuo kuoppa oli (.) oli syvää (.) maassa vai ...?*  
А какой та яма была ... была ли глубоко ... в земле или ...?  
What was the pit like ... was it deep ... in the ground or ...?
- LVS *Ššyy- ššyvä (.) mm- ot- ššyv \_'öt skol'ko, nu vot naverno (.) metra  
dvaä' (.) kakšiko (.) kakši metrie.*  
Глу- глубокая ... сейчас, глубокая, сколько, ну вот, наверно ... метра  
два ... два ли ... два метра.  
How deep ... let me think, deep, how deep, well, probably ... about  
two metres ... two, or ... two metres.
- PK *Mitä sielä piettii?*  
Что там хранили?  
What was stored there?
- LVS *Vot (.) a potakkua (.) potakkua (aa) k- konša ennen vielä kašvatettih  
luukkuo (aa) meilä tiälä.*  
Вот ... картофель ... картофель ... когда раньше еще выращивали  
лук ... у нас здесь.  
Well ... potatoes ... potatoes ... once upon a time one used to grow on-  
ions ... here in the village.

- LVS *Mork- -kofkua piettih (.) morkofkua (aa) kašvoi, luukka.*  
 Морковку хранили ... морковь ... рос, и лук.  
 Carrots were grown ... carrots ... grew, and onion.
- LVS *Nu vot s'ovkla (.) joka vuotta eei kašva.*  
 Ну, вот, свекла ... каждый год не растет.  
 Well, beets ... they don't grow every year.
- LVS *Voot (.) 'e- e- èto самое (aa) ne dohodit, takaja malen'kaja'.*  
 Вот ... это самое ... не доходит, такая маленькая (остается).  
 Well ... I mean ... it does not grow up, it remains small.
- DK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 Okay.
- LVS *'Vot (sul'cee) (.) ne dohodit (.) a morkovka хороšo'.*  
 Вот (в случае) ... не доходит ... а морковь хорошо (растет).  
 Well (in this case) ... it doesn't ripen ... but carrots grow well.
- DK *A kui karjalakši "morkovka"?*  
 А как по-карельски „морковь“?  
 How do you say “carrot” in Karelian?
- LVS *(aa) Morkovka karjalakši en tijä.*  
 „Морковь“ по-карельски не знаю.  
 “Carrot” in Karelian, I don't know.
- DK *Šanottihko (.) morkukši (.) morkku?*  
 Называли ли ... моркку ... моркку?  
 Was it called ... *morkku* ... *morkku*?
- LVS *Morkkuu?*  
*Моркку?*  
*Morkku?*
- DK *Oletko kuullun?*  
 Слышала ли?  
 Have you heard?



- 
- LVS *Een.*  
Нет.  
No.
- DK *Aha.*  
Понятно.  
I see.
- LVS *Pitäy kirjuttua (:)* kirjuttua.  
Надо записать (смеется) записать.  
I should write it down (laughing) write it down.
- PK *Aa (.) ene- ennen kasvatettiin luukkua?*  
А ... раньше лук выращивали?  
And ... earlier one used to grow onions, right?
- LVS *Aa?*  
Что?  
What?
- PK *Ennen kasvatettiin luukkua?*  
Раньше лук выращивали?  
Earlier one used to grow onion, right?
- LVS *Luukku, da.*  
Лук, да.  
Onion, yeas.
- PK *A enää, enää nyt ... nykyä ei teh-*  
А теперь уже, уже ... в настоящее время не ...  
And now, not anymore ... nowadays they don't ...
- LVS *A kaupassa (aa) 'samoe' (.) myö-ö (.) kasvattamta vot, tän vuoten \_en  
tija.*  
В магазине ... самое ... мы выращиваем, вот, в этом году не знаю.  
In the shop ... like ... we grow, well, this year, I do not know.
- LVS *Männä vuotenna (.) oli dak toži pikkaraíni, ei \_jollun (.) šuuri.*  
В прошлом году ... (лук) был тоже маленький (по размеру), не  
был ... большим.  
Last year ... it (the onion) was small, it didn't ... grow up.

- LVS *Šiät-to pahat ollah (.) to vihma (.) männä vuotena (.) i julissa oli, p-, no jesli netäli oli (aa) hyvyä šiätä, a osta'noit (.) k- kaikki vihma joka päivä, kun noušet (.) vihma, vihma, vihma.*  
 Погода то плохая (в настоящее время) ... то дождь ... в прошлом году ... и в июле было, ну если неделя была ... хорошей погоды, а остальное ... всё, дождь каждый день, как встаешь ... дождь, дождь, дождь.  
 The weather is bad ... only rain ... last year ... and it was in July, we probably had a week of ... good weather, and the rest ... only rain every day, as you got up ... rain, rain, rain.
- LVS *Augustašša pikkusen oli (aa) 'projasnenije' jotta (aa) ei\_jolluñ\_niin (.) vi- vihma (.) vihmua ei\_jollun.*  
 В августе немного было ... прояснение, что ... не было ... дождя ... дождя не было.  
 In August there was a little ... the sky cleared up ... there was no ... rain ... no rain.

### Buying groceries in Kandalaksha, the bakery and the fish reception point in Kolvitsa

- LVS *Aat šuuret šuuret čunat vot (.) 'to самое' (.) sillä i jauhuo ii (.) m- peskuo (.) iii et(o) (aa) kaikki produktat i voit iii (.) viinat (.) i kanfeetat ...*  
 А большие, большие сани, вот ... это самое ... на них муку и ... песок ... и это ... все продукты и, вот, и ... водку ... и конфеты ...  
 And there were big, big sleds, well ... you know ... (we transported) with them flour and ... sugar ... and this ... all the groceries and, well, and ... vodka ... and candy ...
- LVS *A pekarnja tiälä ol'ii (.) oma (.) pekarnja (.) ol'i tiälä, l- leipyä paissettih.*  
 А пекарня здесь была ... своя собственная ... пекарня ... была здесь, хлеб пекли.  
 And there was a bakery here ... our own ... bakery ... was here, we were baking bread.
- LVS *Leipä ooikem\_makie, osobenno valkie leipät (.) oiken ol'i makie.*  
 Хлеб очень вкусный был, особенное белый хлеб ... очень вкусный.  
 The bread was very good, especially the white bread ... very tasty.

- LVS *Kaikki ne Kannlahešta* (.) *k- käyv- käytih* (.) *buhankat oltih šuuret šemmoiset* (aa) *iii käytih* (.) *oššettih*.  
 Все это из Кандалакши ... приходили ... буханки были большие такие ... приходили ... покупали.  
 All this (foodstuff) from Kandalaksha ... one came ... the loaves were big ... one came ... bought it from here.
- DK *Aha, a šanottihko pekarnjua leipomokši?*  
 Так, а называли ли пекарню *лейномо*?  
 I see, and was the bakery called *leipomo*?
- LVS *Leipomokši, net.*  
*Лейномо, нет.*  
*Leipomo, no.*
- DK *Ei šanottu.*  
 Не называли.  
 It wasn't called so.
- LVS *Noo vot v-* (.) *'govorili, šštoo vot éto'* (.) *vot, missä leipyä paisseta* (.) *leipä paista(m).*  
 Ну вот ... говорили, что вот это ... вот, где хлеб пекут ... хлеб пе(кли).  
 Well ... they were using some word ... well, where they bake bread ... we baked bread.
- DK *Aa* (.) *mi on šuurempi: jola vai tor-* (.) *torkka?*  
 А что больше по размеру *ёла* или *торкка* (рус. *дорка*) (наименования местных морских промысловых судов)?  
 Which is bigger: *jola* or *torkka* (Rus *dorka*) (names of local sea fishing vessels)?
- LVS *Aa vo- mee- met* (.) *torka, 'a čto za torka-to'* (.) *me- kuču-* ...  
 А, вот, мы ... *торка*, а что за *торка* ... мы называ(ем) ...  
 Well, we ... *torka*, but what's a *torka* ... we call ...
- DK *Torka vai* ...  
*Торка, или* ...  
*Torka, or* ...

- LVS *Dorka?*  
*Дорка?*  
*Dorka?*
- DK *Dorka.*  
*Дорка.*  
*Dorka.*
- LVS *Aa, dorka (.) 'joola bol'she (.) joola bol'she'.*  
*А, дорка ... ёла больше ... ёла больше.*  
*I see, dorka ... jola is bigger ... jola is bigger.*
- DK *Aha.*  
*Так*  
*I see.*
- PK *A ku- (.) Kannanlahesta oštettii (.) peskua, ja jauhuo, ja viinua (.) a mitä vietiin sinne (.) tästä (.) tästä Kolvičasta?*  
*А когда ... в Кандалакше покупали ... сахарный песок и муку и водку ... а что везли туда ... отсюда ... отсюда из Колвицы?*  
*And when ... in Kandalaksha people bought ... sugar and flour and vodka ... and what did they bring there ... from here ... from here, from Kolvitsa?*
- LVS *Kolvičašta (miži) hyö (aa) 'a ёto samoe' (.) rahalla tiältä ošset(tih) (.) 'ёт- s- ...'*  
*Из Колвицы они ... а это самое ... за деньги здесь покупали ... это са(мое) ...*  
*From Kolvitsa they ... I mean ... they were buying (groceries) for money ... this, you know ...*
- PK *Rahalla.*  
*За деньги.*  
*For money.*
- LVS *'Tovaroobmen (.) den'gami'.*  
*Товарообмен ... деньгами.*  
*Commodity exchange ... with money.*
- PK *Aa mitä vietiin tästä (.) vietiinkö kalaa (.) Kannanlahteen?*  
*А что везли отсюда ... отвозили ли рыбу в Кандалакшу?*  
*And what did they take from here ... did they bring fish to Kandalaksha?*

- LVS *Ei.*  
Нет.  
No.
- PK *Ei?*  
Нет?  
No?
- LVS *En, sitä en tie.*  
Я, я такого не знаю.  
No, not that I know.
- LVS *Tiälä o- oltih ij (aa) kalua konša kolhozašša lovitih (.) kalua (.) šuatj, pyvvetti.*  
Здесь были и ... рыбу, когда в колхозе вылавливали ... рыбу ... заготавливали, ловили.  
Here there were also ... there was fish, when the kolkhoz was fishing ... fish ... they were catching fish, they were fishing.
- LVS *Nnu vot, ol'i faktorija (.) ii faktorille (.) vot mie vielä ku koulušša konšo op- opim (.) my halliita (aa) 'tože nevod (.) tam'.*  
Ну, вот, была фактория ... и на фактории ... вот, я когда еще была в школе, когда учил(ась) ... мы сельдь ... тоже неводом ... там (ловили).  
Well, there was a fish reception point ... and at the fish reception point ... well, when I was still in school, when I was studying there ... we brought herring there ... a seine (was used) ... there.
- LVS *Nuu, keräytyy (.) brigada (.) nu vot, otettih i lapšje.*  
Ну, соберется ... бригада ... ну и детей брали.  
Well, a brigade ... would gather ... and the children would also participate.
- LVS *Myöv\_vot (.) 'karaulim, kak tol'ko' (aa) e- tulou (.) tämä kala (.) 'beregu (.) srazu (.) na vėsła (.) na lodki' (.) veneheh istuuvume (.) i vot e- (.) 'tjanem'.*  
Мы вот ... караулим, как только ... пойдет ... эта рыба ... (к) берегу ... сразу ... на вёсла, на лодки ... в лодку садились ... и вот ... тянем.  
We ... would keep watch, as soon as ... the fish ... is moving ... (to) the shore ... immediately ... (we would get) on the oars, on the boats ... we would sit in the boat ... and so ... we would pull.

- LVS 'I my v (.) lodku celuju, vot čto vot'.  
И мы в ... лодку целую, вот что вот.  
And we were in ... a whole boat, that's how it was.
- PK *Venehessä.*  
В лодке.  
In the boat.
- LVS *Venehe* (aa) 'zavalivali vot etu rybu'.  
В лодку ... заваливали вот эту рыбу.  
Into the boat ... we were throwing the fish.
- LVS 'Vot prjam vot v nev-, s nevoda' (.) vobščem (aa) nuotalla (.) ii (.) *venehe.*  
Вот прямо, вот с невода ... вообще ... неводом ... и ... в лодку.  
Well, directly from the seine ... well ... from the seine ... and ... in the boat.
- LVS *I srazu faktorijalla vei (.) veimme (.) a sielä ś- (.) et\_tie (.) 'kak b skazat' (.) "sački" (.) "sačkami"*.  
И сразу на факторию (мы) вез- ... везли ... а там ... не знаю ... как бы сказать „сачки“ ... „сачками“.  
And right away (we took it) to the fish reception point ... we took it ... and there ... I don't know ... how do you say “nets” ... “nets”.
- DK *Suakku?*  
Сачок?  
Net?
- LVS 'Èto samoe, v jaščiki (.) aa potom (.) ukladyvat' (.) tože v- v- (.) *prinimali układ (.) i den'gi nam eščë platili za èto*'.  
Это самое, в ящики ... а потом ... укладывать ... тоже ... укладывали ... и деньги нам еще платили за это.  
Well, and in boxes ... and then ... put it ... also ... we put (the fish in boxes) ... and they were paying us for this.

**LEZ (b. 1941)**

31st July 2017

## Timber work in the woods, farm work, grandma's sweetheart

LEZ *Čunat, čunat.*  
Сани, сани.  
Sleds, sleds.

PK *Čunat.*  
Сани.  
Sleds.

LEZ *Mie 'etovo' kuin hyö 'po drugomu' šanottih, porončunat (.) vot kuin oltih, porončunat.*  
Я этого, как они по-другому называли ... оленьи сани, вот как были, оленьи сани.  
Well, they were called somehow differently ... reindeer sleds, that's how they were called, reindeer sleds.

PK *Porončunat.*  
Оленьи сани.  
Reindeer sleds.

LEZ *Poronču-, poro- porončunat.*  
Оленьи, олень- оленьи сани.  
Reindeer, reindeer, reindeer sleds.

LEZ *Poroloilla taa mie vot silloin me kävimä, a näin, näin käydih poroloilla tuotih i (.) järveltä ih\_ heinie, heinie vejettih i niitä vejettih d'äkälä (.) i poroloilla naverno tuotih (aa)*  
На оленях я вот тогда, мы ездили, а так на оленях ездили, привозили ... с озера и сено, сено перевозили и на них привозили ягель ... и на оленях, наверно, привозили ...  
With reindeer, I was riding a reindeer sled then, well, people were riding reindeer sleds, they were bringing ... from the lake, hay, they were transporting hay with reindeer, and moss too ... and with reindeer, I guess, they were bringing ...

- LEZ *Raita* (.) *raitaporo-* (.) *kokonaiñi raita heitä oli sielä ta tässä takuana miän takuana Mitrofanovan takana kokonaiñi raita sielä oli, oiken äijä.*  
 Обоз ... обоз, обоз олений ... целый обоз олений их был там, и здесь за нами, за нашим домом, за Митрофановыми был там целый обоз олений, очень много (олений).  
 A cart ... a deer cart ... a whole deer cart was there, and here behind us, behind our house, behind Mitrofanovs there was a whole deer cart, so many (of them).
- LEZ *Kevyällä hyö kaikki tukkuh kerättih raitah, vot ni vot mie muissan nyt konša* (aa) ...  
 Весной их всех в группу собирали, в обоз, вот, я помню сейчас, когда ...  
 In the spring they gathered them in a group, in a cart, yes, I remember now, when ...
- LEZ *Vuaša, vuaša* (.) *ol'i še kuin šanottih että* (.) *nu konša 'maleñkie' poroset tultih vuašat, vuašat heiltä tultih vuašat, da, da, da, ñin, ñi* (.) *ñin.*  
 Теленок олений ... его как называют ... ну, когда маленькие оленята появлялись ... телята оленьи у них появлялись, телята, да, да, так, так.  
 A deer calf ... what do you call it ... well, when the little reindeer calves came ... the reindeer had calves, calves, yes, yes, that's it, that's it.
- PK *A šie šanoit što jäkälöitä vejettih.*  
 А ты сказала, что ягель привозили.  
 And you said that people were transporting moss.
- LEZ *Jäkälä, da vejettih mitä piti kolhozah, sitä i vejettih.*  
 Ягель, да, привозили, что нужно было в колхоз, то и привозили.  
 Moss, yes, they were transporting, what the kolkhoz needed, that's what they transported.
- LEZ *Vot, a mie talviloilla vet' en ollun tiälä dak mie* (.) *tiesin jotta Vaška läksi, šanou, heinyä läksimä vetämäh järveltä.*  
 Вот, а меня зимами, ведь, не было здесь, но я ... знала, что Васька ездил, он говорит – „сено ездили мы вывозить с озера“.  
 Well, I wasn't here in the winter, but I ... knew that Vas'ka went there, he was saying, “We went to take the hay out from the lake”.



- LEZ *Missä sielä oltih i, hyö 'na pokosach' oltih, missä liene konša ollun, 'na pokosach'.*  
 Где там были они на покосах, где-то, когда где были на покосах.  
 Where exactly they were, they were mowing, somewhere, at some place, they were mowing.
- LEZ *Mie potomu što kešällä juuri muamon keralla ruavoin, Hirvišuoalla (.) kävin, siitä (.) Ananiensuoalla heinyä niittimä, nu vot a näin mie sinne etähäksi järvilöil'ä muamo milma ei jottan ei nikonša.*  
 Потому что я летом как раз с мамой работала, на болото Хирвишуо ... ходила, потом ... на болоте Ананиеншуо косили сено, ну вот, а так туда далеко на озёра меня мама не брала никогда.  
 Because I was working with my mom in the summer, I went to Hirvišuo swamp ... and then ... we mowed hay at Ananiensuo swamp, but my mother never took me so far away to the lakes.
- PK *Ei nikonša ole käynyn?*  
 Никогда не ходила?  
 You never went there?
- LEZ *Hiän i mie, kalalla kävin ämmön keralla i kävin sinne (aa) konša yheksännen luokan končin.*  
 Она и я, с бабушкой ходила на рыбалку, и я ходила туда ... когда закончила девятый класс.  
 She and I, I used to go fishing with my grandmother, I used to go there ... when I finished the ninth grade.
- LEZ *Milma otettih ruatamah kešällä moniehakš päiväkši, miehän šanoin siula, 'točkovaala les ja'.*  
 Меня брали работать летом на несколько дней, я же говорила тебе, точковала лес я.  
 They took me in the summer to work for a few days, I told you, I was marking the species of the trees (in forestry work).
- LEZ *Nu vot i, kakši inžineru oli (aa) naiini, mieš.*  
 Ну вот, было два инженера ... женщина и мужчина.  
 Well, there were two engineers ... a woman and a man.

- LEZ *Meilä Tiikšah vietih, myö sielä (.) monihan päivän elimä, a jälleläh heposilla hepo- kolme heposie meilä tuotih i heposien šeläššä my (.) ajoma.*  
 У нас в Тикшу вывозили, мы там несколько дней жили, а в обратную сторону на лошадях, три лошади нам привели, и мы верхом ехали.  
 We went to Tiikša, we lived there for a few days, and we came back on horses, three horses they brought to us, and we rode on horseback.
- PK *Mitä sie luajit sielä Tikšijoella?*  
 Что ты там делала на реке Тийксийоки?  
 What were you doing there on the Tiikšijoki?
- LEZ *Nu vot sielä kun meččy on kuav- kuavettu, miula annettih 'takie melki i ja cifry pisala na' ...*  
 Ну вот, там, когда лес свален (срублен), мне давали такие мелки и я цифры писала на ...  
 Well, there, when the forest was felled (cut down), they gave me crayons and I was writing numbers on the ...
- PK *Aha kirjo- kir-, a ...*  
 Ага, писа- писа- а ...  
 Yeah, you wro-, you wro- ...
- LEZ *Kirjutin, kirjutin puita (.) kirjutin puita, jotta mimmosie kal- mimmoii puu (.) hyö karjuttih, a mie kirjutin.*  
 Подписывала, подписывала деревья ... подписывала деревья, т. е. какое дерево (.) они кричали, а я подписывала.  
 I was marking, marking trees ... I was marking trees, which sort of tree, they shouted its name, and I marked it.
- LEZ *Hyö, hyö že tiijetäh mimmoni mi- mi- mi- mäni stroitel'noih puuh mi (aa) halokše jotta 'po sortam' mäntih.*  
 Они же знают, какое (срубленное дерево) пошло на строительный лес (пиломатериалы) ... какое на дрова, чтобы по сортам были распределены.  
 They knew which (felled tree) was going for building timber ... which for firewood, so that the sorts could be distributed.

- LEZ *No vot ni heilä piti ihmiñi jotta, i nuori jotta ruttoseh kirjuttais sielä (.) ruttoseh (aa) eto i milma iče lähet (.) mie että (aa) midä mie ...*  
 Ну вот, им нужен был человек, чтобы ... и молодой, чтобы быстро подписывал бы там ... быстро, поэтому, меня саму и отправляли ... я, чтобы ... а что я ...  
 Well, they needed a person to ... a young person who would quickly mark these ... quickly ... and, and they sent me, myself ... to ... and that I ...
- LEZ (xxx) *tuam- tuamo šanou no voitko šie šanou vaikie vaikie še on mečäššä tuol elöä.*  
 (xxx) мама говорит, ну, „можешь ли ты“, говорит: „трудно, трудно там в лесу жить“.  
 (xxx) mom said to me, well, “can you”, she said: “it’s hard, it’s hard to live there in the woods”.
- LEZ *Mam, mie lähen.*  
 Мам, я поеду (отвечала я).  
 Mom, I’ll go (I answered).
- LEZ *A myö siitä v illalla panema verkku, kalua šaimme ta keitän, oiken hyvä oli.*  
 А мы потом вечером ставили сетку, рыбу поймали, и я варю, очень хороший (суп).  
 And then we would set the net in the evening, catch some fish and I would cook, a very good soup.
- LEZ *Miul oikein sielä (.) muka- mukava oli.*  
 Мне там очень ... интер-, интересно было.  
 It was very ... inter-, interesting there.
- PK *Hyö, hyö karju-, i šie ki- kirjoitit?*  
 Они кричали, и ты подписывала.  
 They shouted (the name), and you marked the tree.
- LEZ *A hyö karjuttih miula niitä niihe (.) minmoi- to mitä vielä šano- šano- tah niitä bukvoja viel kirjuttua (xxx) mitä mie kaikki mitä karjutah sitä i kirjuta, a puut tähä näin (: ) ...*  
 А они кричали мне эти их (обозначения) ... какие-то, что еще говори-, говорили те буквы еще писать (xxx) я всё, что кричат, то и пишу, а (сваленные) деревья сюда вот так (смеется) ...  
 And they were shouting to me these (designations) ... some, what else were they saying, these letters should be written (xxx) I wrote everything they said, and the (fallen) trees were like this (laughing) ...

- PK *A a missä eletti sit-?*  
 А где жили тогда?  
 And where were you living then?
- LEZ *A mei- taloja, siel \_li taloja (.) sielä oli kokonaini kylä, no jo ihmiset ei eletty.*  
 А у нас дома, там были дома ... там была целая деревня (лесной поселок), но уже люди не жили (там).  
 We had houses, there were houses there ... there was a whole village (forest camp), but it was not inhabited anymore.
- LEZ *A oli luotuna talot.*  
 А были заброшенными дома.  
 And they were deserted, the houses there.
- LEZ *A myö tulimmä tak i myö lämmitimä taluo i keitimä talošša i i daže kyly oli, myö kyläl \_lämmitimä no jotta juuri pešeyvytym pravda.*  
 А мы приезжали, так дом отапливали, и варили в доме, и даже баня была, мы баню топили, ну, чтобы именно помыться, правда.  
 So, we arrive, and then we would heat the house, and cook in the house, and there was even a sauna there, we would heat the sauna, well, just to wash ourselves, really.
- LEZ *No vot, a kežä oli järvellä da sielä i po- pomoskat ne oltih vielä kaikin viel ei oltu rikottu ei nimitä.*  
 Ну вот, лето было на озере, и там по- подмости (деревянные настилы) были еще, все еще не было сломано, ничего.  
 Well, it was summer at the lake, and there was scaffolding (wooden decks) there, things were not broken yet, not yet.
- LEZ *Oiken oli mukava paikka šemmoñi, monta taluo oli sielä (.) vot.*  
 Очень интересное (красивое) место такое, много домов там было ... вот.  
 It was a very nice place indeed, there were many houses there ... so it was.
- PK *Kui- kui- kauvan sä olit sielä? Kuukauven vai?*  
 Как долго ты была там? Месяц или?  
 How long were you there? Like a month, or?

- LEZ *Een, moniehen päivän, možet netälin yhen (.) riitti miula netälie. (:)*  
 Нет, несколько дней, может одну неделю ... хватало мне недели.  
 (смеется)  
 No, a few days, maybe a week ... a week was enough for me. (laughing)
- LEZ *Missä vielä olen ne kävellyn, 'no gospodi, žizn' to dlinnaja'.*  
 Где я еще только не побывала, ну, господи, жизнь то длинная.  
 Where else have I been, my God, life is long.
- PK *A mi- missä olet, missä olet ruatanun vielä, tässä, tässä Kolvitsan ympärillä?*  
 А где была? Где работала еще, здесь в окрестностях Колвицы?  
 Where else have you been? Where else did you work, here around Kolvitsa?
- LEZ *No mie (olen) ruatan jotta näin auttua, a ruatahan mie vobše tiälä en nimissä ole ruatan.*  
 Ну, я работала, чтобы так-то помогать, а работала, вообще, я здесь нигде не работала больше.  
 Well, I've been working just to help, but working, in general, I haven't worked here since then.
- LEZ *A mie opin, ruavoin opettajana, a näin jesli konša kun ...*  
 Я училась, работала учителем, а так, если когда ...  
 I studied, worked as a teacher, and so, if sometime ...
- PK *A kešällä, kešällä ruavoit?*  
 А летом, летом работала?  
 And in the summer, did you work during the summer?
- LEZ *No konša studenttana olin, no ta silloin heinyä niitin tuonne Vydra- ta (: ) ta tämä Hirvišuoolla.*  
 Ну, когда была студенткой, то тогда сено косила, там на Выдре и (смеется) это, на болоте Хирвишуо.  
 Well, when I was a student, I used to mow hay there on Vydra (bog) and (laughing) and on the Hirvišuo bog.
- LEZ *Sielä oltih pokossat šuuret sielä niittimä, a pien- piti tienata rahua ičel- läni ken miula rupieü tienuamah.*  
 Там были покосы большие, там косили, нужно было зарабатывать деньги для себя, кто для меня будет зарабатывать.  
 There were big meadows there, we were mowing there, and I had to make money for myself, who would make money for me.

- LEZ *No vot.*  
Ну вот.  
It was like this.
- PK *A tienasit hyvin vai?*  
А зарабатывала хорошо или как?  
Did you make good money, or not?
- LEZ *Nu eeei, nu vot mie kuukauvešša šain, silloin ne oltih šuuret rahat, kahekšankymmentä rupl'ua.*  
Ну, нет, вот я за месяц получила тогда, это были большие деньги, восемьдесят рублей.  
Well, no, I got for a month, and this was a lot of money, eighty rubles.
- LEZ *Šuuret rahat, silloinhan rupl'a (.) rupl'ah voit käyvä (.) kävimä šyömäh ta vielä jäi rahua.*  
Большие деньги, тогда же рубль ... на один рубль ты мог сходить ... мы ходили поесть и еще деньги оставались.  
Big money, a ruble then ... for one ruble you could go ... we used to go out to eat and still didn't spend it all.
- LEZ *Nu vot, no mie muissan kahekšankymmentä rupl'ua mie šain oikein oli (.) hyvä miul.*  
Ну вот, но я помню, восемьдесят рублей я получила, для меня ... очень хорошо было.  
Well, I remember, I got eighty rubles, which for me ... was very good.
- PK *Pohatta olit. (:)*  
Состоятельной была. (смеется)  
You were wealthy. (laughing)
- LEZ *Pohat olin.*  
Богатой была.  
I was rich.
- LEZ *A näin näin ruatua mie (.) enhä mie juuri kot'ih (aa) kot'ih a näin mie en ...*  
Вот так, так работать, я ... я же именно домой, а так я не ...  
That's how it was, that's how I was working, just ... just at home, otherwise I didn't ...
- LEZ *Mm- milma muato ei lašken nimi ruatamah.*  
Меня мама не пускала никуда работать.  
My mom wouldn't let me work anywhere.

- LEZ *En tijä mintäh.*  
 Не знаю, почему.  
 I don't know why.
- PK *A mintäh?*  
 А почему?  
 But why?
- LEZ *En tijä a sualisseloi ta mie olin oikein pikkaraini ta laiha.*  
 Не знаю, жалела, я же была очень маленького роста и тощая.  
 I don't know, she was sparing me, I was very short and skinny.
- LEZ *'Eta samoe', mie miula daže tytär oli, ni miul oli nelläkymmentä-yhekšän k- kilu kilu juuri, tytär i oli.*  
 Это самое, я ... у меня уже дочь была, так я была весом только 49 кг, дочь была (уже у меня)  
 That's the very thing, I ... I already had a daughter, and I only weighed 49 kg, I had a daughter.
- LEZ *Nu vot, a a možet en tiä mintäh en tiä, miln oikein ämmö šuvačči.*  
 Ну вот, а может быть ... я не знаю, почему, не знаю, меня очень бабушка любила.  
 Well, maybe ... I don't know why, I don't know, my grandmother loved me very much.
- LEZ *Šanou "miun rupl'uo", no häi\_i kyš- kyšy miul- kučču miun "miun rupl'a".*  
 Называет: „мой рублик“, так она и спрашивала у меня (обращаясь ко мне), называла меня „мой рублик“.  
 She was calling me “my little rouble”, she was addressing me so, calling me “little rouble”.
- LEZ *Še oli 'vysšaja s- stepen (aa) no takaja priznanija ljubvi vot'.*  
 Это была высшая степень ... ну, такое, признание любви, вот.  
 It was the highest degree of ... you know, a declaration of love, simply.
- LEZ *No a ihmiset na- kyläššä nakretah no tuaš ämmön rupl'u läksi. (:)*  
 А люди в деревне смеются, „ну, опять бабушкин рублик идет“.  
 (смеется)  
 And people in the village were laughing, “you see, grandma's little rouble is coming again”. (laughing)

- PK *Miun rupl'ua?*  
Мой рублик?  
My (little) rouble?
- LEZ *A "miun rupl'a", a kyläššä nämä akat šanottih konša ämmö ša- ... mie lähen minne da a šanotah toisie toisilla akoilla nuo akkaset, šanotah, ämmön rupl'a läksi. (:)*  
Да, „мой рублик“, а в деревне эти бабки говорили, когда бабушка говор(ила) ... „я иду куда-то“, то они говорят одна другой старухе, те старые женщины говорят „бабушкин рублик пошел“. (смеется)  
Yes, “my little rouble”, and in the village these old women used to say, when grandma said ... “I’m going somewhere”, then they would say to each other, old women, those old women would say “grandmother’s little rouble is going there”. (laughing)
- LEZ *Babuška niin šuvaičči milmañi (.) ämmön rupl'a.*  
Бабушка так любила меня ... бабушкин рублик.  
Grandma loved me so much ... grandma’s little rouble.

### Domestic religious practices, prayer corners and icons

- LEZ *On (.) y- yksi meilä.*  
Да ... была одна такая (женщина) у нас.  
Yes ... there was such a woman here.
- LEZ *No hiän (.) 'vsě ravno i priz-' (.) hiän ei \_jollun protivnikka komunistoja (.) ei \_jollun.*  
Но она ... всё равно и ... она не была противником коммунистов ... не была.  
But she ... anyway ... she was not anti-Communist ... she was not.
- PK *Ei ollun.*  
Не была.  
She wasn't.
- LEZ *No hiä-, hänellä oli še molintanurkka.*  
Но у неё был этот молельный угол.  
But she had this prayer corner (in her house).



- PK *Molintanurkka.*  
 Моельный угол.  
 Prayer corner.
- LEZ *Molintanurkka (.) še oli t'ot'a M. (.) tässä (.) B. (.) tässä eli, Osipovnan tuamo.*  
 Моельный угол ... это была тётя М. (имя) ... здесь ... Б. (отчество), здесь жили, мама Осиповны.  
 Prayer corner ... this was aunt M. (name) ... here ... B. (patronymic), they were living here, Osipovna's mother.
- LEZ *Molintanurkka oli hänelle (.) molintanurkka (aa) hiän molitvoja luki.*  
 Моельный угол был у неё ... моельный угол ... она читала молитвы.  
 She had a prayer corner ... prayer corner ... she was reading prayers.
- LEZ *I (.) i myö kun tulima, hiän oli oikein hyvä (.) ämmö šemmoñi (.) i šankija paisto (.) i me- ei laše jesli et si- juo čäijyö ta šankija.*  
 И ... мы, когда приходили ... она была очень доброй ... бабулей такой ... шаньги пекла и нас не отпускала, если ты не попьёшь чая с шаньгой.  
 And ... when we were coming ... she was very kind ... such a nice granny ... she baked *šanki* (a bakery product like cheesecake, with potatoes, berries, cereals) and wouldn't let you go unless you drank some tea and ate *šanki* (at her place).
- LEZ *Yksinä eli, pikkaaraiñi (aa) Jyrkilän talošša hänellä pikkaraiñi komnatta (.) nä yksi yheššä puolešša talo (.) komnatat oltih i toisešša, a kešellä oli šemmoñi kiukua omua i te pikkaraini komnatta šemmoñi.*  
 Одна жила, небольшая ... в доме Юрькиля у неё небольшая комната была ... так, одна с одной стороны дома ... комнаты были и в другой (половине), а посередине была такая печь своя и эта небольшая комната.  
 She was living, she had a small ... in Jyrkilä's house she had a small room ... one side of the house ... there were rooms also on the other side, and in the middle, there was a stove and this small room.

LEZ *Ni siinä hänellä anne- annettih še (aa) tuli e- elemäh, hiän oli tuulta pu- puolelta (.) a kun mint- minne hänel še talo šai, mie en tiije (.) no vot.*

И там ей дали эту (комнату)... пришла жить, она была с той стороны (деревни) ... а как, почему, куда ей этот дом достался, я не знаю ... ну вот.

And there they gave her this ... she came to live here, she was from the other side (of the village) ... and how, why, from where she got this place, I do not know ... that's it.

LEZ *Aa ni vot še hänellä oli nurkašša niitä ikonoja oli (.) hiän moliutu joka päivä (.) vot.*

Так вот же, у неё в углу эти иконы были ... она молилась каждый день ... вот.

So, she had these icons in her corner ... she prayed every day ... you know.

LEZ *Hiän (aa) kä- i hiän käveli ei niinku (aa) sarafanašša kävi (aa) 'do smerti' kävi, ei platfoja piällä pannun, a sarafana pitkä oli šemmoñ (.) niin kun karjalaiset piettih, vot, i kui linöy paikka šivottu (.) toisenäkösestä.*

Она ... ходила как будто бы не ... в сарафане ходила ... до смерти ходила, платья не одевала, а сарафан был длинный такой у неё ... такой, какой карелки носили, вот, и как будто бы платок повязан ... совсем иначе.

She ... was walking as if ... in a *sarafan* (a sundress) ... until her death, she did not wear a (normal) dress, and her *sarafan* was long ... like Karelian women used to wear it, so, and the kerchief seemed to be tied ... quite differently.

LEZ *Ka kuin lienöy šanottih i vielä hänelle piäššä oli šemmoñi (.) niin ku lakkiko vain šemmoñi piäššä oli (.) vot.*

Как будто бы говорили, что у неё на голове было ещё ... и такая, как шапочка что ли, такая на голове была ... вот.

It was like, they were saying she had another ... a cap or something, that kind of cap on her head ... you know.

PK *A muiššatko kun kun oli oli (.) krestjanski praazdniecka että toiset naiset olis tullun tultu hänen luokše sinne (aa) moliutumaa?*

А ты помнишь, когда были, были ... деревенские праздники, чтобы другие женщины приходили бы к ней туда ... помолиться?

And do you remember when there were, there were ... village holidays, so other women would come to her ... to pray?

- LEZ *Ei, šemmoista tiälä ei ollun.*  
Нет, такого здесь не было.  
No, that didn't happen here.
- PK *Ei ollu.*  
Не было.  
It didn't happen.
- LEZ *'Vot v moju v moju ži- ži- žituhu-bytuhu ne bylo' (.) ei ollun meilä tiälä, ei.*  
Вот в мою житуху-бытуху не было ... не было у нас здесь, нет.  
Well, in my life, we didn't have ... we didn't have anything like that, no.
- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
I see.
- PK *A sielä mo- molintanurkašša oli ikona?*  
А там в молебном углу была икона?  
Was there an icon in the prayer corner?
- LEZ *'Ii- ikony byli', mi en muissa jotta (.) muissan jotta suur oli ikona pikkaraisi oli ikonoja, no vot (.) i svih- svečka šeiso, konša piti, nu vot, mie muissan näin, mie daže šen nurkan muissan näin.*  
Иконы были, я не помню, чтобы ... помню, что большая икона была, небольшие иконы были, ну вот ... и свечка стояла, когда нужно, ну вот, я помню так, я даже тот угол помню, вот.  
There were icons, I don't remember ... I remember that there was a big icon, there were small icons, so ... and there was a candle, if necessary, well, I remember, I even remember that corner, yeah.
- PK *Oliko teilä kotona, šiula kotona?*  
Была ли у вас дома (икона), у тебя дома?  
Was there an icon in your home, in your home?
- LEZ *Ikona meilä?*  
Икона у нас?  
Did we have an icon?
- PK *Ikona.*  
Икона  
An icon.

- LEZ *Meilä oli ikona (.) vot (aa) ikona tuošša, a meilä oli pikkaraiini.*  
У нас была икона ... вот ... икона была там, но у нас была небольшая.  
We had an icon ... yes ... the icon was there, but we had a small one.
- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
I see.
- LEZ *Pikkaraiini palo talošša, a (.) näin ei joka talošša aa, no (.) ikonoja vet' ei annettu pityä pertissä.*  
Небольшая, сгорела в доме ... так-то не в каждом доме ... ведь иконы не разрешали держать.  
A small one, it burned in the house ... not in every house ... because icons were not allowed here.
- PK *Aha (.) oli salainen.*  
Ага ... тайная была.  
So ... it was secret.
- LEZ *Huö oltih peitošša.*  
Они были спрятаны.  
They were hidden.
- PK *Peitošša.*  
Спрятаны.  
Hidden.
- LEZ *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yes.
- PK *A (.) teidän ikona oli Karjalašta tuotu ikona, šiun muamon vain vai ämmön?*  
А ... ваша икона была иконой, привезенной из Карелии твоей мамой или бабушкой?  
And ... was your icon brought from Karelia, by your mother or grandmother?

- LEZ *No (aa) nii (.) ämmön naverno oli, ämmön ämmön oli naverno oli ikona.*  
 Ну ... так и есть ... бабушкина, наверное, была, бабушкина, бабушкина была, наверное, икона.  
 Well ... it might have been so ... it must have been grandmother's, it must have been grandmother's, grandmother's icon.
- LEZ *No ei ollun šuuri ikona, ei, meilä šuuri ikonoi ei ollun.*  
 Но икона не была большой, нет, у нас больших икон не было.  
 But the icon wasn't big, no, we didn't have big icons.
- LEZ *Ei, meilä tuamo šemmon oli, tuamo 'ne kommunisty i ni kakajato' šemmoñi 'po-moemu dvustoronnjaja' mimmoñi oli, jotta (.) ei nikonša šano jotta 'za k-' keštä hiän, nu vot, eikä moliutu hiän, a krešenoñi oli (.) vot ämmö krešenoñi oli.*  
 Нет, у нас мама такая была, мама, не коммунистка и ни какая-то такая, по-моему, двусторонняя, такая была, что ... никогда не говорила, чтобы за кого-то она, ну вот, не молилась она, а крещеной была, вот, бабушка крещеной была.  
 No, our mom was like, our mom, she wasn't a communist or anything, I think she was like both ways, so ... she never said whom she supports, well, she didn't pray, but she was baptized, and grandmother was also baptized.
- PK *Eikä moliutu- (.) a siun ämmö?*  
 Не молилась ... а твоя бабушка?  
 She didn't pray ... and did your grandmother pray?
- LEZ *Ämmö 'krešännaja', a ämmö niisi mie en nähny jotta ois moliutu(n).*  
 Бабушка крещеная, но я также не видела, чтобы бабушка молилась бы.  
 Grandma was baptized, but I haven't seen grandma praying either.
- PK *Et nähny.*  
 Не видела.  
 You haven't seen her.
- LEZ *Moužet hillakkaiseh sielä moliuvuttih, še vot oikein oli silloin 'v zaprete' oikein (.) 'sil'no v zaprete bylo, očen' si-', mie daže en muissa taloloissa, jotta ikonoja (.) nävin.*  
 Может тайком там молились, это, вот, было тогда сильно в запрете, совсем ... сильно в запрете было, очень сильно, я даже не помню в домах, чтобы иконы ... видела.  
 Maybe they prayed in secret, it was strictly forbidden then, totally, totally, I don't even remember having seen icons in the houses.

- LEZ *A t'ot'a Marinalla näin ikona oli, i näin käsipaikka, näin kaunis pantu.*  
 A у тётти Марины икона, вот, была, и так вот полотенце, так вот красиво повешено.  
 And auntie Marina had icons, well, and a towel, so, beautifully hanged up.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 I see.
- LEZ (xxx) *hänellä vot oli (.) šeiso, šeiso vot šen mie muissan, potomušto muissa taloloissa ei ollun, en nähny (.) miän puolella dak (.) mie en muissa jotta missä.*  
 (xxx) у неё, вот, была (икона) ... стояла, стояла, вот, это я помню, потому что в других домах не было, не видела я ... на нашей стороне (деревни), так что ... я не помню, чтобы где-то было бы.  
 (xxx) she, well, she had an icon ... it was, it was there, well, I remember this because in other houses there were no icons, I haven't seen any ... on our side (of the village), you know ... I don't remember that someone would have an icon.
- LEZ *Aa oli vielä i polka luajittu (aa) R. Iri- Irinalla (aa) K. (.) Irina (.) a kuin hiän on t'ot'a Irakši myö häntä kuččuma, ke- heilä nurkašša oli ikona šuuri.*  
 А еще была полка сделана ... у Р. (фамилия) ... Ирины К. (отчество) ... Ирина ... а так как она ... тётя, Ирой мы звали её, у них в углу была икона большая.  
 And there was also a shelf made by ... R. (last name) ... Irina K. (patronymic) ... Irina ... and she ... auntie, Ira we called her, they had a big icon in the corner.
- LEZ *Täššä oikiešša nurkašša, nii i oikieš še i pannah jotta (.) vot mie muissan, nii.*  
 Здесь, в правом углу, так справа ее и ставят (икону), чтобы ... вот, я помню так.  
 Here, in the right corner, they would put the icon on the right side, so that ... well, this is how I remember it.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 I see.

- LEZ *Vot i missä mie nävin, a tiälä muissa taloloissa poikki jovelла (xxx) vähänkä taloloih kävimmä, možet sielä i kellä oli.*  
 Вот еще где я видела, а здесь в других домах на зарецкой стороне (xxx) мало по домам мы ходили, может там у кого и было.  
 That's where I've seen an icon, but there, on the other side of the river (xxx), we didn't go to many houses, maybe someone had an icon there.
- LEZ *Možet sielä i keräyhyttih, sielähän Šuuripuoli oli, i taloja oli ä- äijyä enämпи, nu vot a tiälä (.) vähä oli šemmosie taloja.*  
 Может там и собирались, там же Большая сторона была и домов было намного больше, ну вот, а здесь ... было мало таких домов.  
 Maybe they used to gather there, there is the Big Side (of the village), there were a lot more houses there, well, but here ... there weren't many houses.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 I see.
- PK *A muiššatko että (.) jollakin ois ollun (.) ollun probleema, että hän on moliutunut (.) kun (.) kun ei, zapretettih?*  
 А помнишь ли, чтобы ... у кого-нибудь была бы ... проблема из-за того, что он молился ... поскольку запрещали?  
 Do you remember that ... anyone would have ... a problem, because s/he was praying ... because it was forbidden?
- LEZ *Ei (.) ei ollun problemua, mie en mu- sitä en muissa jotta olis problema ollun, ei (.) ei (.) 'ëto' (.) no šovan (.) pered šovan aikana mintäh lienöy (aa) tänne käytih (.) i miehie (aa) 'hvatali'.*  
 Нет ... не было проблемы, я не помню такого, не помню, чтобы была бы проблема, нет ... нет ... это ... но перед войной почему-то ... сюда приезжали ... и мужчин ... хватали.  
 No ... we didn't have such problems, I don't remember there being a problem, no ... no ... it ... but before the war, for some reason ... they came here ... and men ... were seized.
- PK *Pered šovan aikana?*  
 Перед войной?  
 Before the war?

- LEZ *Pered pered šovan aikana miun tuattuo niise, a siitä tuatto ruttoh lašetih, vot.*  
 Перед, перед войной, моего отца тоже, а потом отца быстро отпустили, вот.  
 Before, before the war, my father, too, and then my father was quickly released.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 I see.
- LEZ *A olihan še še kampanija šemmoñi, muissat vet', še i on politika nyt.*  
 А была же, такая кампания, ты же ведь помнишь, это и есть политика теперь.  
 And there was, such a campaign, you probably remember, this is now politics.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 I see.

### Fishing with nets, brothers

- LEZ *Mie kum\_m- mitä muissan (.) nävimme sitä za- zaveskua.*  
 Я как, что помню ... мы видели эту завеску (ординарная гарва).  
 I somehow, I remember ... we saw this *zaveska* (special fishnet).
- LEZ *Š\_oli (.) kovim\_valehtamah er\_rupie.*  
 Это была ... сильно врать не стану.  
 It was ... I'm not quite sure.
- LEZ *Oiken oli še (.) häänellä nee (.) verkko pakšūšta (.) rihmašta luajittu.*  
 Очень была она ... у неё ... сеть из толстой ... нити сделана (связана).  
 It was very ... it had a ... a net made of thick ... thread.
- LEZ *Ennenhän š\_ei ollut näitä (.) tämmöisie (.) (aa) ma'erialoja nii kun nyt o-.*  
 Раньше же не было этих ... таких ... материалов, как в настоящее время.  
 Before, there were no such ... such ... materials as there are nowadays.



- LEZ *Verkko r- pakšusta (aa) oiken (aa) še oli näin t'ikutettu ... harvat n-no tämmöset harvat ...*  
 Сеть из толстых ... очень (нитей) ... была, вот, связана ... крупная (ячей), ну, такая крупная ...  
 The net was tied of thick ... very ... it was, like, made ... of nets with large (meshes), well, such large ones ...
- LEZ *Šeinä šeiso.*  
 Стена (из сетей) стояла.  
 The (gill)net was hanging there.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 Yeah.
- LEZ *Rannašta pantih, jotta missä hen (.) ei matkua (.) rannašša, kun oo pikkuini vettä (.) aa šyvempä (.) ii šyvä še ...*  
 От берега ставили, чтобы там ... где она не идет ... по берегу, когда воды мало (в отлив) ... и всё глубже (в направлении глубины устанавливали) и вот глубина ...  
 It was set up from the shore ... wherever it (the fish) goes ... at the shore, when the water is low (at low tide) ... and then (it was set up) deeper and deeper ... there is a deep place there ...
- LEZ *A siitä šemmoini sielä (.) ni ku (.) meŕoža šeisou (.) kuil\_lienöy luajittu näi, näi, näi.*  
 А потом такая там ... как ... мерёжа стоит ... как будто бы сделана так, так и так (показывает).  
 And then there's one ... like ... a fyke net there ... tied like this, and so, and so (showing with hands).
- LEZ *Sinne mänöö (.) i vielä sitä toini kerta kuin lienöy kiänty heile.*  
 Туда идет ... и еще потом второй раз как будто бы загибается к ним.  
 It was stretching this way ... and then a second time, somehow it was turning to them.
- LEZ *Toini šeinä kuin (aa) kuin hyö pantih mie (.) e- en nähny, kuim\_ŕa- (aa) ...*  
 Вторая стена сеток ... как они ставили (их), я ... не видела, как став(или) ...  
 The second gillnet ... how they set it, I haven't seen ... how they put ...

- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.
- LEZ *Nävin, nuu što em\_muissa.*  
Видела, ну, как, не помню  
I've seen, but I don't remember.
- LEZ *No, kuin lienöy kiärrettih hy- (.) ne ihmiset specal'no кем\_mahto, niitä pani, zaveskoja.*  
Ну, как-то они огибали ... те люди специально, кто мог, ставил эти завески.  
Well, somehow, they turned it ... those people, especially those who could, hanged them, these *zaveskas* (nets).
- LEZ *Nu vot, tak a joka ihmi- ei voinun panna, ei mahta.*  
Ну так вот, а не каждый челов(ек) мог ставить, не умел.  
Well, there you go, but not every per(son) could do this, many didn't know how.
- LEZ *A i nii vot siitä sinne männähä (.) moñičci monta kalua mänöö (.) šil-loin äijy oli kalua vot.*  
Ну и вот, потом туда идут ... часто много рыбы попадёт ... тогда много было рыбы, вот.  
Well, then, there they ... often a lot of fish got in ... there was a lot of fish back then, you know.
- LEZ *Lepeťiha še i Okat'ėvoi še (.) ne oltih 'tonja'.*  
Лебедиха и Окатьево ... это были тони (рыбные).  
Lebedikha and Okat'evo ... these were fishing grounds.
- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.
- LEZ *Šom-, šomañ- šomgan to- toña.*  
Сем- сем- семужья тоня.  
A sal- sal- salmon piscary.

- LEZ *Nu kaikki aa- annettih ne kalat pit'i (.) antua gosudarstvah (.) kaikki pit'i.*  
 Но всю рыбу сдавали, эту рыбу нужно было ... сдавать государству ... всю нужно было (сдавать).  
 But all the fish was given out, that fish had to be ... delivered to the state ... all of it.
- PK *A ken ken pantih (.) ken pantih zaves- saveskua (aa) ken pantih, siis miehet (aa) tytöt, miehet?*  
 А кто ставил ... кто ставил завески ... а кто ставил, мужчины ... женщины, мужчины?  
 And who set ... who set the *zaveskas* (the nets) ... who set them, the men ... the women, the men?
- LEZ *Miehet, juuri miehet.*  
 Мужчины, именно мужчины.  
 Men, specifically men.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 I see.
- LEZ *Juuri miehet (.) miehet panti.*  
 Именно мужчины ... мужчины ставили.  
 Specifically men ... the men set them.
- LEZ *Vot ensimmäini sinne (aa) oli kaikičči Timo-ukko.*  
 Вот первым туда ... всегда был дед Тимофей.  
 The first to be there ... was always the old man Timo.
- LEZ *No i miula vell'i niizi, miula niisi (.) vell'i (.) pani (.) zaveskua niijen keralla, konš\_oli (.) nuori.*  
 Но и у меня брат тоже, у меня тоже ... брат ... ставил ... завеску с теми (мужчинами), когда был молодым.  
 But my brother, too, also my ... brother ... was setting ... *zaveskas* with those men when he was young.
- LEZ *Häntä otettih (.) hän ol'i oiker\_ruataja.*  
 Его брали ... он был очень трудолюбивый.  
 They used to take him with them ... he was very hard-working.

- LEZ *Hiän ol'i šuu- pitkä šemmoí, mieš šemmoí (.) ii oiken oli ruataja miula veikko.*  
Он был крупн(ый), высокий такой, мужчина такой ... и очень трудолюбивым был у меня брат.  
He was big, such a tall man ... and very hard-working he was, my brother.
- LEZ *Še (aa) les- lesniččyä.*  
Он был лесничим.  
He was a forester.
- LEZ *Ta a še toiíne h-herurga še (.) še miula mladšeíni še.*  
А тот второй – он хирург ... это у меня младший.  
And the other one, he was a surgeon ... my younger brother.
- LEZ *Sielä op\_ (päivie) (.) oppii i Pit'eraš eli.*  
Там учил(ся) ... учился и в Питере жил.  
He studied there ... studied and lived in St. Petersburg.
- LEZ *'Éto ladno'.*  
Это ладно.  
That's right.
- LEZ *Aa pan- pantih (.) aa otettih inogda šemmosie trud'agoja, ken šua- (aa) mahto ...*  
А ставили ... а брали иногда таких трудяг, кто мог ... умел ...  
And they were setting ... sometimes they were taking such hard workers, anyone who could ... was capable ...
- LEZ *(aa) i naisiehän zavéskoja luatettih (.) miän muamo kävi, (Natalie).*  
И женщины тоже завески ставили ... моя мама ходила, (Наталья).  
Also, women were setting up the *zaveskas* (the nets) ... my mom also did it, (Natalie).
- LEZ *(a) mie tiijä, jotta moíičči otettih, konša ei\_jollun miehie riittää.*  
(А) я знаю, чтобы часто брали (женщин), когда мужчин не хватало.  
(But) I know that they often took women when there were not enough men.
- LEZ *I muamo zav- zavéskoille niisi kävi.*  
И мама ходила также на вылов рыбы завесками.  
And my mother was also catching fish with *zaveska*.

- LEZ *Vot (.) nii muissan.*  
 Вот ... так помню.  
 Well ... that's how I remember it.
- PK *A konš aa minä vuo- vuodenaikana (.) konš panti zavesk-, kevyällä vai ...?*  
 А когда, в какое время года ... когда завески ставили, весной или ...?  
 And when, at what time of year ... when were the *zaveska* nets set up, in the spring or ...?
- LEZ *Kevällä (.) kevyällä pantih i i šykyšyh šuahe.*  
 Весной ... весной ставили и до осени.  
 In the spring ... in the spring they were setting them, and, and then until the fall.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 Yeah.
- LEZ *Kuñi on jo, kuñi eei jiät jiän my- männy (aa) jiä.*  
 До тех пор, пока уже (не ставили), до тех пор, пока лёд не пошел ... лёд  
 Until the time came, (they wouldn't set them) until the ice is gone ... the ice.
- LEZ *Jiän alla ei jätetty zaveskoja.*  
 Подо льдом не оставляли завески.  
 They didn't leave them under the ice.
- LEZ *Kevyällä ruvettih panomah heitä (.) tai ko- konša jo rannoista jiät lähettä poikeš (.) silloin i pantih.*  
 Весной начинали ставить их или когда лёд уже с берегов сходит ... тогда и ставили.  
 They started putting them up in the spring when the ice was already coming off the banks ... that's when they set them.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 Yeah.
- LEZ *Vot.*  
 Вот.  
 Yes.

- LEZ *A hiär\_rupieu ii tiälä ni, hiär\_rupieu kävelömäh (aa) šomga (.) ijunis-sä, ee- ensi čislon.*  
 А она (сёмга) начинается здесь, начинается идти (на нерест) в июне, первого числа.  
 And here the salmon starts, starts to spawn in June, the first.
- PK *A sillä za- saveskoilla py- pyyvettiin vain (.) aa šom- šomgaa vai muita kaloja?*  
 И этими завесками ловили только ... сёмгу или и другую рыбу?  
 Did they catch with *zaveska* nets only ... salmon or other fish as well?
- LEZ *A mie en' t'ia po- (: ) (.) a minneh i jesli sinne poe- (.) s- zašveskoilla pyyvettih juuri šongua.*  
 А я не знаю (смеется) ... а куда(-нибудь), и если туда ... завесками вылавливали именно сёмгу.  
 I don't know (laughing) ... but (some)where, and if ... one was fishing specifically salmon with *zaveskas*.
- LEZ *No jesli sinne popat'ou košešno mi kala, dak šitä, sitä ičelläh otettih.*  
 Но если туда попадает, конечно же, какая-то рыба, так её, её себе брали.  
 But if some other fish gets in there, of course, then they would take it, would take it for themselves.
- LEZ *A jesli oiken äijyä oli miss- niis-, naverno annettih, niisi mie sitä en (.) ole nähny. (:)*  
 А если очень много было, также, наверно отдавали, также я этого не видела. (смеется)  
 And if there was a lot of fish, they must have given it away as well, I haven't seen that. (laughing)
- LEZ *Nu ot.*  
 Ну вот.  
 It was like this.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Ага.  
 Yeah.
- LEZ *Aa ž- toiset kalat sielähär\_reijet oltih oiken šuuret.*  
 А другие виды рыб ... там же ячея была очень крупная (в завесках).  
 And other fish species ... there was a very large mesh (in *zaveska* nets)

- LEZ *Nehan kaikki pois mäntih toiset kalat.*  
Они все проходили сквозь другие виды рыб.  
They all went through, the other fish species.
- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.
- LEZ *Pikku kalat sielä ei ni pisytty (.) aa juuri šuuret kalat.*  
Маленькие рыбешки там (в завесках) и не задерживались ... а только крупная рыба.  
The little fish did not stay there (in the net) ... only the big fish.
- PK *Aha.*  
Ага.  
Yeah.
- LEZ *Za'veskat oltih.*  
Завески были.  
There were *zaveskas*.

### Mushrooms, bear hunting

- LEZ *No mm- myö keräsimä konša talvekši jotta (.) livottjma ni ee näitä vahvasie (.) 'v osnovnom' vahvasie.*  
Но мы собирали на зиму, что(бы) ... замачивали эти волнушки ... в основном волнушки.  
But we used to pick mushrooms for the winter, so that ... we were soaking woolly milkcaps ... mostly woolly milkcaps.
- LEZ *'Gruzdi' (.) mie en tie, kuin hyö šanotah karjalakše.*  
Грузди ... я не знаю, как их называют по-карельски  
*Gruzdi (Lactarius resimus)* ... I don't know what they are called in Karelian.
- PK *Aha.*  
Так.  
I see.

- LEZ *Aa oli heitä, no heit-, myö-ö siitä radostnoit olima (.) aha (aa) šuuret, kaunehet, ni (aa) sieltä kun (.) 'mjasisty-'.*  
 А было их (груздей), но их, мы были радостные из-за того (что они попадались) ... да ... большие, красивые ... оттуда, мясистые.  
 And they could be found, we were glad (when we found them) ... yes ... big, beautiful ... there, so fleshy.
- PK *Oli, oli harvinaiset, oli (.) vaikea löytyä.*  
 Были, были они редкими ... было сложно найти.  
 They were, they were rare ... hard to find.
- LEZ *Harva, harvoin (.) heitä on vähä, oli (.) vähä oli, a vot (.) volnuškoja ennen äijän, nyt (.) nyt on kaikki (aa) paikat kasvettu oike.*  
 Редкий (гриб), редко находили ... их мало было ... мало было, а вот волнушек раньше много было, и в настоящее время ... теперь все ... места заросли.  
 A rare mushroom, rarely found ... they were few ... were few, but there used to be a lot of woolly milkcaps, and now ... now all ... places are overgrown.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 I see.
- LEZ *Nyt kerätäh tiälä missä (.) etähäksi käyvä, tiälä.*  
 Теперь собирают здесь, где ... далеко ходят здесь (в наших местах).  
 Now they pick them here ... people come from far away (in our region).
- PK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 I see.
- LEZ *A mie (.) 'poblizosti' näij\_jovel\_luona ta niisi keryä(in) (.) pikkusie (.) no mie äijyä en nyt šyö (.) nu on miula, keryän konša voen (.) pikkuse(n) šyvvä.*  
 А я ... поблизости у этой речки и также собирала небольшие (по размеру) ... но я много теперь не ем ... ну, есть у меня, собираю, когда могу ... немножко поесть.  
 And I ... at the river, I used to pick small ones ... but I don't eat much now ... well, I am picking them when I can ... a little something to eat.



- LEZ *A šyvvăh niitä (.) nn- valkieta šienie, nyt on nykyjäh tullu (.) kuivate-  
tah (.) siitä 'podberėzovik, podosinoviki' mie en tiä (.) a voo- ...*  
А едят эти ... белые грибы, теперь нынче стали ... сушат ... потом  
подберезовик, подосиновик, я не знаю ... а во(т) ...  
And people eat these ... porcini mushrooms, nowadays they have  
started ... to dry them ... then the birch bolete, the red-capped scaber  
stalk, I don't know ... and well ...
- PK *A niitä, niitä vahvosia ...*  
А эти волнушки ...  
And these woolly milkcaps ...
- LEZ *Vahvasie.*  
Волнушки.  
Woolly milkcaps.
- PK *Mitä, mitä tee-, mitä luajittii niillä?*  
Что дел(али), что готовили из них?  
What did you do, how did you prepare them?
- LEZ *A livottima (aa) kolme-viisi päivyä livottima, šuolasima ... kolme-  
kymmentäyheksän päivyä pitimä (.) kolme- uuh kolmekymmentä-  
yheksän pe-, interesno, ei ni nelläkymmentä, a kolmeky-*  
Мы замачивали ... три-пять дней мы замачивали, солили ... 39 дней  
держали ... 39 дней держали, интересно, не 40, а 39.  
We were soaking them ... three or five days we were soaking them,  
salted them ... 39 days we kept ... 39 days we kept them, interesting,  
not 40 but 39.
- PK *Aha.*  
Так.  
I see.
- LEZ *Niin kun meitä muamo opašti (.) kolme- kolmmet- e (.) myö panimä (.)  
heitä (.) šuureh aštieh.*  
Так, как нас мама учила ... на 39 (дней) ... клали ... их ... в большую  
посудину.  
The way my mother taught us ... for 39 (days) ... we put ... them ... in a  
big bowl.
- PK *Aha.*  
Так.  
I see.

LEZ *Iessä (.) aa mie kum\_muissaa (.) šuureh aštieh, no näi (.) valkien träpičän ili mar'la kun oli, ii pikkusen šemmosen lauvašta pyyrä(n) luaf'ima.*

Раньше ... а, как я помню ... в большую посудину, вот так ... белая тряпка или марля, когда была, и из досочек делали такой небольшой круг-гнёт.

Earlier ... and, as I remember ... in a big bowl, like this ... (we used) a white cloth or gauze, when such was available, and we made a little circle out of little boards.

PK *Aha.*

Так.

I see.

LEZ *Jotta pikkusen ni kum\_paino (.) kive emmä pannun, jottei (.) olis (.) a nn- nyt nyt še pannah e vot näitä, lehtie i smorodinoita, niitä kaikki.*

Чтобы было немного как тяжесть сверху ... камни мы не клали, чтобы ... не было бы ... а теперь его (груз) кладут, и еще эти листья смородины, и все другое.

This way we would have some weight on top ... we didn't put stones, so that ... it wouldn't be ... and now they put the weight, and currant leaves, and so on.

LEZ *A siitä pankuah panima (.) ii šemmosie (.) träpičän (aa) kuim\_myö luaf'ima (.) träpičän panima, šiemennöi (.) jottei olis (.) sitä (aa) 'pleseni'.*

А потом в банку раскладывали ... и такую тряпицу (сверху) ... как мы делали ... тряпицу клали, растительное масло чтобы не было бы ... этой ... плесени.

And then we used to put ... such a rag (on top) ... we did so ... the rag was, with grains, so there wouldn't be ... like ... mold.

PK *Aha.*

Так.

I see.

LEZ *Ii (.) talvekše panima (aa) karžina (.) tjalä karžinah (.) a gorodašša holodil'nikka.*

И ... на зиму ставили ... в подполье ... здесь – в подполье ... а в городе – в холодильник.

And ... for the winter we left them ... in the cellar ... here in the cellar ... and in the town, in the refrigerator.

- LEZ *(Sin-) alahakši ne pankat (.) konša (.) luatim- myö ennei nii s- ukon kerall äijä(n) keräsimä (.) a siitä emmä ruvea (.) vähem- rupesima šyömä i lapšet kašvettih no.*  
 Вниз те банки (убирали) ... когда ... мы занимались раньше (этим), так с мужем много собирали (волнушек) ... а потом мы не начинали ... понемногу начали есть, и дети росли, вот.  
 Those jars, we put them down (in the cellar) ... when ... we used to, we used to pick a lot of woolly milkcaps with my husband ... and then we stopped ... we started eating less, and the kids grew up, you know.
- LEZ *Sielä myö ukon keralla 'gruzdi bol'se', m-myö tiesim \_paikat (.) kävimä myö 'za gruzdjami' (aa) 'v načale' sentäbrissa kävimä.*  
 Там мы с мужем грузди больше (собирали), мы знали места ... ходили мы за груздями ... в начале сентября ходили.  
 There, my husband and I, we used to pick more *gruzdi* (*Lactarius resimus*), we knew the places ... we went for them ... we went there in the beginning of September.
- LEZ *Vot, äijä m-mie paikat tiesin (.) nyt on niisi kašvettu.*  
 Вот, много я мест знала ... теперь тоже заросшие.  
 Well, I knew many places ... now they are overgrown too.
- LEZ *A tämä vuara Šuurivuara, miä ambariini.*  
 А эта возвышенность Шууривуара, там наш амбар был.  
 And this mountain of Šuurivuara, our barn was there.
- PK *Aha, aha.*  
 Так, так.  
 Yes, I see.
- LEZ *Sinne, sinne alahakši kävimä.*  
 Туда, туда, вниз ходили.  
 There, there, we went down.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 I see.
- LEZ *No vot tahh myöh eta (.) a ennen vielä, kun sitä iessä (.) nii eihan še i pankoja ollun ni (aa) meilä oli p-počkat šemmoset. (aa)*  
 Ну вот так, мы это ... раньше еще, перед этим ... так и, банок не было ... у нас были бочки такие ...  
 Well, that's it, we ... earlier, before that ... there were no jars ... we had barrels like this ...

- PK *Aha.*  
Так.  
I see.
- LEZ *Puuročkat (.) ni hyö i kylmettih (.) ne šienet (.) siitä tulet (.) sieltä (aa) veičelle, a a siitä šulatah.*  
Деревянные бочки... вот их и замораживали... те грибы... потом приходишь ... оттуда ножом (поотделяешь), а потом размораживают.  
Wooden barrels ... well, and they froze down ... those mushrooms ... then you go ... and (you cut it in pieces) with a knife, and then they unfreeze.
- LEZ *No hyö nii kum\_pikkusem\_muššutah (.) 'no vsë ravno ničego', šöimä (.) 'no delo v tom čto', ei niim\_makiet.*  
Ну, они, как будто бы, немного потемнеют ... ну всё равно ничего, мы ели ... но дело в том, что не такие вкусные.  
Well, they kind of get a little darker ... it's okay anyway, we ate them ... but the thing is, they didn't taste so good.
- LEZ *A nämähan tullah (.) valkiet šemmoset ii kuiñ\_ollah (.) kun nyt luajimma.*  
А эти же становятся ... белыми такими, и выглядят, как будто ... только что мы их приготовили.  
And those (on the other hand) become ... white like that and look as if ... we just have cooked them.
- PK *Aha.*  
Так.  
I see.
- LEZ *Ennen ei\_jollun min- missä pityä nii(n) (.) počkissa panima.*  
Раньше не было, где держать, так ... в бочки закладывали.  
Before, we didn't have place to keep them, so ... we would put them in barrels.
- PK *A kon- konša on šieniaika (.) tässä?*  
А когда здесь грибной сезон?  
When is the mushroom season here?
- LEZ *Aa konša nyt myö t- ...*  
А когда теперь мы ...  
When, we are now ...

- PK *Konša nyt sept- septembrássa vai ...?*  
 Когда теперь, в сентябре или ...?  
 When now, in September or ...?
- LEZ *A nyt vot jo tu- ensimmäiset vahvahaisiet toldžny tulla jo 'vtorogo (.)  
 avgusta'.*  
 А теперь уже первые волнушки должны появиться уже второго  
 августа.  
 And now, the first woolly milkcaps should appear as early as 2 August.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 I see.
- LEZ *No aa (aa) tämä vuosj (. ) 'opazdyvaet na na dve-tri nedeli'.*  
 Ну, а ... этот год ... опаздывает на две-три недели.  
 Well, and ... this year ... it (the mushroom season) is two or three  
 weeks late.
- PK *Aha (. ) vai myöhemmin tulee.*  
 Понятно, позже будут.  
 I see, it will be later.
- LEZ *(xxx) myöhemmä(t) (. ) a možet i tullah, mäne tiie kun (. ) nyt oli mua  
 lämmii i vihma kun mänöy (. ) ii šienet naverno tullah.*  
 (xxx) более поздние ... а может и появятся, поди знай когда ...  
 в настоящее время земля была тёплая, и дождь, когда пойдет ... и  
 грибы, наверное, появятся.  
 (xxx) later ... or maybe they (the mushrooms) will appear, you never  
 know when ... now the ground has been warm and when the rain  
 comes ... and the mushrooms will probably show up.
- LEZ *No täh aikua kaikičči oli jo šientä (. ) ei vahvasie, toisie šienie, näitä (. )  
 näitä käristyä pitäy.*  
 Ну, в это время всегда уже грибы были ... не волнушки, другие  
 грибы, эти ... эти жарить надо.  
 But this time of the year there were always mushrooms ... not woolly  
 milkcaps, other mushrooms, those ... that must be fried.

LEZ *Kaikičči oli šienie (.) aa n- nyt y- yksinäisie (.) kel' löytäy juuri, aa nu šo ken že ž yhen šienem piällä lähtöy (.) sinne meččyä myöt'en, haukkoamah. (: ) laukkuamah ta haukkuamah.*

Всегда грибы были ... а теперь единичные (пока) ... кто найдет только, ну, а кто же за одним грибом отправится собирать ... туда по лесу задыхаться. (смеется) ... скакать галопом и задыхаться.

There have always been mushrooms (at this time of the year) ... and now only here and there ... if you find any, well, but who will go to the forest for only one mushroom ... through the woods, gasping for breath (laughing) ... galloping and gasping for breath.

LEZ *Mie oiken šuvaičen käyvä konešno meččäh, voi.*

Я очень люблю ходить, конечно, в лес, вот.

I really like to go to the woods, of course.

PK *A šie kerrot kuin (.) kont- kontieta (.) pyuvettiin?*

А ты расскажешь, как ... мед- медведя ловили?

And will you tell us how ... bear- bears were hunted?

LEZ *Aaa, koontieta (.) noo kontieta (aa) ...*

А, медведя ... ну, медведя ...

Ah, a bear ... well, a bear ...

PK *Kerro, kerro šitä, kuin k-kontieta pyuvettiin.*

Расскажи, расскажи, как медведя ловили?

Tell me, tell me how bears were caught?

LEZ *Aa, mitä (aa) ko- (aa) nävi(n)kö, nävinkö mie kuin kontieta pyuvetit?*

Ну, что ... видела ли, видела ли я, как медведя ловили?

Well, what ... did I, did I see a bear being caught?

PK *Kun tappoi- (.) ja.*

Как убивали ... да.

How a bear was killed ... yes.

LEZ *Tak hautua ei ni meilä, hautua sitä mie (aa) eklem mie šanoi, jotta (.) luajittih aituš (.) aituš luajittih.*

Так ямы не было у нас, ямы этой я ... вчера я говорила, что ... устанавливали загон (подготавливали огороженное место) ... загон устанавливали.

We didn't use pits here, pits, well I ... yesterday I told you that ... one was setting up a corral (prepared a fenced area) ... a corral was being set up.

- LEZ *Aituš luajittih kondjeh, nu ot, a siitä pantih še (aa) petl'a šuuri (.) sitä hää i (.) sinne pantih še (.) lihua jotta haisuo (.) ili kalua haisuo.*  
 Загон делали на медведя, ну вот, а потом устанавливали, это ... петлю-силок большую ... потом же ... туда клали, это ... мясо, чтобы дурно пахло ... или рыбу плохо пахнущую.  
 They used to fence an area for the bear, well, they used to set up a big snare loop ... and then ... put ... some meat there that would smell ... or stinking fish.
- PK *Aha, aha.*  
 Да, понятно.  
 Yes, I see.
- LEZ *Hän siih (.) siih t- aitukšeh tuli (.) i hiähan ei iče ei tietä (.) šöi, šöi (.) ta (.) jalkah i (mihni) i puuttu (.) a kuv\_vetäy, a šehan siitä he jälilleh ei piäše.*  
 Он приходил в этот ... в этот загон ... и он же сам не знает ... ел, ел ... и за ногу куда-нибудь и попался ... и когда (он) тянет, и, это, из неё (петли) обратно не освободиться.  
 The bear would enter this ... this corral ... and he wouldn't know ... he would eat, eat ... and his leg would get caught ... and when he pulls, like, from the loop, he wouldn't get out.
- PK *Aha.*  
 Так.  
 I see.
- LEZ *I sit siitä karjuu sielä (.) a siitä tullah miehet (.) i häntä ammutah.*  
 И потом ревет там ... а потом приходят мужики ... и его убивают.  
 And then he is roaring there ... and then the men would come ... and kill him.
- LEZ *Niim\_pyyvetti (.) a nyköi, nyt ei\_jole.*  
 Так отлавливали ... а теперь, в настоящее время подобного нет.  
 That's how they used to catch the bear ... but now, nowadays, there's no such thing.

LEZ *Miuv\_veikkoj\_ei\_jole* (.) *šeičementoista vuotta* (.) *vot* (aa) *jo ei\_jo šeičeme-*, *kahekšantoista vuotta jo ei* (.) *tulou* (aa) *ka šeičementoista vuotta jo ei\_jole*.

Моих братьев нет (в живых) ... семнадцать лет ... вот уж, уже нет семнад(цать), восемнадцать лет, уже нет ... будет ... да уж, так семнадцать лет уже нет.

My brothers are not alive ... seventeen years ... so, or more, eighteen years, they are not (among us) ... it will be ... yeah, already seventeen years.

LEZ *Puavilua jo eei\_jol\_enäm̄pi kakš-, v- ei, kellä* (.) *ken tappo heitä*.

Павла уже нет больше два(дцати лет), некому убить ... кто убивал их (медведей).

Puavila has been gone for tw(enty) years now, there's nobody ... who would kill them (the bears).

LEZ *Ei\_jole\_i ketä nyt, jotta ken* (.) *a on yksi* (aa) '*na Nižnej Kandalakše'* *še käyt vai* (.) *še juuri talvella* (.) *hiä* (.) *en tiä kešällä vet' ei heitä anneta tappua*.

Нет никого теперь, чтобы кто(-нибудь) ... а есть один ... на Нижней Кандалакше, он ходит только ... это как раз зимой ... он ... не знаю, летом ведь не дают убивать их.

There's nobody that would ... no, there is one ... in Lower Kandalaksha, he only goes ... just in winter ... he ... I don't know, they don't let you kill them in summer.

PK *Aha*.

Так.

I see.

LEZ *Pitäy 'spetsalnoe razrešenie' olla, jotta kontjeta* (.) *a ennen m-* (aa) *kun oli* (.) *ihmisillä* (.) *näitä 'skot* (.) *i razreša-*', *pit'i t-, annettih tap-pua kondjen*.

Должно быть специальное разрешение, чтобы медведя (убивать) ... а раньше, когда была ... у жителей ... эта скотина ... так разреша(ли), нужно было у(бивать), давали убивать медведя.

You must have a special permission to kill a bear ... but before, when there were ... people had ... cattle ... it was allowed, it was necessary, it was allowed to kill a bear.

PK *Aha*.

Так.

I see.



- LEZ *A ei niken ni kačšo (.) tapoit i tapoit.*  
И никто не проверял ... убил ты и убил.  
And no one checked ... you killed the bear and that was it.
- PK *Aha.*  
Так.  
I see.
- LEZ *Jos ken ei soobšita, a zapovednika, nyt eei (.) nyt on, seditah (hyö), 'èkologija, èkologi èti (.) vsjakie'.*  
Если кто не сообщает, а заповедник, теперь нельзя ... в настоящее время есть ... следят они, экология, экологи эти ... всякие.  
If nobody reported, the animal sanctuary, now you can't ... now there are ... they watch, ecology, environmentalists ... all these.
- PK *A ku ku tapettiin ko- kontieta, mitä, mitä tehtiin sen (aa) ...?*  
А когда убивали медведя, что делали с ...?  
And when the bear was killed, what was done with ...?
- LEZ *Rašvua?*  
Нутряной жир?  
Gut fat?
- PK *Rašvua ja ...*  
Нутряной жир и ...  
Gut fat and ...?
- LEZ *A rašva (.) rašva, luajittih, ihmisill\_ annettih rašvua, aa lääkkieksi.*  
Нутряной жир ... медвежий жир вытапливали, людям давали жир в качестве лекарства.  
Gut fat ... the bear fat was melted; it was given to people as medicine.
- PK *Aha.*  
Так.  
I see.
- LEZ *Kellä pit'i, kyšyttih (aa) Kan- Kannallahašta käytih (.) eei ni rahua ei nimit\_ otettu, annettih näi.*  
Кому нужно было, спрашивали ... приезжали из Кандалакши ... ни денег, ничего не брали, так отдавали.  
Whoever needed it, s/he asked ... people came from Kandalaksha ... without money, we gave it (the fat) for nothing.

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 Horsehair worms, healer women

- LEZ *Aha, jouhimato.*  
 Ага, конский волос.  
 Aha, horsehair worm.
- PK *Jouhimato.*  
 Конский волос.  
 Horsehair worm.
- LEZ *Jouhimato (.) 'konskij volos', jouhimato.*  
 Конский волос ... конский волос, (по-карельски) *ёухимато*.  
 Horsehair worm ... horsehair worm, (in Karelian) *jouhimato*.
- LEZ *Jouhimato on, miän Kotilammissa jouhimatu äijä.*  
 Конский волос есть, в нашем озере Котилампи много конского  
 волоса.  
 There are horsehair worms, in our little lake Kotilampi there are a lot  
 of horsehair worms.
- LEZ *Täššä Kotilammissa, daže meän jovešša on, olen nähnyyn mie jouhi-  
 matuu.*  
 В этом озере Котилампи, и даже в нашей речке есть, я видела  
 конский волос.  
 In this lake Kotilampi, and even in our river, I have seen there a horse-  
 hair worm.
- PK *Oot nähny?*  
 Видела?  
 You have seen it?
- LEZ *Olen nähnyyn.*  
 Видела.  
 I have seen.
- LEZ *A miule čikolle mäni käteh ni siitä juuri (aa) nämä akat mit- (.) a vračat  
 ei nimitä luajittu šormeh, haluttih ... šuorittih jo leikata.*  
 У меня сестре (волос) в руку впился, так потом именно эти ста-  
 рушки, которые ... а врачи ничего не сделали с пальцем, хотели ...  
 собирались уже отрезать.  
 My sister got it (the worm) into her hand, and then those old women  
 who ... the doctors didn't do anything to heal her finger, they wanted  
 to ... were about to cut it off.

LEZ *I siitä vot šen Val'an Viktorovnan ämmö (.) še (.) tiesi kuin puajie kaikki i kuin lienöy kolikan, mie en tiijä, etu kolikka (.) i še mato sieltä niin šormešta niin i tuli i näin viäntäyty kolikkua myöten i šormesta pois läksi.*

И потом, вот, этой Валентины Викторовны бабушка ... она знала, как заговорить всё, и как будто бы голик (веник без листьев) заговорила, я не знаю, этот голик ... и этот червь (волос) оттуда так, из пальца так и появился, и накрутился по голику, и из пальца вышел. And then, well, Valentina Viktorovna's grandmother ... she knew how to drive out (exorcise) things, and it seemed she cast a spell over a certain *golik* (a broom without leaves), I don't know, and this broom ... the worm (the hair) got out from there, from the finger, it appeared and wound around the broom, and came out of the finger.

LEZ *Hiän tiesi kuin šanuo, šanuo i kuin hän (.) hänen sieltä pois kučču.*

Она знала, как сказать (заговорить), и как его (волос) оттуда призвать выйти прочь.

She knew how to cast a spell, and how to call it (the worm) to come out from there.

LEZ *Vot šanotah vot mie en verin i (aa) Ga'alla miän Ga'alla šormi rupesi pak- parenomah, a šu- tu- šuorittih leikata.*

Вот говорят, вот, я не верила и ... у Гали, у нашей Гали палец начал выздоравливать, а со- собирались ампутировать.

Well, they said, well, I did not believe it ... Galya's, our Galya's finger began to recover, while they were going to amputate it.

LEZ *Vot a šen mie iče iče tiijä hiän sielä (aa) vuatteita (.) nu kuin še (.) 'nu pološčet, pološčet, zabyła slovo' (.) huuhto, huuhto vuatteita, jovešša huuhto i iče ei tietän jotta hänellä mäni.*

Вот, а это я сама знаю, она там ... бельё ... ну, как же это ... „полощет“, „полощет“, забыла слово ... полоскала, полоскала бельё в речке, полоскала и сама не ведала, что в неё проник (в палец).

Well, I know that, she was there ... washing ... well, how do you say ... “rinsing”, “rinsing”, I forgot the word ... rinsing, rinsing linens in the river, rinsing, and she didn't realize it got into her finger.

LEZ *Rupesi šormie puhaltamah, puhaltamah, puhaltamah (.) a še ol- hänel oli joughimato.*

Начал палец опухать, опухать, опухать ... а это был, у неё был конский волос.

Her finger began to swell, swell, swell ... and it turned out, she had a horsehair worm.

- LEZ *Siitä hiän šen akal\_luokše kun tuli, nii se soglašautu.*  
 Потом, она к той бабуле-знахарке когда пришла, так она дала согласие.  
 Then, she went to this healer woman, and she agreed.
- LEZ *Še akal\_luokše tuli i ku luat'i i niin šormi paikalla rupesi parenomah, a to koko kuukauwen vot.*  
 К той бабуле пришла, и когда та сделала дело (произнесла заговор), и таким образом палец на том месте начал выздоравливать, и то целый месяц (там был волос), вот.  
 She came to that woman, and when she spelled the incantation, and the finger began to heal immediately, and then, it took a whole month, you know.
- LEZ *Jo jo uže leikata šuoriitih š- šormi, jouhimato on.*  
 Уже, уже ампутировать собрались палец, конский волос внутри.  
 And already, they were going to amputate the finger, the horsehair inside.
- PK *Koko kuukauwen oli?*  
 Целый месяц все продолжалось?  
 And this went on for a whole month?
- LEZ *Niin, šormi koko kuukauwen oli (.) i vot i daže naverno oli i kašvan sielä.*  
 Так и есть, палец целый месяц был (опухшим) ... вот, даже наверно волос и рос там (в пальце).  
 That's right, her finger was swollen for a month ... well, probably the horsehair was even growing there.
- LEZ *A konešno hän ...*  
 И конечно, она ...  
 And, of course, she ...
- LEZ *Joha mie nävin männä vuotena, mie juštih läksin vettä käymäh (aa) täštä jovešta, valgie vietra oli, otin ho näin pitkä (aa), mušta, pakšumpi kuin hivuš.*  
 Уже я видела в прошлом году, я как раз пошла воды принести ... из этой речки, белое ведро было, зачерпнула, вот такой длинный ... черный, толще чем волос человека.  
 I already saw one last year, I went to get water ... from this river, I had a white bucket, I scooped up, and there was such a long ... black thing, thicker than human hair.

- LEZ *Mie paikalla šen vietran keralla i maliñnikkoh sinne, ta sinne kuavoin jotta hiän sielä kuolou pois.*  
 Я на месте с этим ведром и в малинник, туда и вылила, чтобы он там сдох.  
 I took it with the bucket in the raspberry patch and poured it out there, so it would die there.
- LEZ *Vot harvoseh, no a miän miän täššä lammissa ei niken järvie kylvä (.) ei nikonša.*  
 Вот, редко, но а в нашей ламбине никто не купается ... никогда.  
 Well, it rarely happens, but in our pond, no one bathes ... never.
- LEZ *Kun kaikiččö (.) kenk aštuu, Vovkakoš läksi kylyh, i potomu što sielä jouho- jouhimatu on ... hy-, nähä- nähän männäh ihmiseh (.) jouhi- jouhimavot.*  
 Как всегда ... в обуви ходит, Вовка что ли пошел в баню – и из-за того что там конский волос есть ... он, он же в человека проникает, этот конский волос.  
 As usually ... it gets in your shoes, Vovka went once to the bath, and because there was a horsehair ... it, it would get through you, this horsehair-, horsehair worm.
- PK *Minkävärinen se on?*  
 Какого цвета он?  
 What color is it?
- LEZ *Muššat.*  
 Чёрные.  
 They are black.
- PK *Muššat?*  
 Чёрные?  
 Black?
- LEZ *Oikein muššat, oikein oikein oikein muššat, oikein (.) šemmoset 's sinim bleskom' muššat, šiniselä až otlivaijah.*  
 Очень чёрные, очень, очень чёрные, очень ... такие с синим блеском чёрные, синим аж отливают.  
 Very black, very, very black, very ... black with a blue shine, black tinted with blue.

- PK *Kun hän menee ihmisen sisään, mihin mihin se ...?*  
 Когда он проникает в человека, куда он ...?  
 When it goes into a person, where does it ...?
- LEZ *He hot' minne voit männä.*  
 Он хоть куда может проникнуть.  
 It can get anywhere.
- PK *Mahaan vai vatsaan vai?*  
 В желудок или в живот или?  
 In the stomach or in the belly, or?
- LEZ *Hot' minne mi- mi- minne piu- purtautuu, i oikein rutto mänöy ihmiseh, oikein rutto.*  
 Хоть куда вгрызается (проникает), и очень быстро проникает в человека, очень быстро.  
 Anywhere, it gets its teeth into (penetrates) you, and quickly gets in, very quickly.
- LEZ *Še 'momental'no' mänöy ihmiseh, ihmini daže ei kuule.*  
 Он моментально проникает в человека, человек даже не чувствует.  
 It penetrates instantly; you wouldn't even feel it.

### Seaweed harvest, sea salt extraction, production of soap

- PK *Kerro vielä siitä, me- merentuuraa kuin kerättih.*  
 Расскажи еще о том, как собирали морскую капусту?  
 Tell us more about the seaweed (laminaria) harvest?
- LEZ *Merentuuraa vot lehmillähän, missä i že šanou eto ...*  
 Морскую капусту коровам же (заготовляли), где же, это сказать ...  
 Laminaria was stocked for the cows, where, how to say this ...
- LEZ *Šitä i kerättih, venehillä tuotih i silosnoi jamah pantih i šyötettih talvel- la lehmillä.*  
 Их собирали, на лодках привозили и в силосную яму складывали и скармливали зимой коровам.  
 It was harvested, transported by boat, and put in a silo and fed to the cows in the winter.

- PK *A min- mintäh naisia naiset ko- keräsi sitä?*  
 А почему женщины собирали его?  
 And why did the women collect it?
- LEZ *No ka ei ollut, miehet toista työtä l-l-l- luajittih (aa) jykiempyä työtä.*  
 Поскольку не было, мужчины другую работу делали ... более тяжелой работу.  
 Since there were no, men were occupied with other works ... harder works.
- LEZ *Ta še i niisi jykie työ oli, 'no vsëravno, tak' miehet počti kaikkihan meilä tapettih šovašša, yht naiset jätih.*  
 Да это тоже тяжелая работа была, но всё равно, ведь мужчин же почти всех у нас убило на войне, одни женщины остались.  
 True, this was also a hard work, but still; almost all our men were killed in the war, only women were left.
- LEZ *Naiset, lapset, no oli kellä miehie, dak vot ruaittih sielä heposien keral-la ta vot sinne minne ...*  
 Женщины, дети, ну, у кого были мужики, так вот работали там с лошадьми, и вот туда, куда ...  
 Women, children, well, those who had men, they worked there with the horses, and that's where ...
- LEZ *Aa ne še torkat (.) ta i heinikkyö da i naiset heinikkyö niitettih.*  
 А эти дорки (крупные морские лодки) ... и травостой, да и женщины травостой косили.  
 And these *dorkas* (large sea boats) ... the grass vegetation, women mowed grass.
- PK *A sitä sitä merentuuraa sitä kerättih šykšyllä?*  
 А это морскую капусту заготавливали осенью?  
 Was the seaweed harvested in the fall?
- LEZ *No ke- ke- kešällä ke- on še lämmin vesi, jotta ihmisillä, a jalačit oltih rahat.*  
 Ну, ле-, летом вода тёплая, чтобы у людей ... а обувь плохая была.  
 Well, in the su- summer, the water was warm so that people ... the shoes were bad.
- PK *Kesäl-.*  
 Летом.  
 In the summer.

- LEZ *Kuinše (.) v̄soravno vetehhän še piti šolahtuu.*  
 Как же, всё равно в воду же нужно было заходить.  
 Of course, you had to go down and enter the water.
- LEZ *Kuinše veteh šolahut, konža on vähä vettä, näin daže(t) näin veješšä olet (.) ta siitä keryät i panet, a kuinše mui'ein?*  
 Как же, в воду зайдешь, когда мало воды, так даже тогда в воде находишься ... и потом собираешь и складываешь, как же иначе.  
 Of course, you go into the water, when there is little water (during low tide), so even then you are in the water ... and then you would pick it and fold it, how else could it be.
- LEZ *A jalaččie še ei tiälä ollun hyvie šemmosie, niinkuin nyt on jot- tämmösie kost'umoja ta tämmösie näitä (.) silloinhan še ei jollun.*  
 А обуви же здесь не было хорошей такой, как теперь есть, таких костюмов (резиновых) и таких, этих (сапогов) ... тогда же этого не было.  
 And there were no good shoes like there are now, such (rubber) suits, and such (boots) ... there were no such things then.
- PK *A kui kuin luajitti suolaa (.) suola merestä?*  
 А как добывали соль ... соль из моря?  
 And how was salt extracted ... salt from the sea?
- LEZ *A šuolua muamo (aa) še kuipokalla otettih i mereštä vettä šuolaista (.) i muamo pani näin (aa) pikkusen miskah pa'ni, kiehu kaikki i sinne še šuola uuh kuivau i sinne jäy, pikkusen konešno tulou, tuaš luat'iu, tuaš luat'iu ...*  
 А соль мама ..., это, в отлив брали из моря воды солёной ... и мама ставила так ... в небольшую миску наливала, кипело всё и там соль подсыхает, и там же остаётся, немного, конечно же, получается, снова ставит, и снова ставит ...  
 Well, my mom ... at low tide, they took salt water from the sea ... and my mom put it so ... poured everything in a small bowl, boiled it, and the salt dried there and there remained only salt, a little, of course, and then she did it again, she would put again water in the bowl, and again ...
- LEZ *I häneššä vai joodua oikein äijä oli, 'no vsë ravno' vet' (.) hot' šuola oli (.) mie nävin, kuin muamo luat'i sitä šuolua.*  
 И в ней только йода очень много было, но всё равно, хотя соль была, я видела, как мама вываривала эту соль.  
 It just had a lot of iodine in it, but still, it was salt, and I saw my mother boiling that salt.



- LEZ *Kun ei ollut šuolua (.) ei jollun šuolua ei jollun muilua (.) šovan aikana, šovan aikana.*  
 Когда соли не было, не было соли, не было мыла во время войны, в военное время.  
 When there was no salt, there was no salt, there was no soap either, during the war, in wartime.
- LEZ *A muilua, muilua kiehutettih, tuhkaa otettih, pantih värččih, tämmöni värčči luajittih (aa) värččissä, värčči (aa) nu šo- kun kellä mimmoini, kellä träpičči, kellä šukašta värčči.*  
 А мыло, мыло варили кипячением, брали золу, клали в мешочек, подготавливали такой ... мешочек ... ну, у кого какой, у кого из тряпки, у кого из носка мешочек.  
 And soap, soap was boiled, one took the ashes, put them in a bag, prepared such a ... baggie ... from what s/he had at hand, from a rag, or from a sock.
- LEZ *Ta näin pantih še, värčči tähä šivotah näin, puu pannah (aa) šauwa, tak i nuorašta, värčči rippuu.*  
 И, таким образом, клали это (золу), мешочек сюда привязывали вот так (показывает) ... палку устанавливали, и так на веревке мешочек висит.  
 And, this way, they put the ashes aside, tied the bag like this (showing with hands) ... set a stick, and the bag was hanging on a rope.
- LEZ *A še, tiälä konše patasien alla on tuli (.) nu i tiälä nämä (.) peššyt jo vuatteet, peššyt ilma(in) muilatta peššyt.*  
 А когда здесь под мисками огонь ... ну и здесь эти ... стиралось уже бельё, стиралось, без мыла стиралось.  
 And when there was a fire under the bowls here ... well ... that's how the laundry was washed then, washed without soap.
- LEZ *I sielä (aa) siinä (.) porovieššä, vot mie m- daže muissan, porovesi (.) poroviessä kiehutah, oikein oltih valkeet (aa) vuatteet.*  
 И там потом ... в щелочной воде ... вот, я даже помню, щелочная вода ... в щелочной воде (растворе) бельё кипит, очень белым было ... бельё (после этого).  
 And then there ... in alkaline water ... well, I even remember, alkaline ... in alkaline solution, the laundry was boiled, it became very white ... the laundry (then).

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- LEZ *Vot niin peštih (.) porovesi, mie daže muistan.*  
 Вот так стирали ... щелочной раствор ... я даже помню.  
 That's how they used to wash ... in alkaline solution ... I even remember that.
- LEZ *Mie itse olen luat'in, konše (.) jo myö aivoin še ru- rupiema ruatamah vet' silloin.*  
 Я сама делала, когда уже ... мы, ведь, рано же начинали работать тогда.  
 I did it myself when I was ... we, you know, we started working early in the morning then.
- LEZ *Vot porovesi, da (.) muilua ei ollun.*  
 Вот, щелочная вода, и ... мыла не было.  
 It was so, alkaline water, and ... there wasn't any soap.
- LEZ *Ei ollun muilua, siitä šovan a- jälkee vašta en to- mu- daže muissa konša tuli še muila meilä (.) po- da porovesi oli.*  
 Не было мыла, потом только после войны, я даже не помню, когда это мыло появилось у нас ... а щелочная вода была.  
 There wasn't any soap back then, only after the war, I don't even remember when the soap appeared ... so, we used alkaline water.

## Abbreviations

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ABL	ablative case	IMPS	impersonal (voice)
ACC	accusative case	IND	indicative
ACT	active (voice)	INE	inessive case
ADE	adessive case	INF	infinitive
ADJ	adjective	INS	instrumental case
adv.	adverb	Kar	Karelian
ALL	allative case	IRR	irrealis marker
AUX	auxiliary	NEG	negator, negation
CMP	comparative (in the adjective or adverb gradation)	NOM	nominative case
		O	oblast
CNG	connegative	PART	partitive case
COM	comitative case	PL	plural
COND	conditional mood	PRS	present tense
ELA	elative case	PST	past tense
ESS	essive case	PTCL	particle
F	feminine	PTCP	participle
Fi	Finnish	PURP	purposive
GEN	genitive case	Q	question marker
ILL	illative case	REFL	reflexive
ILLH-KRC	Institute of Language, Literature, and History at the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Petrozavodsk)	Rus	Russian
		SG	singular
		TRNSL	translative case
		U	uyezd
IMP	imperative mood	var.	variant
		1	first person
		2	second person
		3	third person

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