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RUSSIAN VOCABULARY IN TUNDRA NENETS

While the first contacts between the Nenets and Russians must go back to the Middle Ages, they remained casual and restricted to a few areas until the 19th century. Still in the early 20th century, the bulk of the Nenets population was monolingual or, if bilingual, had Komi or Khanty rather than Russian as their second language. The Tundra Nenets country was bordered by native Russian territory only in the far west, though Russian towns and trading-posts were scattered throughout most of the area. Consequently, the Russian influence is most clearly manifest in the Western dialects, and the Central dialect also exhibits numerous Russian loan-words. By contrast, the Eastern dialects on the Siberian side possess far fewer cases of direct borrowings from Russian, while a number of Russian words have reached them through Khanty.

The focus of the present article is not in discovering the oldest possible Russian loan-words in Tundra Nenets but rather in delimiting the corpus of those fully nativized, listed in the final section. The two major lexical sources, LEHTISALO (1956) and TERESHHENKO (1965), have been carefully examined for that purpose. In a wider context, this article constitutes the first in a series of additional publications to forthcoming Nenets dictionaries, starting with a morphological dictionary of Tundra Nenets (SALMINEN, forthcoming).

Foreign words that occur in an idiom represent three basic phases. Firstly, words may be taken directly without any noteworthy changes, usually retaining their original morphological structure and semantics. Such words are *citation loans*, and they are in fact instances of a more general phenomenon known as code-switching. Only speakers more or less bilingual have recourse to citations loans. From a practical point of view, it is in principle possible to make use of the original orthography when presenting them.

Secondly, foreign words may be adopted directly, but they are then automatically adapted to the phonological regularities of the language. Such words may easily exhibit productive native morphology, and they may deviate from the original meaning. Their occurrence is nevertheless incidental, confined to the very moment, and the speakers are keenly aware of their external status. Such words may be called *temporary loan-words*. This group also subsumes artificial, or literary loan-words that are not citation loans. To use temporary loan-words, some knowledge of the donor language is necessary, but no fluency is required. In historical perspective, temporary loan-words constitute a natural transitional stage between citation loans and loan-words proper, as explained below. In practice, a temporary loan-word is to be written

like any other item of the language.

Thirdly, words of foreign origin possessed by an entire speech community, whether a local dialect or a whole language, and complying with its norms, are *loan-words* in the proper sense. They are learned like other lexical items, so that no knowledge of the donor language is needed to use them. Even speakers who do know the donor language may fail to recognize the etymological relationship. That holds also for scholars, of course.

It is true that the trichotomy *citation loans* – *temporary loan-words* – *loan-words proper* is not absolute. There are intermediate cases, so that one has to turn to the rather flat concept of continuum. In this case, however, it appears inevitable, as there is no other way for loans-words to be adopted in an idiom but via a continuum of increasing adaptation and nativization. Nevertheless, the aforementioned trichotomy retains its value as a useful guide-line for presentation.

Even if the above categorization of foreign vocabulary is accepted at its face value, one has to be aware of a few complications. The status of a word may vary from one dialect to another, so that what constitutes a proper loan-word for one informant appears temporary to the next, and even within an idiom, there may exist parallel versions. A loan-word whose etymology is obvious may also be hypercorrectly reinterpreted as a citation loan. These facts must be constantly borne in mind, especially when all loan-words presented here are relatively recent, and when the contact between the two languages in question has been and continues to be extensive. The instances of these kinds of complications are indicated below by cross-references.

In what follows, citation loans are studied only briefly to illustrate their occurrence in published material. According to the purpose of this article, temporary loan-words are discussed more thoroughly in order to justify their extraction from the standard lexical corpus. The definite loan-words are then listed according to their distribution, and a number of more obscure cases are also discussed.

Citation loans

It is an every-day aspect of Nenets speech that distinctly non-assimilated Russian words appear, and in some cases quite frequently, too. As suggested above, citation loans can only be used by persons who are at least moderately bilingual. Since bilingualism in Russian is nowadays very wide-spread among the Nenets, code-switching has become almost a norm for many speakers. In this article, however, it is crucial to cover only those citations loans that are present in the published sources, rather than analyse the extent of the phenomenon as a whole.

Starting with the material in LEHTISALO (1956), it contains only a few Russian words that do not conform with the phonological structure of Tundra Nenets. As could be expected, they are restricted to the speech of the informants with good command of Russian, viz two Kanin informants (Sjo., M), two Malaya Zemlya informants (U-Ts., Oks.), two Bol'shaya Zemlya informants (MB, resettled in Kanin, and

U, from the vicinity of Pustozersk), and LEHTISALO's main informant MAKSIM YADOBCHEV (O, from the town of Obdorsk).

Studying the performance of each informant separately, we find the following Russian words in LEHTISALO (1956), with reference to page number only. The informants did sometimes attach Nenets morphology to the Russian words, especially the verbs. There is no sense in dealing with such formations here, but readers are encouraged to study the original source more closely. Pronunciation also occasionally deviates from pure Russian, but this is noted only in the most striking cases.

- Sjo. 265 *murávcik* (dial. for *burávcik*); 377 *peremenyít'*; 377 *peremët*; 391 *blagovéshhenie*; 405 *samovól'nichat'*; 420 *spórit'*; 457 *zagoven'e*; 457 *zdoróvat'sya*.
- M 78 *fatéra*; 263 (*durák*) *moshénnik*; 280 *navága* [cf. N° 20]; 370 *práznik* (colloquial for *prázdnik*) [cf. MB, below]; 377 *peredók*; 391 *belók*; 416 *zoród* [cf. N° 40]; 420 *spusk*; 420 *stanók*; 457 *zad*.
- MB 77 *víselica*; 214 «*gotoivoi*» (= *gotóvyi*); 262 *Moskvá*; 370 *práznik* (colloquial for *prázdnik*) [cf. M, above]; 370 *provodít'*; 390 *bábka*; 435 «*sex*» (= *vsex*); 457 *zver'*; 457 *zhárit'*; 508 *cepóchka*.
- U-Ts. 420 *svéchka* [cf. O, below, N° 44]; 420 *spíchka* [cf. N° 35].
- Oks. 196 *kóshka* [cf. N° 102]; 229 *lopár'*; 237 ?
«*reëm*» (*yadærcyøtø-*); 359 *pomór*; 391 *ból'she*; 391 «*botylka*» (= *butýlka*); 391 *búnkra* (gen. of *búnker*); 391 (*ønoh*) «*blichka*» (= *blyúdcé*); 391 *vrémya*; 420 *súдно*.
- U 32 *il'in* (adjectival form of *il'ya*); 43 *uryádnik*; 44 *usád*; 77 *víla*; 77 *vílka*; 361 «*poznya*» (= *pózhnya*); 403 *sáxarnica*; 405 *sarafán*; 420 *sláva bog!* (= *sláva bógu*); and the week-days [cf. p. 11–12], 359 *ponedél'nik*; 37 «*oftornik*» (= *vtórnik*); 438 *seredá* (dial. for *sredá*); 441 «*setverk*» (= *chetvérk*); 374 *pyátnica*; 419 *subbóta*.
- O 11 *svechá* (according to LEHTISALO, possibly from Khanty) [cf. U-Ts, above, N° 44]; 207 «*kartoska*» (= *kartóshka*) [cf. N° 98].

Several Russian words in LEHTISALO (1956) which conform with the phonological structures of both languages have been listed below under temporary loan-words. In fact, they could be citation loans as well, but they have been given that status as a matter of convenience. This is not a serious shortcoming, because in terms of the ultimate purpose of the article, both groups of words are treated identically.

In TERESHHENKO (1965), the group that may be called citation loans equals those words that are given in mere Russian spelling. This group consists of what might be called the Soviet liturgical vocabulary, words bound to the Communist ideology and the institutions and values of the Soviet state. Indeed, they were obligatorily included in all dictionaries published in the Soviet Union. Their nature as sacred words of a cult allowed them to be printed only exactly as they were spelled in Russian, except for grammatical endings. To give a selection of examples, Russian masculine and feminine nouns like *bol'shevík*, *vlast'*, *vozhd'*, *gvárdiya*, *gerb*, *gerói*, *grazhdanín*, *demonstráciya*, *disciplína*, *dolg*, *kommuníz'm*, *kommuníst*, *konstitúciya*, *kul'túra*, *leniníz'm*, *marksíst*, *pártiya*, *prezídium*, *profsoyúz*, *revolyúciya*, *respúblika*, *ródina*, and *socialíz'm* appear alike in both columns, except for the lack

of the stress accent in the Nenets one. As there is no *ákan'e* phenomenon in Nenets, the spelling of neuter nouns reflects Russian pronunciation, giving Russian *gosudárstvo*, *zvánie*, *obrazovánie*, *právo*, and *pravítel'stvo* as «государства», «звания», «образования», «права», and «правительства». A few other grammatical forms also belong to this group (see below for their grammatical adjustment), i.e. plural nouns like «трудящийся» for *trudyáshhiesya*, adjectives like «социалистической» for *socialistícheskii*, and verbs like Eur. «голосю-», Sib. «голосуйда-» for *golosovát'*.

Several loan-words appear twice in TERESHHENKO (1965), both with mere Russian spelling and with a parallel nativized form. Words like *bagór*, *bánya*, *bogatýr'*, *zóloto*, *kárta*, *kásha*, *kirpích*, *konféta*, *krupá*, *spasíbo*, and *chugún* have thus two complete word-articles each. A few words like *navága*, *predsedátel'*, and *yúbka* have only word-articles in Russian spelling, while their (more) nativized counterparts exist as references to them.

Temporary loan-words

As there exists a fully productive and generally applicable mechanism of automatic sound substitutions, it is not a difficult task to adapt foreign words into the Tundra Nenets sound structure. Temporary loan-words, as defined above, may therefore abound, and this is especially true for words taken from Russian, whose phonemic system is in several respects close to that of Tundra Nenets.

However, even the Russian phonemes, however, not to mention the phonotaxis, must often find substitutions. Tundra Nenets lacks the sibilants *zh*, *sh*, *shh*, as well as, it seems, palatalized velars altogether, and the greater part of the language area, viz all but Western dialects, lacks palatalized *v* (Nenets *wy*). Furthermore, the velar stop *k* and affricates *c* *cy* are excluded from the initial position, except for a few areas in contact with Khanty, as is *r* on the Siberian side. The weak obstruents *b* *by* *d* *dy* are also absent initially, though Russian influence might have changed this for the westernmost dialects.

Phonotactically, Tundra Nenets differs from Russian to a greater extent. Especially genuine consonant clusters are not numerous in Nenets and may occur only word-internally. The paucity of consonant clusters is, however, mitigated by the existence of a shwa phoneme (°), which interconsonantly gives rise to sequences that phonetically approach consonant clusters. Another striking feature of Nenets, with the exception of Western Tundra Nenets, is the lack of initial vowels, redeemed through nasal prothesis.

It has already been stressed that it is not too straightforward to distinguish between temporary and proper loan-words. Their distribution is the most crucial criterion, since temporary loan-words typically occur only once, either in the speech of a single informant, or as a creation of a lexicographer. Fortunately, our two main sources, LEHTISALO (1956) and TERESHHENKO (1965) are, while extensive, also independent of each other, so that the occurrence of a word in both

strongly suggests a status of a proper rather than temporary loan-word. Deviations from this general outset do, however, appear, as will become evident below.

A less trivial question of nativization concerns the role of stress and dependent vowel reduction in Nenets. Stress assignment is in itself a complicated matter, but one feature is certainly characteristic of the older vocabulary, that is, the first syllable invariably carries stress. This basic principle, however, appears to have been displaced now, possibly owing to the Russian influence, so that modern Tundra Nenets generally seems to allow unstressed initial syllables. There are many examples of this both here and among the proper loan-words (the · sign has been used for marking stressed second syllables). It may be claimed that stress assignment, formerly purely phonological in nature, has not only been lexicalized but partly morphologized, too. However, the topic must await more detailed treatment in the future.

The same informants of LEHTISALO (1956) who were able to produce more or less pure Russian words within Nenets speech, also made effective use of the adaptive techniques, as seen below. The meaning of the Russian originals is given only if it differs markedly from that of the loan-word, as recorded by LEHTISALO. The Tundra Nenets words, transcribed in a conventional phonemic notation, always appear on the left, and the Russian words, for which a revised English-based transliteration is used, naturally on the right.

- Sjo. 40 *oboray*^o ‘Harpunenriemen’ < *obóra* ‘долгія привязки’ (DAL II, 584); 77 *wyeryet^onâ* ‘Spindel’ < *veretenó*; 78 *wyor^osâ* ‘Fischreuse’ < *vérsha*; 135 *yoxoryow^o* ‘Georgstag’ < *egórov* (adjectival form of *egór*) [cf. O, OP, below]; 193 *xor^obyicyâ* ‘Körbchen od. Schachtel aus Birkenrinde’ < *korobíshha*; 201 **xulubâ* ‘Knäuel’ (essive *xulubangæ*) < *klub*, cf. *klubók*; 201 *xulyicy^o* ‘Schlüssel’ < *klyuch*; 206 *x^orye·sy^otyi-* ‘taufen’ < *krestít* [cf. O, below]; 231 **ludyi-* ‘verzinnen’ < *ludít*; 236 **rosol* (3sg *rosoltâ*) ‘Lauch’ < *rassól* ‘brine’; 236 *ruly^o* ‘Steuerruder’ < *rul*; 237 *ryabâ* ‘Haselhuhn’ < dial. *ryab* [cf. Sj., below]; 346 *par^odâ* ‘Bodensatz, der sich beim Kochen des Fettes bildet’ < *bardá* ‘grains’; 374 **pyat^olâ* ‘Scharnier’ (pl3sg *pyat^olidâ*) < *pétlya*; 370 *puty^o* ‘Weg’ < *put*; 395 **sør^obør-* ‘sich verhaspeln’ ? < colloquial *syr·bór*; 453 *syul^okâ* ‘Strumpf’ < *chulká* (gen. of *chulók* id.) [cf. N^o 148]; 499 *tus^okâ* ‘Henkel’ < *dúzhka*; 515 pl. *tyisy^okâq* ‘Zange’ < **tiska* (pl. *tiskí*).
- M 167 *xart^o* ‘Spielkarte’ < *kárta* [cf. N^o 58]; 167 *xar^oto·cy^okâ* ‘Photographie, Lichtbild’ < *kártochka*; 196 *xosøcy^o* ‘Birkhahn’ < *kosách*; 203 *xunyicyâ* ‘Marder’ < *kuníca*; 490 *s^oto·l^o* ‘Tisch’ < *stol* [cf. MB, U-Ts., below, N^o 80]; 404 *saray^o* ‘Speicher’ < *saráy*; 499 *t^oru·bkâ* ‘Pfeife’ < *trúbka* [cf. Oks., below].
- MB 201 **xulyâ·yø-* ‘umher fahren’ < *gulyát*; 206 **xucyâ* ‘Haufen’ (pl3pl *xucyidoh*) < *kúcha*; 229 *lobo·t^okâ* ‘grosses Kirchdorf’ < *slobódka* [cf. O₆, below]; 273 *myikulyey^o* ‘Nikolaus’ < *mikolái* [cf. O, T₉, below, N^o 82]; 420 *s^oto·l^o* ‘Tisch’ < *stol* [cf. M, above, U-Ts., below, N^o 80]; 472 *tarye-* ‘schenken’ < *darít*.
- U-Ts. 90 *yakory^oq* ‘Anker’ < *yákor* [cf. N^o 74]; 148 *xøyuk^o* ‘Kaik, gedecktes Boot’ < *kayúk* [cf. N^o 59]; 222 *lam^opâ* ‘Lampe’ < *lámpa*;

490 U-Ts. *s°to-l°* ‘Tisch’ < *stol* [cf. M, MB, above, N° 80].

• Oks. 37 *okuny°* ‘Barsch’ < *ókun*’; 148 *xøytutâ* ‘Kajüte’ < *kayúta*; 170 *xamyisyar°* ‘Polizeikommissar’ (also augm. *xamyisyar°qjâ*) < *komissár*; 206 **x°ryisyenyi* ‘Epiphánias’ < *kreshhénie*; 345 *palobâ* ‘Verdeck des Schiffes’ < *páluba*; 358 *pok°row°* ‘Mariä Schutz und Fürbitte’ < *pokróv* (DAL’ III, 247); 358 *pol°* ‘Fussboden, Diele’ < *pol*; 426 *syay°nyik°* ‘Teekessel’ < *cháinik* [cf. U, below]; 437 *syely°dyâ xalyâ* ‘Hering’ < *sel’d*’; 499 *t°ru-bkâ* ‘Zigarette’ < *trúbka* ‘pipe’ [cf. M, above].

• U 44 *usy°pyeny°* ‘Mariä Himmelfahrt’ < *uspénie* [cf. O, below]; 202 *xuru-s°taly°* ‘Glas’ < *xrustál*’; 203 *xumcâ* ‘ein ... Seefisch’ < *kúmzha*; 223 *ladøn°* ‘Räucherharz, Weihrauch’ < *ládán*; 362 *pot°* ‘Störstange’ (*potay°mpø-* ‘mit der Störstange stossen’) ? < *svod*; 369 *pud°* ‘Pud’ < *pud*; 370 (*løk°mpoy°h*) *p°ro-sy°tyi!* ‘auf baldiges Wiedersehen!’ < *prostí* [cf. O, T₁, below, N° 28]; 377 *pyeryow°kâ* ‘Seil’ < *verëvka*; 379–380 *pyenyik°* ‘Zweigbüschel’ < *vénik* ‘besom’; 385 *pyiryi-s°tøw°* ‘Polizeikommissar’ < *prístav*; 404 *saly°* ‘Kopftuch’ < *shal*’; 404 *sar°* ‘Meerenge’ < dial. *shar*; 406 *sam°sâ* ‘Sämischleder’ < *zámsha*; 420 *s°to-kan°* ‘Trinkglass’ [cf. N° 47] < dial. *stokán*, cf. standard *stakán*; 426 *syay°nyik°* ‘Teekessel’ < *cháinik* [cf. Oks., above]; 437 *syelye-t°kâ* ‘Weste’ < *selëdka*; 438 *syeryo-m°xâ* ‘Ahlbaum’ < *cherëmuxa*; 472 *tar°syinâ* ‘Sippenältester; russ. Dorfältester’ < *starshinâ*; 521 *tyur°mâ* ‘Gefängnis’ < dial. *tyurmá*, cf. standard *tyur’má*.

• O 17 *ar°sin°* ‘Arschin’ < *arshín*; 52 *wax°tur°* ‘Verwalter eines staatlichen Getreidemagazins’ < *váxter*; 44 *usy°pyenyi (yalyâ)* ‘Mariä Himmelfahrt’ < *uspénie* [cf. U, above]; 63 *werø-s°tâ* ‘Werst’ < *verstá* [cf. OP, below]; 67 *wencyey°da-* ‘zu Ehe trauen’ < *venchát*’; 96 O *yam°* ‘Poststation’ < *yam*; 127 *yilyâ (yalyâ)* ‘Eliastag’ < *il’ya* [cf. OP, below]; 135 *yoxoryey° (yalyâ)* ‘Georgstag’ < *egór* [cf. Sjo., above, OP, below]; 206 *x°ryi-sy°tâ* ‘Kreuz, Treff’ < **krestyá* [cf. N° 97]; 206 *x°ryi-s°tye-* ‘taufen’ < *krestít*’ [cf. Sjo., above]; 212 *kolyedâ* ‘Weihnachten’ < dial. *koledá* (DAL’ II, 136), cf. standard *kolyadá* ‘carol’; 223 *latin°* ‘»жёлтый медь»’ (according to LEHTISALO, Russian origin questionable) < *latún* ‘brass’; 273 *myikulay°* ‘Nikolaus’ < *mikolái* [cf. MB, above, T₉, below, N° 82]; 276 *myis°kâ (yalyâ)* ‘Михайлов день’ < *míshka*; 346 *par°kâ* ‘Leichter, Barke’ < *bárka*; 348 *pas°kâ (yalyâq)* ‘Osterfesttage’ < *pásxa*; 358 *polotø-* ‘plappern, schwatzen’ [cf. T₁, below] < *boltát*’; 370 *pudu-s°kâ* ‘Stützholz der Ruderrolle’ < *podúshka*; 370 *p°ro-kopyey° (yalyâ)* ‘Прокопий день’ < *prokópii*; 370 *p°ro-sy°tye-* ‘to pardon’ < *prostít*’ [cf. U, above, T₁, below, N° 28]; 381 *pyet°rá (yalyâ)* ‘Petritag’ < *petrá* (gen. of *pětr*) [cf. OP, below]; 420 O *s°ku-nâ* ‘Schoner’ < *shxúna*; 438 *syeman° (yalyâ)* ‘Simeonstag’ < *semën*; 499 *t°ra-s°tuy°!* ‘Zuruf beim Niessen’ < *zdrávstvui*.

The use of temporary loans was not restricted to those above, in fact virtually all informants had the potential to produce them. Only a few scattered examples are present from the others, however.

• Sj. 227 **liko (likoh pya)* ‘Linde’ < *lýko* ‘bast’ [cf. N° 111]; 237 *ryabyi* ‘Haselhuhn’ < *ryabí* (gen. of *ryab*)’ [cf. Sjo., above]; 358 *pokonyik°*

‘getaufter Verstorbener’ < *pokóinik* ‘the deceased’.

- O₂ 166 *xâra-k°tyer°* ‘Übeltäter, Bandit’ < *xarákter* ‘character’ (according to LEHTISALO, from Khanty); 346 *par°sâ* ‘grosser, mit einer Kajüte versehener Prahm’ < *bárzha*.
- O₆ 229 *lobolkâ* ‘grosses Kirchdorf’ < *slobódka* [cf. MB, above].
- OP 63 *werø-s°tâ* ‘Werst’ < *verstá* [cf. O, above]; 127 *yilyâ* (*yalyâ*) ‘Eliastag’ < *il’ya* [cf. O, above]; 135 *yoxyaw°* (*yalyâ*) ‘Georgstag’ < *egórov* (adjectival form of *egór*) [cf. Sjo., O, above]; 381 *pyet°rá* (*yalyâ*) ‘Petritag’ < *petrá* (gen. of *pëtr*) [cf. O, above].
- T₁ 281 *nørnyik°* ‘junger Polarfuchs mitten im Sommer’ < *nórnik*; 358 *polutø-* ‘plappern, schwatzen’ [cf. O, above] < *boltát*; 370 *p°ro-sy°tyâ ngæyâ!* ‘lebe wohl!’ < *proshháj* [cf. U, O, above, N° 28].
- T₆ 358 *polok°* ‘... überdeckter Reiseschlitten’ < *pólog*.
- T₉ 273 *mykolay°* ‘Nikolaus’ < *mikolái* [cf. MB, O, above, N° 82].

Among the material in TERESHHENKO (1965), there are numerous Russian words with two spellings, a basic spelling identical to Russian, and an additional spelling with the automatic sound substitutions, i.e. a Nenets adaptation, in parentheses. Many of these words still belong to the realm of the modern (Soviet) world, but are generally of a more practical value than those not allowing adaptive spellings. There is no need to list all such words here, because the reader may find a plenitude of examples in TERESHHENKO (1965) under those initial letters that are not met within the native Nenets vocabulary (⟨а б г д ж з к о р у ф ц ч ш щ э⟩).

It is doubtful whether the parenthetical adaptive formations are in active use by any Nenets. Rather they were artificially nativized by the lexicographer for the dictionary itself, and may thus be subsumed under temporary loan-words. In practice, the original Russian forms function as citation loans. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that even the nativized forms often clash with Nenets phonology, so that they were probably adapted according to a fixed mechanistic procedure rather than extracted from extant language material.

Starting with masculine and feminine nouns, most substitutions illustrate the mere absence of certain phonemes and phonotactic configurations. For example, besides the Russian forms (without stress marking) *ármiya*, *barabán*, *bilét*, *garmónika*, *doklád*, *zhurnál*, *zavód*, *kinó*, *komsomól*, *órden*, *sovét*, *férma*, *cex*, *shal’*, and *shhëtka* one finds ⟨армия⟩, ⟨парабан⟩, ⟨пилет⟩, ⟨хармоника⟩, ⟨токлад⟩, ⟨сурнал⟩, ⟨савод⟩, ⟨хыно⟩, ⟨хомсомол⟩, ⟨норден⟩, ⟨собет⟩, ⟨перма⟩, ⟨сэх⟩, ⟨саль⟩, and ⟨сётка⟩. Nenets phonology is still often violated, as with ⟨г⟩ in ⟨телегат⟩ (*delegát*), ⟨лст⟩ in ⟨халстук⟩ (*gálstuk*), and (orthographically) final ⟨нт⟩ in ⟨пант⟩ (*bant*) and ⟨пинт⟩ (*bint*). Also, since there was ⟨хыно⟩ (*kinó*), *⟨хытара⟩ rather than ⟨хитара⟩ (*gitára*) would be expected. While the Russian unstressed *o* is often left intact, ⟨хастюм⟩ (*kostyúm*) and ⟨паспарт⟩ (*pásport*) appear. One is also confronted with a compound ⟨хынокартина⟩ (*kinokartína*), where only the first part is nativized while the second part remains unchanged, manifesting the artificial nature of the procedure, in general.

Among more complex substitutions, *r* and consonant clusters are

removed from initial position by various, often mutually incompatible means, e.g. *rezínka* = «нресинка» ~ «хӳресинка», *rúchka* = «уручка», *shkaf* = «кап», *shkóla* = «хӳскола» ~ «кола» ~ «аскола», *klass* = «хӳлас» (as reference, «хласс» appears instead), *kníga* = «хӳника», *gramm* = «хӳрам», *klub* = «хӳлуб». On the other hand, some substitutions allow initial clusters, as in *zveroférma* = («свероперма») or *kleěnka* = («хлеёнка»). Variants exist also in remedying initial vowels, e.g. *otchët* = «чёт» ~ «ңачёт», *ukáz* = «нукас» ~ «вукас», *uchébnik* = «нучепник» ~ «вычепник».

Nouns with final *r* show a duality in their substitution, reminiscent of the treatment of proper loan-words on the European and the Siberian side, respectively. They may thus be interpreted either as ending in a true final *r*, which evokes the phonetic (and orthographic) glottal stop, or as having after *r* a final shwa phoneme (not shown orthographically). The first possibility is more common, reflecting the practice on the European side, e.g. *brigadíř* = «бригадир» (пригадир»), *bukvár* = «букварь» (пукварь»); anomalous for its final palatal consonant, strictly forbidden by Nenets phonotaxis), *buksír* = «буксир» (пуксир»), *motór* = «мотор», *oficér* = «напицер», and *pionér* = «пионер». The second possibility is seen in the dialectal variants Sib. «пионер», Таймур *tráktor* = «тӳрактор», Ямал *diréktor* = «теректур» (notice, however, Ямал «прикадир»).

A few forms show less usual substitutions, which implies their possible attestation in living speech. They may, however, still be recordings of temporary loan-words, so that they may be included here, e.g. *diréktor* = «тирехтур» ~ Ямал «теректур», *dóktor* = «тохтур», *zajëm* = «саям», *kalendár* = «халӳндарь», *ogoród* = «ңаңгарот», *rádio* = «радиво» ~ «нрадиво» ~ «нрадивэй», *cherníla* = «сирнила». A rare instance of dialectal variation in substitution, viz *brigáda* = Eur. «бригада» = Sib. «брикада», probably says more about distinct Nenets accents in Russian than fixed lexical difference.

As in the case of citation loans, neuter nouns show final «а» (or «я») even in the Russian version, so that *lekárstvo*, *óbshhestvo*, *otéchestvo*, and *èlektríchestvo* are first presented as «лекарства», «общества», «отечества», and «электричества» and then supplemented by «ңобсества», «ңатечества», and «ңэлетричества». The final vowel (and, occasionally, preceding *i krátkoe*) may be absent, however, as in *zasedánie* = «саседани», *zajavlénie* = «саявлени», *sobránie* = «собрани», *uprazhnenie* = «нупраснений». The same occurs incidentally among feminine nouns, too, e.g. *obligáciya* = «ңабликаций», «пликаций», *rácija* = б.-з. «ңраций», *prémiya* = «преми».

Plural nouns show occasional idiosyncracies in their adapted forms, but the picture remains inconsistent. The original Russian plural forms seem to be basic, especially in the case of objects that are paired or usually plural, e.g. *botínki* (sg. *botínok*) = «ботинка» (потинка»), *galóshi* (sg. *galósha*) = «галоша» (халос»), *konsérvy* = «консерва» (хонсерва»), *kúrsy* = «курса» (хурса»), though «хурс» appears as a reference). Russian plurale tantum are often mechanically converted to plurals in Nenets, too, e.g. *kaníkuly* =

«каникул» («ханикул»), *sháxmaty* = «шахмата» («сахмáта»).

Adjectives follow a pattern whereby the Russian adjectival endings are replaced by «ой», e.g. «журнальной» («сурнальной»), «арифметической» («ңарипметической»); inconsistently enough «дежурный» («тесурной»). A more natural method of nativization is exploited a few times for adjectives derived from the names of months (cf. below). Thus, «мартхы» and «августхы» are given for Russian *mártovskii* and *ávgustovskii*, but again, «октябрьской» is used for *oktyábr'skii*, etc.

Verbs present a rather variegated picture. Generally speaking, first conjugation verbs, with inflectional stem in -y-, including those in -ovat' : -uy-, take the stem as the base for adaptation, so that an element «-я» (-yø-) is present in the nativized forms. An additional suffix «-да» (-da-) appears in the Siberian dialects. E.g., Eur. «решая» («ресая») ~ Sib. «решайда» («хáрасэйда»), «агитируя» («ңагитируя») ~ «агитируйда», «голосуя» ~ «голосуйда», «командуя» («хомандуя») ~ «командуйда» («хомандуйда»), «фотографируя» («потокрапируя») ~ «фотографируйда» («потокрапируйда») derive from *reshát'*, *agitírovat'*, *golosovát'*, *komándovat'*, *fotografírovát'*, respectively. However, they bear the meanings of Russian perfective verbs, i.e. *reshít'*, *sagitírovat'*, *progolosovát'*, *skomándovat'*, *sfotografírovát'*, the imperfective meaning being rendered through the continuative derivative with -mpø- in Nenets. Intransitive forms with -ngko- are also created productively, and inherently intransitive verbs take only the suffixed form, e.g. *zavédovat'* = «заведуйңго» («саведуйңго») ~ Sib. «заведуйдаңго» («саведуйдаңго»). Second conjugation verbs have the thematic vowel changed to *e*, at least on the European side, e.g. (*pri*) *vinít'* = «винте-», *doít'* (intransitive, thus) = «доеңго-», (*iz*) *zhárit'* = Eur. «жаре-» («саре-»). The Siberian version of the last-mentioned verb appears, however, as «жарийда» («сарийда»), i.e. rather like a first conjugation verb.

As the Nenets verbal derivative morphology is largely productive, it is widely applicable to temporary loan-words. Thus, from Russian nouns like *doxód*, *zakón*, and *oblózhka* one may quite freely form verbs like «доходáць» 'иметь дохóд, пользоваться дохóдом', «законся» («саконся») 'быть беззакóнным', and «обложкатá» («ңаблоскатá») 'быть с облóжкой', respectively.

Words belonging to other parts of speech are rarely taken directly from Russian, except for certain conjunctions by speakers with an imperfect command of their native language. Productive means of forming adverbs, for instance, are available, e.g. from *zakón* and *oshíbka* it is possible to derive the respective «законси» («саконси») 'беззакóнно' and «ошибкасавай» («ңасыпкасавай», «асыпкасавай») 'с ошíбкой'.

Temporary loan-words are, of course, inflected as any other words of the same word-class. They seem to be subject even to the most complicated aspect of Nenets inflection, viz the accusative plural formation, e.g. «ошибкы» acc.pl of *oshíbka*. Normatively, it is claimed

that the accusative plural of foreign words coincides with the nominative singular.

In TERESHHENKO (1965), one may notice that in a few semantic fields, Russian expressions are favoured over the native equivalents. This may be seen as a normative effort to make Nenets vocabulary conform to All-Union (Russian) practices. As the question may bear relevance to the development of the Nenets language, these subjects are briefly dealt with below.

Firstly, it is difficult to say whether the reason for including certain Russian ethnonyms in TERESHHENKO (1965) was the official policy of internationalism or perhaps a pure aspiration for exactness. In any case, while the native ethnonyms *tungkoq* ‘Evenki, Dolgan’ and *xøbyi* ‘Mansi, Khanty, Selkup, Ket’ are also present, so are Russian-based <эвенк> (<ээбенка>), <долган>, and <ханты>. Of course, foreign ethnonyms in general may function as temporary loan-words, of which TERESHHENKO (1965) presents <чукча> (<сюкча>) as an example (notably, with the Nenets feminine derivative <сюкчи> to render *chukchánka*). When available, native appellations seem to be preferred by the Nenets, so that no need for their Russian synonyms exists in the language.

There is only one simple word for a quarter in Tundra Nenets, viz *ngerm*^o ‘north’. For the rest, various analytic expressions are used, e.g. *yalyâh tørp*^o*q* ‘east’ (lit. ‘sunrise’), *yibâ ya* ‘south’ (lit. ‘warm land’), and *yalyâh pødyo* ‘west’ (lit. ‘sunset’). For some reason, TERESHHENKO (1965) includes *vostók* and *západ*, but not *yug*. In any case, it would be desirable to fix the normative usage of native expressions rather than resort to Russian words.

The basic chronological appellatives for ‘year’ and ‘day’ are naturally of ancient origin in Nenets. The words for ‘month’ and ‘week’ have also been used from time immemorial beside their more basic meanings, resp. ‘moon’ and ‘seven’. In the Western dialects, however, the Russian loan-word *nyedyelyâ* is also used for ‘week’.

Smaller units of time are, as might be expected, not native but Russian words, cf. TERESHHENKO (1965) <час> (<сяс>) ‘hour’, <минут> (cf. *minúta*) ‘minute’, <секунда> ‘second’. LEHTISALO (1956) presents the word *syas*^o only in its other meaning ‘clock, watch’ (where plurale tantum *chasy*^y is used in Russian), but in modern Tundra Nenets, the word appears to be well rooted in both of its meanings, with a later coinage *syas*^o*m pærcy*^o*h* (lit. ‘hour maker’) to signify the latter on the European side. The inclusion of **myinut*^o and **syekuntâ* is more problematic, and remains to be considered again after further research.

The names of the days of the week and the months are loan-words in a great many languages throughout the world. In Tundra Nenets, the week-days are traditionally expressed simply by numbering the days from first to seventh. Sunday is sometimes characterized *nilânø* → *yalyâ* ‘resting day’ since the introduction of the Christian calendar on the European side. The wider appellation *xøbyidyâ yalyâ* ‘holy day’ is also occasionally used for Sunday. TERESHHENKO (1965) presents the pure Russian words with some sound substitutions (<торник>, for some

reason marked as a Yamal (Siberian) form, and «сетберк»). LEHTISALO (1956) presents a series of the same words from Monday to Saturday as citation loans from one informant (U), as presented above (p. 3; the same informant called Sunday *nyedyelyâh poh*, lit. 'week's space'). That being all, it cannot be said that the Russian names of week-days have incorporated in the Nenets lexicon.

Months have traditional (complex) appellations in Tundra Nenets, albeit varying slightly from one dialect to another. The real problem in using them instead of Russian words is not their vacillation, but rather their incompatibility with the official calendar. The Nenets calendar is lunar rather than solar, with four weeks to a month and 13 months to a year, a system that is perhaps inherently superior to, but nevertheless hardly survivable besides the official calendar. It is true that a few traditional names had already begun to correspond to solar months before the revolution, but then the transition from the old style to the new caused extra confusion. Thus, TERESHHENKO (1965) presents the Russian appellations as the regular choice, with normal facultative substitutions («певраль», «напрель», «навгуст», «нактябрь», «текабрь»). With the possible exception of the Western dialects, the Russian words have not replaced the older forms.

The Nenets possess a rich tradition of family and personal names. Throughout the greater part of the area, the family names are also used officially, though often in a corrupted version, e.g. «*Anagurichi*» pro *Ngønoh Xøryucyi*. Such corrupted items are naturally no longer Nenets, but may be used as temporary loan-words, when necessary.

In the western part of the Nenets country, the old family names have been replaced by Russian-type surnames. While the new surnames often derive from a Nenets original, they are nevertheless Russian rather than Nenets, and thus to be regarded as temporary when occurring in Nenets speech. They include, in their Russian plural forms as given in TERESHHENKO (1965), *Ápicyny*, *Ardéevy*, *Barkulëvy*, *Bóbrikovy*, *Valéevy*, *Valéiskie*, *Várnicyny*, *Vyüchéiskie*, *Kanyukóvy*, *Lagéiskie*, *Ledkóvy*, *Sóbolevy*, and *Sulént'evy*.

Nowadays, most Nenets bear an official Russian first name. The habit of using Russian first names also privately is, however, rooted only in the westernmost areas. There is, of course, nothing temporary in personal names, but a list of those of Russian origin is perhaps in order here. In TERESHHENKO (1965), one finds female names «Варка», «Евдения» ~ «Евдя», «Лиса», «Марик», «Матрë», «Пара», «Навгуста», «Салько», «Сандра», «Тëпас», «Халя» ~ «Халяко», and «Хатяко», and male names «Нóлей» and «Хавря», which derive mostly from Russian nick-names, and are often specially marked as belonging only to the Malaya Zemlya dialect. In LEHTISALO (1956), one finds female names *Anâ* (Анна), *Wør°warâ*, *Marpâ* (МарѠа), *Nasy°tuâ* (Анастасия), *Tâtu-a-nâ*, and *Tuny°kâ* (Евдокия), and male names *Øpony°* (АѠанасий), *Ont°ryey°*, *Wasyilyey°*, *Yiwan°*, *Yipyim°* (Ефим), *Yoxor°* (Егор, Георг), *P°ro-ny°kâ*, *Tyepan°* (Степан), *Tyim°kâ*, and *Wasy°kâ*.

As a single instance of an animal's name in TERESHHENKO (1965), presumably of Russian origin, «Сёрно» 'кличка собаки с чёрной

шерстью' (553), may be mentioned.

In TERESHHENKO (1965), there are a few loan-words with independent word-articles both in double spelling, e.g. <корова> (<хорова>), <кошка> (<хоска>), <капитан> (<хапитан>), and in a plain nativized form, resp. <хорова>, <хоска>, <хапитан>. The adaptive forms may even differ from each other, as in <корабль> (<хорабля>) vs. <харабля>. Sometimes, it may be claimed that a word that can hardly be regarded as anything but a citation loan, is presented merely in a nativized form, a model example being <хорсун> for *kórshun* 'kite (a Central Asian bird)'. Forms like <хэравать> for *krovát'*, <холесо> for *kolesó*, and <хурорт> for *kurórt* are likely to be similar cases. By contrast, one may occasionally credit TERESHHENKO for not preferring Russian words at the cost of (more) native expressions, so that at least *kárbás*, *kartóshka*, *kerosín*, *rússkii* (i.e. <русской>), *samolët* (i.e. <самалёт>), and *chai* appear as mere references to the respective *xar°bas*°, *xør°tos°ká*, *xørâsyin*°, *lucâ*, *tyirtyâ ngøno* (lit. 'flying boat'), and *syay*°.

It is clear that some of the alleged temporary loan-words may well have ceased to be temporary, and constitute thus the most recent layer of proper loan-words in Tundra Nenets dialects. Many such words may be found in the above listing from LEHTISALO's materials, but to make the picture more complete, it is fitting to conclude this section by listing similar cases in TERESHHENKO (1965). Among the most straightforward are *lyit°râ* 'liter' < *líttra* (gen. of *litri*); *mar°ká* 'mark, stamp' < *márka*; *myet°râ* 'meter' < *métrá* (gen. of *metri*); Eur. *p°la-ngk*° ~ Sib. *p°la-k*° 'flag' < *flag* (notice also the diminutive *p°la-kæcyâ*); *p°ro-s°tyn*° 'sheet' < colloquial *prostyn*, cf. standard *prostynjá*; *pøtepon*° 'gramophone' < *patefón*; *pøt°ron*° 'cartridge' < *patrón*; *paly°to* <пальто> 'coat' < *pal'tó*; Eur. *parom*° 'ferry' < *paróm*; *pocy°tâ* 'post' < *póçhta*; *port*° 'harbour' < *port*; *pyisy°mo* <пíсьмо> 'letter' < *pis'mó*; *syelo* <село> 'village (with a church)' < *seló*; *syetovod*° 'accountant' < *schetovód*; *syot°ká* 'brush' < *shhëtka*; *tulkâ* 'plug' < *vtúlka*; *xøram*° 'gramm' < *gramm*; *xâpu-s°tâ* 'cabbage' < *kapústa*; *xapitan*° 'ship captain' < *kapitán*; *xaty°r* 'cutter' < *káteri*; *xino* 'movies' < *kinó*; *xobtocy°ká* <хоптоцька> 'jacket, blouse' < *kóftochka*; *xoleso* 'wheel' < *kolesó*; *xorøb*° <хорб> 'basket' < *kórob*; *xorøbko* <хорбко> 'box' < *koróbka*; *yas°lyâ* 'crib' < **yaslya*, cf. pl. *yásli* id.; б.-з. *yig°lá* <игла> 'needle' < *iglá*; *yubká* 'skirt' < *yúbka*; *yabloká* 'apple' < *yábloko*. More problematic cases, even likely to be redefined as proper loan-words after subsequent research, are ям. *makorkâ* < *maxórka*, вост. <прасин> 'tarpaulin' < *brezént*, ям. <пэрь> 'ferry' < *paróm*, *xørâsyin°ká* 'oil-stove' < dial. for *kerosínka* [cf. N° 99], *pølay°ká* 'balalaika' < *balaláika*, тайм. <бáлок> (<пáлок>) < *balók* (a mobile cottage), Eur. <кораль> (<хáраль>) < *korál'* (a corral), *syungkun*° 'cast iron' < *chugín* [cf. N° 147]. A few apparent distortions of Russian words that appear in TERESHHENKO (1965) have also been included here, even if they may have gained some popularity among speakers, e.g. ям. <прецядатель> ~ б.-з. <пирседатель> ~ м.-з. <перседатель> for *predsedátel'*; <холкос> for *kolxóz*; ям. <сáлкос> for both *sovхóz* and

ζανχόζ; ям. <сѣчик> for *uchëtchik*; <перзент> for *brezént*. There also exists an example of a Russo-Nenets compound, viz <аэрохан> (<нэрохан>) = *aèrosáni* ‘aero-sleigh’ (cf. Nenets *xøn*° ‘sleigh’).

Loan-words proper

The following list is intended as a quick reference to all words that the present author believes to be genuine Russian loan-words in Tundra Nenets, albeit often on an arbitrary basis, as explained above. A fuller etymological treatment is out of place here, but it is hoped that this concise presentation may yield continuing efforts to uncover the more problematic aspects of language contacts in the area.

Variants that may be secondary within Tundra Nenets are included in a single paragraph. Words borrowed into the same dialect from related originals are also in a single paragraph, but separated by letters. Words that are believed to have entered different dialects separately are also presented separately, as dictated by the geographical disposition, but supplied with cross-references.

Starting with the Western dialects, there are surprisingly few words marked specifically Western in the sources (but compare the lists in the preceding section). Notice that lexically, at least, LEHTISALO’s informant U may be included in the Western area.

1. T 83 зап. *da* ‘and’ < colloquial *da*.
2. L 227 Oks. M *lis°kâ* ‘Phoca grœnlandica’ < dial. *lÿska*, cf. *lÿs’*, *lÿsún*’ (DAL’ II, 277).
3. L 322 U Oks., T 292 *nyedyelyâ* ‘week’ < *nedélya*.
4. L 40 Oks. U *os°kuy*° ‘polar bear’ < dial. *oshkúi* (according to LEHTISALO, alternatively from Mansi).
5. T 436 м.-з. *pak°las°kâ* ‘flask, water-bottle’ < *baklázhka*.
6. L 368 M N, T 491 зап. *pus°toy*° ‘idle’ < *pustói* ‘empty, idle’.
7. T 460 зап. *pyes°nyâ* <пѣсня> ‘ice-pick’ < *peshnyá*.
8. T 567 зап. *sos°nâ* <сѣсна> ‘pine’ < *sosná*.
9. T 567 зап. *sot°nyâ* ‘hundred’ < *sótnya*.
10. T 724 м.-з. *xølad*° ‘treasure’ < *klad*.
11. L 193 Oks. U *xornyicyâ* ‘chamber’ < *górnicá*.

By contrast, words that are expressly of European distribution (belonging to Western and Central dialects), abound in the sources.

12. L 20 U *antÿel*° ‘angel’ (according to LEHTISALO’s informant, however, ‘Христос Спаситель’) < dial. *án’del*’, cf. standard *ángel*.
13. L 221 U Sjo., T 178 Eur. *lary*° ‘chest (for food)’ < *lar*’.
14. T 170 Eur. *law°kâ* <лávка> ‘shop’ < *lávka* [cf. N° 125].
15. (a) T 186 Eur. *lyekâr* <лекар’> ‘doctor’ < *lékar*’; (b) T 186 б.-з. *lyekârcyo* < *lekárstvo* [cf. N° 126].
16. T 258 б.-з. и м.-з. *molot*° ‘hammer’ < *mólot*.
17. T 258 б.-з. *tompany*° ‘fruit drops’ < *monpans’é*.
18. T 250 б.-з. *myesy*° <меч> ‘ball’ (also T 251 Eur. *myesy°ko* <мечко> id., *myesy°ko-* <мечко-> ‘to play ball’) < *myach*.

19. T 250 Eur. *myes^otâ* ‘place’ (cf. L 273 MB dat. *myes^otan^oh* ‘instead’) < *mésto*.
20. T 281 *nawângkâ* ‘navaga (a fish)’ < *navága* [cf. M, p. 3].
21. L 290 U, T 317 б.-з. и м.-з. *noryilâ* ‘purlin’ < *norílo* ‘шесть съ развильемъ, которымъ пронариваютъ неводъ подо льдомъ, въ под-ледной ловлѣ рыбы’ (DAL’ II, 554).
22. L 316 MB Oks. U *nyemcyâ* ‘foreigner, (U also) Tatar’ < *némes* ‘German’.
23. T 394 б.-з. *ngob^oras^o* (?*ngob^orø^s^o*) ~ L 40 U N M *ob^oras^o* (?*ob^orø^s^o*) ‘icon, sacred image’ < *óbráz*.
24. T 397 б.-з. *ngolâvâ* ‘tin’ < *ólovo*.
25. L 36 Sj. I, T 395 б.-з. *ngow^ocyâ* (Sj. ?*ngocyâ*) ~ L 36 Oks. U-Ts. MB *ow^ocyâ* ‘sheep’ < *ovcá*.
26. (a) **ngudye-* ~ **udye-* in T 403 *ngudyengko-* ~ L 45 Sjo. *udyengko-* ‘to angle’ < *udít*; (b) L 45 M *udâ* ‘fishing-rod’ < *udá* [not marked as Russian by LEHTISALO, except for U-Ts. *nya udâ* s.v. *nya-wødâ* (300), cf. p. 21].
27. T 473 Eur. *p^olø^ot^o* ~ L 335 U *pø^olø^ot^o* ‘scarf, shawl’ < *plat* (cf. modern *platók*).
28. (a) T 483 Eur. *p^oro^os^otyi-* <прости-> ‘to bid farewell’ < *prostít*’ (cf. *prostít’sya* id.); (b) T 483 б.-з. *p^oro^os^otyi* <прóсти> < *prostí* (imp. of *prostít* ‘to pardon’) [cf. U, O and T₁, p. 7].
29. T 445 б.-з. *pangkor* ‘gaff’ < *bagór* [cf. N^o 127].
30. L 345 U, T 435 *pay^onâ* ‘sauna’ < dial. *báina* (cf. standard *bánya*).
31. L 358 U MB *por^o* ‘bewaldetes Heidefeld’ < *bor* ‘coniferous forest’.
32. L 365 Sjo., T 488 Eur. *puly^okâ* <пúлька> ‘bullet’ < *púl’ka*.
33. L 367 Sjo., T 489 м.-з. *puna^on^ocyâ* ~ T 489 б.-з. *punoncy^o* ‘snow bunting’ < dial., cf. *púnochka*, *púnysh*, *púnux* id.
34. L 380 U-Ts. M, T 460 Eur. *pyesy^o* <печь> ‘oven’ < *pech’*.
35. T 472 Eur. *pyicy^okâ* ‘match’ < *spíchka* [cf. U-Ts. p. 3].
36. L 403 Sj., T 539 Eur. *sax^or* ‘sugar’ < *sáxar* [also in Forest Nenets].
37. L 416 T₁, T 566 Eur. *sol^otay^o* ‘yellow’ < *zhěltyj*.
38. (a) L 416 Sjo., T 566 Eur. *solk^o* ‘silk’ < *shělk*; (b) T 566 Eur. *solkoy^o* < *shělkovyi*.
39. (a) T 566 Eur. *solot^o* ‘gold’ < *zóloto*; (b) T 566 Eur. *soloty-* ‘to gild’ < *zolutít*’ [cf. N^o 129].
40. T 567 б.-з. *sorod^o* ~ L 416 U *sorad^o* ‘haycock’ < dial. *zoród* etc. (DAL’ I, 693) [cf. M, p. 3].
41. T 567 б.-з. *sotíngkâ* ~ T 571 зап. *sutugâ* ‘wire’ < dial. *sutúga*.
42. L 437 Sjo., T 544 Eur. *syely^o* ‘target’ ~ L 437 Oks. *syel^o* < *cel’*.
43. L 436–437 M U, T 544 (perhaps erroneously) ям. *syelkowæy^o* ~ T 544 б.-з. *syelkoy^o* ‘rubel (in silver)’ < *celkóvyi* [also in Forest Nenets; cf. N^o 128].
44. L 447 U, T 554 б.-з. *syibye^ocy^okâ* ‘candle’ < *svéchka* [cf. U-Ts. and O, p. 3].
45. L 451 U Oks. U-Ts., T 552 Eur. *syomkâ* ‘salmon’ < *sěmga*.
46. T 84 Eur. *t^oro^oby^o* <дробь> (<тõробь>) ‘(small) shot’ < *drob’*.

47. T 617 *tøkan*° ‘glass’ < *stakán* [cf. U, p. 7].
48. T 633 Eur. *tør*°*bow*°*kâ* ~ T 669 Eur. *tor*°*bov*°*kâ* ‘fowling-piece’ < colloquial *drobóvka*, cf. standard *drobovík*.
49. L 474 Oks. Sjo., T 609 Eur. *tabøk*° ‘tobacco’ < *tabák*.
50. T 83 Eur. *torâ* ‘дора’ (‘тора’) ‘dora (a boat)’ < *dóra*.
51. T 665 б.-з. *towâr* ‘goods’ < *továr*.
52. T 676 Eur. *tura-cy*°*kâ* ‘spool (of thread)’ < dial. **duráchka*, cf. *duráshka* (SRNG 8, 265).
53. T 676 Eur. *turubâ* ‘chimney’ < *trubá*.
54. L 75 Sjo. N *wos*° ‘load’ < *voz* ‘cart(-load)’.
55. T 776 б.-з. *x°ra-lyâ* ‘queen (in cards)’ < dial., cf. *koroléva* id.
56. T 725 б.-з. *xalye-* ‘to incandesce’ < *kalít*.
57. T 731 *xampâlâ* ~ T 708 крайне-зап. *xab*°*lâ* ‘flounder’ < *kámbala*.
58. L 167 Sjo., T 752 *xartâ* ‘(playing-)card’ < *kárta* [cf. M, p. 6].
59. **xayuk*° ~ L 208 Sj. K *kayuk*° ‘gedecktes Boot’ < *kayúk* [cf. U-Ts., p. 6].
60. T 794 б.-з. *xir*°*byisy*° ‘brick’ < *kirpích* [other related forms are assumed to have arrived via Khanty].
61. T 156 Eur. *xisyet*° ‘кисет’ (‘хысет’) ‘tobacco-pouch’ < *kisét*.
62. L 191 U, T 768 б.-з. *xolacy*° (?*xoløcy*°) ‘roll (a pastry)’ ~ T 769 м.-з. *xolæcy*°*h* < *kalách* [cf. N° 121].
63. T 769 б.-з. *xolcyâ* ‘хольця’ ‘ring’ < *kol’có*.
64. L 191 Sjo., T 768 Eur. *xolye-cy*°*kâ* ‘ringlet’ < *koléchko*.
65. L 194 U, PYRERKA & TERESHHENKO (1948, 110) *xonat*° ‘rope’ < dial. *konát*, cf. standard *kanát*.
66. T 773 б.-з. *xor*°*tyic*° ‘mustard’ < *gorchíca* [cf. N° 133].
67. T 772 б.-з. *xorod*° ‘home (in games)’ < *górod*.
68. L 195 U M *xosâ* ‘scythe’ < *kosá*.
69. T 778 Eur. *xuk*°*syin*° ‘jug’ < *kuvshín*.
70. L 202 U *xurupâ* ~ T 785 *x°ru-pâ* ‘хўрупа’ ‘cereals’ < *krupá*.
71. **xurye-* in L 202 Sjo., T 783 б.-з. *xuryengko-* ‘to smoke’ < *kurít* id.
72. L 205 Sjo., T 785 Eur. *xusâ* ‘dough’ < *gúshha* ‘thicket’.
73. L 105 U *yacyok*° ‘sexton’ < *d’yachók* [cf. N° 123].
74. L 90 U, T 832 *yak*°*r* ‘anchor’ < *yákor* [cf. U-Ts., p. 6; another related form is assumed to have arrived via Khanty].

A few words appear on the European side and in adjacent Siberia.

75. L 342 O U U-Ts., T 453 *pasyibâ* ‘thanks’ < *spasíbo*.
76. (a) L 383 O M, T 464 Eur. *pyilâ* ‘пíла’ ‘saw’ < *pilá*; (b) T 464 Eur. *pyilye-* ‘to saw’ < *pilít*’.
77. **ray*°*nâ* in L 236 O OP Sj. U-Ts., T 513 *ray*°*nâh pya* ‘cross-beam on mast’ < *râina* id.
78. (a) L 439 O OP, T 546 Eur. *syenyâ* (L 439 U-Ts. M pl. *syenyâq*); (b) L 439 Sj. K pl. *syenyiq* ‘vestibule’ < **senya* (pl. *séni* id.).
79. (a) L 448 O Sjo., T 563 *syis*°*tye-* ‘to clean’ < *chístit*’; (b) T 563 Eur. *syis*°*toy*° ‘clean’ < *chístyi*.
80. L 490 O O₃ Sj. K, T 667 б.-з. *tol*° ‘table; (in L also) chair’ < *stol* [cf. U-Ts. M MB, p. 6].

Some words are perhaps widely known but nevertheless recent.

81. T 265 б.-з., зап. и тайм. *milâ* ‘soap’ < *mýlo*.
82. L 273 U U-Ts. *myikolâ* ‘St. Nicholas’ < *mikóla* [cf. MB, O and T₉, p. 7–8].
83. L 328 T₆ *nyit°kâ* ‘(manufactured) thread’ < *nítka*.
84. T 454 *paxâtur* ‘hero’ < *bogatýr*.
85. L 361 O Sj. U, T 28 *posy°kâ* ‘бочка’ (‘почка’) ‘barrel’ < *bóchka* [also in Forest Nenets].
86. L 360 O U M *pop°* ‘priest’ < *pop* [also in Forest Nenets].
87. L 358 OP MB *portye-* ‘to spoil’ < *pórtit*.
88. L 365 O T₉ Sj., T 28 *pul°kâ* ‘булка’ (‘пулка’) ‘loaf’ < *búlka*.
89. L 385 O Sj., T 469 *pyirt°* ‘alcohol’ < *spirt* [also in Forest Nenets].
90. T 593 *syabak°* ‘chibouk’ < *chubúk*.
91. L 431 O U, T 808 *syas°* ‘час’ (‘сяс’) ‘watch, (in T also) hour’ < *chas* ‘hour’ (pl. *chasý* ‘watch’).
92. L 451 O, T 553 *syort°* ‘devil’ < *chërt*.
93. T 673 *t°ro-ni* (also *t°ro-ni xøn°*) ‘wood-sledge’ < *dróvni*.
94. T 623 *tam°kâ* ‘king (in checkers)’ < *dámka*.
95. L 499 O, T 676 *tus°* ‘ace’ < *tuz* [also in Forest Nenets].
96. L 499 O OP K U-Ts. *tusâ* ‘(reindeer) carcass’ < *túsha* ‘carcass’.
97. **x°ryi-s°tyâ* in T 776 pl. *x°ryi-s°tyâq* ‘clubs (in cards)’ < **krestyá*, cf. pl. *krésti* ‘clubs’, *krest* ‘cross’ [cf. O, p. 7].
98. L 167 M, T 752 *xør°tos°kâ* ‘potato’ < *kartóshka* [cf. O, p. 3].
99. T 746 *xørâsyin°* ‘kerosene’ < dial. *karasín*, cf. standard *kerosín*.
100. T 746 *xâra-b°lyâ* ~ L 208 O₃ *kâra-b°lyâ* ‘ship’ < *korábl*.
101. T 772 *xoroly°* ‘king (in cards)’ < *koról*.
102. L 196 O Sj., T 774 *xos°kâ* ‘cat, (Sj. also) cone’ < *kóshka* [cf. Oks., p. 3].
- Also widely known but variable are the following.
103. L 290 U-Ts. *nosøk°* (cf. also derivatives L 290 U Sjo., T 317 б.-з. *nos°køda-*, U *nos°køsåway°*) ~ O₁ *nosæk°* ~ O₂ Sj., T 317 б.-з. *nosok°* ~ T₁ T₂ *nosak°* ‘harpoon’ < *nosók* (DAL’ II, 556) [another related form is assumed to have arrived via Komi].
104. L 346 U *par°xot°* ~ L 346 MB *parâxod°* ~ T 447 ‘пăрăход’ ‘steamer’ < *paroxód*.
105. L 393 O O₅ T₅ Sj. *søl°dat°* ~ T 566 ‘солдат’ ‘soldier’ < *soldát*.
106. T 760 *xøcy°ko* ‘хачко’ ~ T 426 м.-з. *ocy°ko* ‘очко’ ~ T 53 м.-з. *wøcy°ko* ‘вачко’ ‘pip (in cards)’ < *ochkó*.
107. (a) T 741 б.-з. и м.-з. *xan°pet°* ~ T 741 ям. *xan°petâ* ‘sweet, bonbon’ < *konfêta*; (b) T 734 *xøm°pet°kâ* id. < *konfêta*
108. L 167 Oks., T 747 *xar°bas°* ~ L 167 O T₆ T₁₂ Sj. OP, T 751 *xarpas°* ‘karbass (a boat)’ < *kárbás*.
109. T 157 *xupyey°kâ* ‘копейка’ (‘хупейка’) ~ L 195 MB *xopyey°kâ* ‘copeck’ < *kopéika*.
110. L 89 O Sj., T 825 *yawol°* ~ L 89 U-Ts. *yawol* ‘devil’ < *d’yávol*.
- A few words seem typical to the Ob’ area on the Siberian side.
111. **liki* in L 227 O, T 197 ям. *likih yangæsy°h* ‘mat-bag’ < *lýko* ‘bast’ [cf. Sj., p. 7].
112. L 255 O₁ O₂ Sj. *mas°tyør°* ‘master’ < *máster*.
113. L 349 O Sj., T 453 ям. *patok°* ‘whip’ < *batóg* ‘rod’.

114. L 407 O Sj. *sadok*° ‘fish-well’ < *sadók*.
115. **samâlow*° in L 405 O pl. *samâlow*°*q* ‘trawl line’ < *samolóv* [also in Forest Nenets].
116. L 412 O *sil*°*kâ* ‘exile, criminal’ < *ssýlka* ‘exile’.
117. L 416 O O₁₀ *sorokob*° ‘keg (of 40 *wet*°*râ*, cf. N° 152)’ (cf. also Sj. *sorokob*°*kâ* id.; TERESHHENKO (1990, 326) *sorokob*° *xor* ‘bochonok v 50 litrov’) < *sorokóv* (gen.pl of *sórok* ‘40’).
118. **suryi-* in L 418 O *suryi-ngo* ‘red ochre’ (*ngo* = ‘paint’) < *súrik* ‘minium, red lead’ [also in Forest Nenets].
119. L 430 O *syán*° ‘vat (for fish salting)’ < *chan*.
120. L 441 O T₉, T 550 ям. *syety*°*war*° (?*syecy*°*war*°) ‘quarter (of a unit)’ < *chétvert*’.
121. L 165 O₃ *xalacy*° ~ L 208 Sj. *kalacy*° ‘roll (a pastry)’ < *kalách* [also in Forest Nenets; cf. N° 62].
122. L 103 OP *yasâwøl*° ‘foreman’ < dial. *yasaúl*, cf. standard *esaúl* ‘Cossack captain’ [also in Forest Nenets].
123. L 118 OP *yecyok*° ‘sexton’ < *d’yachók* [also in Forest Nenets; cf. N° 73].
124. L 126 O OP Sj. *yikotâ* ‘eine bei den Syrjänenweibern vorkommende Krankheit, bei der man nervös aufschreit u.dgl. (die von ihr Befallenen werden als von jmdm beschädigt angesehen), russ. икóта’ < dial., cf. standard *ikóta* ‘hiccup’.
A number of words are generally known in the Siberian dialects.
125. L 222 O Sj., T 161 ям. *labkâ* ‘shop’ < *lávka* [also in Forest Nenets; cf. N° 14].
126. (a) L 233 OP, T 186 Sib. *lyekar*° ‘лекáръ’ ‘doctor’ < *lékar*’; (b) тайм. *lyekârsâ* < *lekárstvo* [cf. N° 15].
127. L 345 O Sj., T 437 ям. *pakor* ‘gaff’ < *bagór* [cf. N° 29].
128. L 416 O, T 566 ям. *solkâway*° ‘rubel (in silver)’ < dial. *celkovói*, cf. standard *celkóvyi* [also in Forest Nenets; cf. N° 43].
129. T 566 ям. *solutay*° ~ L 416 O₃ *solutay*° ‘gold, golden’ < *zolutói* [cf. N° 39].
130. L 437 O T₃ K, T 547 ям. *syerâ* ‘match, (O) match head’ < *séra* ‘sulphur’.
131. L 169 T₇ Sj., T 731 ям. *xamp*°*kâ* ~ L 169 O, T 734 тайм. *xam*°*kâ* ‘silk’ < *kamká* ‘шелковая китайская ткань съ разводами’ (DAL’ II, 82).
132. L 172 O T₇ T₉ *xabak*° ‘tavern’ < *kabák*.
133. T 772 ям. *xor*°*cyicâ* ~ T 157 ям. *kor*°*tyicâ* ~ T 157 надым. *kor*°*cyicâ* ‘mustard’ < *gorchíca* [cf. N° 66].
134. L 195 O, T 774 ям. *xos*°*r* ‘playing-card’ (also *xosør-* ‘play cards’) < *kózyr* ‘trump’ [also in Forest Nenets].
Finally, there is a group of words of wide distribution and possibly of respectable age, apparently known in all dialects of Tundra Nenets.
135. L 222 O Sj. U-Ts. OP M, T 178 *lapâ* ‘paw’ < *lápa* [also in Tundra Nenets].
136. L 240 OP Oks., T 220 *mølâkâ* (Eur. «мáлака», (perhaps hypercorrectly) ям. и таз. «мóлака») ‘(cow) milk’ < *molokó* ‘milk’.
137. L 252 O O₅ OP T₆ Sj. Oks., T 225 *matâ* ‘mum’ < *máma* [the

grounds for regarding this word as a pure loan-word are precarious; it is of considerable age in Tundra Nenets, as it is present in folklore, cf. O₅ *yiq ngacyar*^o, *yiq mamar*^o ‘water is your dad, water is your mum’, but it has no cognates in related languages].

138. L 256 O Sj., T 241 *mat*^o*kâ* ‘compass’ < *mátka* (DAL’ II, 307).
139. L 256 O OP Sj., T 241 *mat*^o*nyâ* ‘Zugnetzbeutel; mática névoda’ < *matnyá* ‘кошелек у невода, кутецъ’ (DAL’ II, 308), cf. also *motnyá* ~ *matnyá* ‘мѣшок посрединѣ невода’ (DAL’ II, 351).
140. L 34 O OP MB, T 410 *ngis*^o*mâ* ~ L 34 I U N *is*^o*mâ* ‘Komi (of Izhma)’ (cf. also T₆ ‘a personal name’) < *Izhma* ‘a place-name’.
141. L 358 U Sj. MB, T 478 *por*^o*xâ* (?*porâxâ*) ‘gunpowder’ < *pórox*.
142. L 237 U Oks. Sjo., T 513 б.-з. *ryes*^o*kâ* ~ L 237 O, T 188 ям. *lyes*^o *kâ* ‘(unleavened) flat cake; pie; (Sib. also) dough’ < *rézka*.
143. L 419–420 O Sjo. MB, T 569 *sudye-* ‘to judge’ < *sudít*’.
144. L 427 O Sj. Oks., T 603 *syar*^o*kâ* ‘liquor; (in T also) cup’ < *chárka* ‘cup’.
145. L 425–426 U Oks. M, T 597 *syay*^o ‘tea’ < *čaj* [also in Forest Nenets].
146. T 561 *syingkæ* ~ L 447 O OP T₆ *syingki* ‘scurvy’ < *cingá*.
147. T 561 *syingkon*^o ‘cast iron’ < *chugún*.
148. L 453 O Sj. M, T 588 *syulok*^o ‘stocking’ < *chulók* [cf. Sjo., p. 6].
149. T 668 *tolâtâ* ‘chisel’ < *dolotó*.
150. L 491 O O₂ O₅ O₆ U, T 669 *torowâ* ‘hello, welcome’ < *zдорóvo*.
151. L 497 O Sj., T 676 *turos*^o ‘plane’ < **struzh-* in *strúzhka* ‘shaving’ [also in Forest Nenets, Tundra Enets, and Nganasan].
152. L 70 O Sj., T 78 *wet*^o*râ* ‘bucket’ < *vedró*.
153. L 174 O T₁₂ Sj. U, T 757 *xas*^o*kâ* ‘porridge; cereals’ < *káshka* (diminutive of *kásha*).
154. L 81 O Sj., T 842 *yontâwâ* (?*yont*^o*wâ*) <яндáва> ‘a wooden bowl, tureen’ < *yandová* ‘низкая, большая мѣдная, луженая братина’ (DAL’ IV, 678).
155. L 192 O Sj. Oks. M, T 772 *xorâwâ* (in T a hypercorrect spelling) <хорова> ‘cow’ < *koróva* [also in Forest Nenets, Forest Enets, Tundra Enets, and Nganasan].

That concludes the list of proposed Russian loan-words in Tundra Nenets. However, a few words with a more complex history should still be considered.

There are six words with a potential Russian etymology, but which in all probability were mediated via another language. (L 37 O Sj. OP, T 397) *ngolyepyâ* ‘paint’ ultimately goes back to *olífa* ‘drying oil’; according to LEHTISALO, it probably arrived via Khanty. (L 361 O, T 480 ям.) *pos*^o*kâ* ‘fowling-piece’ derives from *púshka*; LEHTISALO hesitates between a direct borrowing and Khanty mediation; the latter possibility appears more likely. (L 166 OP) *xalyâpyâ* ‘Gussform für Kugeln’ goes back to *kalýp*’, and it is regarded as a direct borrowing by LEHTISALO; more probably, Khanty mediation is involved. (L 97 O Sj.) *yamcæk*^o ~ (OP) *yomcik*^o ‘russischer Arbeiter’, going back to *yamshhík* ‘coachman’, is simply marked as a loan-word; it may have been

mediated by Khanty. (L 416 O T₂) *son^opor^o* ~ (L 416 U, T 567 б.-з. и ям.) *son^opur* ‘ramrod’ has a double etymology, viz Russian and Komi, in LEHTISALO; the Russian word in question is *shómpol*, in Komi, colloquially at least, *sompur*, so that the latter choice appears stronger. (T 514 Eur.) *rokâsi* (?*rok^osi*) ‘bast mat’ does not appear in Lehtisalo; its original is *rogózha*, but due to the phonemic deviations indirect borrowing seems likely (cf. KÁLMÁN 1961, 225).

The word (L 300 O K) *nya-wødâ* (?*nyawâdâ*) ‘trawl line’ is compared by LEHTISALO with U-Ts. *nya udâ* id. [cf. N^o 26], but it is rather an instance of folk etymology, cf. Nenets *wødâ* ‘hook’.

There are two further words regarded as Russian loans by LEHTISALO, but for which no reliable etymology has been found by the present author. They are (L 148 O) *xøÿøb^o* ‘a bird’, and, the Russian origin marked questionable, (L 180 M, T 800 крайне-зап.) *xækur* ‘stack of turf (or stone) as a land-mark’.

Finally, there are at least two cases where LEHTISALO appears to have been mistaken about the Russian origin. They are *pyaqlâ* ‘draining board’ (372), probably a derivative of the native word *pya* ‘tree’, and *salm^o* ‘fishing shoal’ (404), connected with *salmuy^o* ‘smooth, plain’, which may indeed have gained an additional meaning on the basis of the Russian *sálmy*.

There is naturally an abundance of productive derivatives of the loan-words in the sources. To name a few, there are denominal nouns like the feminine *ngis^omyih*, the diminutives *mamâko*, *posy^okacyâ*, *xarpâsøko*, *xolcyâko*. Denominal verbs include the odorative *sâx^orÿø-* ‘to be sweet’, *xusâyø-* ‘to smell like dough’, the possessive *sadokøtø-* ‘to be with a fish-well’, *solkotø-* ‘to be trimmed with silk’, *torovadø-* ‘to greet’, the transitive *solkota-* ‘to trim with silk’, *solotæy^ota-* ‘to gild’, *turosøta-* ‘to plane’, or the captative *mølâkih-* ‘to drink milk’, *syar^okih-* ‘to go for liquor’, *syayøh-* ‘to have tea’, *tab^okih-* ‘to take snuff’. There are also deverbal verbs like the continuative *sudyebø-*, the intransitive *sudyengko-*, or the incompletive *xos^orÿøbtye-*. Loan-words are, of course, also available for lexicalized compounding, e.g. *tol^oh sih* ‘oil-cloth’ (lit. ‘table cover’), *xøl^obuy^o xas^okâ* ‘rice’ (lit. ‘stretched cereals’).

One important field of contact omitted from the above discussion is toponymy. Russian place-names are, of course, frequently cited by all dwellers of the Russian Federation, among them Nenets. More importantly, quite a few localities in the Nenets country itself have a name of Russian origin. It is ultimately impossible to draw a line between temporary and proper loan-words here, so that a list of the toponyms in question from LEHTISALO (1956) may suffice, viz 37 Oks. U *Ok^osyin^o* (Оксино), 44 Oks. *Usâ* (Уса), 171 U *Xanyin^o* (Канин), 190 Oks. *Xoy^odâ* (Койда), 200 U *Xuy^ocør^o* (Куйский шар), 273 M MB *Myezÿeny^o* (Мезень), and L 380 U Oks. *Puetsyorâ* (Печора). An interesting case, not present in the printed sources, is the name of the *Panaevsk* village on the Yamal Peninsula, originating from the Nenets adaptation **Panay^o* < *Afanâsii* ‘a personal name’. TERESHHENKO (1965) includes only one Russian place-name, viz «Белузей» in «Белузей то» ‘Belúzh’e ózero’ and «Белузей яха» ‘Belúzh’ya

reká' (28), derived from *belúga* 'white sturgeon', but perhaps a folk etymology or translation loan from Nenets. Of the two great islands in the Arctic Ocean, besides Novaya Zemlya (in Nenets similarly *Yedæy° ya*), the western one perhaps has a name of Russian origin, i.e. *Xol° ngkow°* < *Kolgúev*, while the eastern one is likely to be a traditional Nenets appellation, i.e. *Way°ngkacy°* > *Vaigách*.

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