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THE OROGRAPHIC LEXICON IN THE KILDIN SAAMI LANGUAGE

Abstract. This article presents an analysis of the orographic lexicon in the Kildin Saami language. The structure of the language is described; a componential and culturological analysis of this particular lexical set is performed, and a comparison is made between the lexical meanings of Kildin Saami orographic lexemes as interpreted by the lexicographic and ethnographic sources from the late 19th – early 20th centuries and by the field materials collected in the early 21st century. The anthropocentricity of the Kildin Saami language material is demonstrated as apparent in the way the names of negative and positive topographic landforms are structured and particular features of the geographical environment are emphasised, as well as in the presence of metaphorical terms.

Keywords: Kildin Saami language, orographic lexicon, language anthropocentricity.

1. Introduction

The orographic lexicon in an ethnic group's language is a representation of that group's place of living. Spatial elements become represented in a language as soon as they become sufficiently important with regard to the particularities of its users' place of living and the way in which they use their environment. The Saami people's nomadic way of life and their production activities (reindeer hunting, fishing and trapping) are essential to their livelihood.

When studying the particularities of spatial relationships in this sense, i.e. the specific way in which the group perceives their locus, or place of living, it becomes obvious that certain non-linguistic data about the characteristics of the terrain must be taken into consideration. This is especially necessary in order to study such an 'encyclopaedically loaded subject field' (Норманская, Дыбо 2010 : 11) as environmental vocabulary. Ever since the 19th century it has been obvious that when a linguist conducts field-work on an endangered language, he/she needs to extend the scope of his/her work beyond the limits of linguistics alone and address issues of ethnography, culturology and other neighbouring disciplines (Арханат 2016 : 198).

As is known, scientific geographical concepts can, and often do differ from popular ones. These differences are due, in our opinion, to the anthropocentricity of the material such as, for example, the orographic lexicon set which we are analysing here. Adopting an anthropocentric approach in our article, we will examine the properties of the given language that are anthropologically conditioned, in particular those which can be explained by general systemic restrictions due to certain characteristics of human activity, but also by the need to communicate and by the fact that people's social interactions are related to their situation. Whatever is named with specific lexemes plays an important role in the life of the people and is valuable to them.

2. Structure and organization of the paper

This article is composed of three parts, which contain ideas about the anthropocentricity of the studied language material relying on a comparison between the scientific and linguistic images of the world. In the first part, we present materials about the particular landforms of the Kola Peninsula, derived from geographical literature and toponymic research; this takes care of the scientific image of the world. In the second and third parts, we show how the geographical space of the Kola Peninsula is represented in the Kildin Saami language, thus providing for the linguistic image. The three parts are connected to demonstrate the possible discrepancies between the lexicographic and ethnographic sources and the field data in their interpretations of the meanings of various lexemes.

3. Overview

Geographical terminology in a language is closely connected to its speakers' natural and socio-economic living conditions. The importance of describing the surface of land or water will be different depending on the variety of environmental features at hand. A relatively limited range of words related to water items means that land surface is seen as more diverse and more detailed than the water surface. One should consider how people actually use the geographical features of their surroundings and how much detail they need for the description of their environment. The need to move around in the area has given rise to many terms describing the landscape. Naturally, when movement takes place on land, more detailed distinctions have to be made between the various elements of the landscape than when it occurs on water (Мамонтова, Муллонен 1991 : 5, 122–123).

Demonstrating the need to create ethnographic maps in order to study Arctic nomadism, V. V. Čarnoluskij noted that it was necessary to define the essential elements of the landscape which played a role in reindeer herding, inland water fishing, and hunting (Чарнолуцкий 1930). The importance of describing details of land environment in the Saami language becomes especially apparent when studying the field diaries of ethnographers. In V. V. Čarnoluskij's notes, for instance, we find the following passage: "The movements of the Laplanders apparently have nothing in common with those of the Ter Coast people. The relatively high mountains, covered by rock and sometimes by thick forests, do not offer conven-

ient downward paths or passes. It was already dark when we descended along a steep incline covered by woods. The descent itself was sinuous. One might have fallen into the ravine at any moment, even though it was not particularly high. There were deep gaps between the rocks, and rocks imperceptibly pointing out of the snow. I remarked to myself that on paths like this, one could only travel on a Saami sleigh, which would be easy to steer around trees and to slow down” (Чарнолуцкий 1928).

The particular landscape of the Kola Peninsula is defined as a natural tundra zone with mountain ranges, lakes and rivers. Large mountain massifs reaching 1,000 meters in altitude alternate on the Kola Peninsula with deep swamps and lake valleys. The mountains are characterised by flat tops and soft contours, but steep and often abrupt sides. The two largest mountain ranges at the centre of the territory are the Khibins and Lovozero mountains, topped by high plateaus reaching 1,200 to 1,300 meters at their highest points. Their steep slopes drop into the lowlands where large lakes expand (Imandra, Umbozero, Lovozero) (Рихтер 1939 : 11).

4. Research subject and approaches

The purpose of this article is to provide an analysis of the orographic lexicon of the Kildin Saami language. This will be performed through the following steps: defining the structure of the orographic lexicon within the Kildin Saami language; conducting a componential and culturological analysis of the studied lexical set; and comparing the interpretations of the lexical meanings of lexemes in the Kildin Saami orographic subset found in the lexicographical and ethnographical sources and in the field research materials.

The article proposes an onomasiological approach towards accomplishing these research tasks, based on the idea of going from concept to word. In the article, the following algorithm is used to complete these tasks: first, we present an element of the Kola Peninsula landscape; second, we list all the possible lexemes in Kildin Saami which verbalise this concept, along with their lexical meanings taken from Saami language dictionaries, from the ethnographic and reference literature and from archive documents; and third, we compare the meanings given in the lexicographical sources of the late 19th — early 20th centuries with the modern referents of these words as explained by informants.

The data collected from the informants, who are native speakers of modern Kildin Saami, as compared to the lexicographic sources of the late 19th — early 20th centuries, revealed changes not only in lexical meanings, but also in the presence or absence of lexemes. In the field studies, the material was also analysed with the aim of preserving the integrity of the lexical assets: The informants were asked not only to describe the meanings of a set of lexemes, but also to give their opinion about the “degree of recognisability” of the lexemes as shown in the dictionaries compiled by T. Itkonen (IT) and A. Genetz (G). It should also be considered that T. Itkonen met with some difficulty in defining the meanings of some of the words which he had noted down during his field studies and entered in his dictionary (IT XIX); therefore, the new light shed by a more modern understanding of these meanings is particularly welcome.

5. Resources and techniques

The study material is the orographic lexicon of the Kildin Saami language picked from dictionaries, manuals, ethnographic and scientific literature or collected in the field during an expedition season which took place from 2008 to 2016, totalling 111 lexical units with their variations, and related to 14 naming units.

The lexicographic and ethnographic sources do not always indicate from which Kola-Saami language the lexemes come. For instance, G. M. Kert examines the substrate Saami lexicon, which is "evenly distributed across all Saami dialects" (Керт 2009 : 65). This article will only use sources which state unequivocally that a word belongs to Kildin Saami.

The Kildin Saami material was collected in the village of Lovozero, in the Lovozero District of the Murmansk Oblast, which is densely populated by Kola Saami people, including informants who are native speakers of Kildin Saami.

In order to analyse this material, we must first decide how to categorise lexemes which denote a single concept but have phonetic variability. Of course, word variability is a permanent condition found across all languages, especially in situations where a word has never been recorded in writing and has been transmitted orally from person to person and from one generation to the next (МЫЗНИКОВ 2003 : 18). This fully applies to the Kildin Saami language, which, despite a history of written records dating back to 1933, still does not follow any of the graphic or orthographic standards that are generally accepted in the Kola-Saami community (see more in (Ivaniščeva 2016)). In this article, lexemes which signify the same concept but have phonetic and graphic variability, such as, for example, *вӱрр*, *виррь*, *virr* (АН 37; АФ 45; К 18; ГС 124; К09 : 123), meaning 'mountain', will be considered as variations.

The materials quoted throughout the article are presented using different graphic systems: the Finno-Ugric transcription system, a simplified Finno-Ugric transcription system, and also different types of orthographic spellings. The article quotes specimens of Kildin Saami words and word combinations according to their sources, or, in the case of field data, according to the informant's choice.

The importance of the geographical dictionary of the Kola Peninsula (ГС) for this article should be particularly stressed, as it displays geographical points of the province with their names in Saami, Russian, Finnish and other languages. Volume 1 covers 4,000 different sites with 5,000 names. Since most of the place names on the Kola Peninsula are of Saami origin, this dictionary provides, for the first time in literature, an inventory of Saami words with their Russian translations, allowing readers to familiarise themselves both with the language of the native inhabitants of the Murmansk tundra and with the territory itself. The list of Saami words provided in this dictionary is, to a great extent, a document of historical value and cannot pretend to be fully or absolutely accurate regarding the spellings of certain words, since many of these place names were noted down from oral speech without necessarily following modern Saami spelling rules (ГС 20). T. Itkonen, however, notes that from a phonetic point of view, these words were not always faithfully rendered in this dictionary (IT XXI).

6. Research

6.1. Representation of the Kola Peninsula landforms in scientific orographic terminology

The living territory of the Saami people is a mountainous area; however, these mountains are not high. The Kola Region contains mountainous landscapes called fjeld (Russian dial. *тунтури* < Finnish *tunturi*) and low rocky ridges (Russian dial. *варака*, cf. Finnish *vaara* 'mountain', Saami Kildin *vār̥r̥^e* 'mountain; forest'). The fjelds have relative elevations of over 200 meters: these are large rises with summits devoid of forests and with a multitude of rocky surfaces. The low rocky ridges have relative elevations of less than 200 meters (Казакова 1971 : 10). All mountains on the Kola Peninsula are called *tuodd̥r̥*, *tuodd^or̥*, *tūndar*, *tūndar* (IT 613–614). This is how the Saami people have always called these high massifs with flat, treeless tops. They have an appearance of relatively smooth outer slopes and flat summit surfaces and are divided by deep gorges with almost vertical walls (География Мурманской области 1975 : 11, 14).

In the specialised literature, the Russian orographic term *гора* 'mountain' is a hypernym (generic name), while Russian *сонка* 'bald mountain, hill, cliff, *сопка*' are hyponyms (specific names). By comparison, a mountain is an isolated, sharp rise within a relatively flat area (see, for example: ГЭС 73; МУ 150); bald mountains are isolated hills or mountains with rounded tops (see, for example: ГЭС 286; МУ 515); a hill is a low mountain with a round or oval shape (see, for example: ГЭС 73, 319; МУ 595; БЭС 1318); a cliff is a sharply rising, stand-alone piece of rock, or a high steep drop (see, for example: ГЭС 278; МУ 506); and a Russian *тундра* is a set of mountains or mountainous massif (МУ 565).

It should be noted that on the territory of the Kola Peninsula, all natural elevations have round or flat summits, which is characteristic of a bald mountain. On the entire Kola Peninsula, only the Russian name *Слюдяные сопки* 'Mica Bald Mountains' (located to the West of the Semiostrvsk country churchyard) can be found, while all other mountainous features are called mountains or fjelds.

Mountain names are present throughout the toponymy of the Kola Peninsula. The toponymic literature is extensive (see, for example: Керт 2009; Мамонтова, Муллонен 1991; Минкин 1976; Казаков 1952). Our analysis of place names and mountain names showed a relationship between the names and types of mountainous landscape. For instance, oronyms containing the elements *-пахк* (*Валепакк*, *Нюркипахк*, etc.), *-варака* (*Вошьварака*), *-уайвенч* (*Вурэчуайвенч*), *-урт* (*Карнасурт*), and *-чорр* (*Куйвчорр*, *Лявочорр*) denote natural rises that are part of fjeld structures. The oronym for fjelds can be found within place names that denote bare mountains (ГС-II 140), part of a mountainous massif made of several mountain ranges (ГС-II 169), a large or powerful massif composed of three parts: a mountain part, a plateau and a plain (ГС-II 186, 224), or a smaller massif (ГС-II 198) located at a divide between rivers (ГС-II 189, 227). The oronym *пахта* is found in place names that signify a cliff (ГС-II 152) or a mountain on the edge of a firth (ГС-II 182). The oronym *варака* is usually part of a place name that means a natural rise located within fjelds (ГС-II 169),

or sometimes simply a mountain that is near a particular point or is a river system (ГС-II 187, 188, 223). An oronym containing the element *-чорр* will be found in the name of a range within a massif (ГС-II 169, 174, 181, 186, 187, 189, 223, 224, 226); the same is true for the element *-норр* (ГС-II 226). An oronym with the element *-урт* (*урта*) will usually be found in a place name that signifies a natural rise in a part of a mountain ridge (ГС-II 223, 227). By comparison: Russian *варака*, *варочка* is 'a mountain with smooth sides and covered by forest', and *пахта* is 'a cliff or a mountain with steep slopes' (Чарнолуский 1962 : 296, 298).

6.2. Ranking of Kola Peninsula landforms in Kildin Saami (according to lexicographical and ethnographical sources)

Unlike scientific orographic terms, where the differential characteristics are 'height' and 'shape,' in Kildin Saami the terrestrial landforms are characterised by more detail: 'height,' 'shape,' and 'presence of vegetation'.

V. K. Alymov, a famous Kola Region ethnographer of the 1930s, pointed out that in the Saami language there is probably no generic name for 'mountain' to cover all the different definitions of mountains. In Kildin Saami, V. K. Alymov distinguishes the name used for a mountain range or massif, *чорр*; alongside this, there is the name *урт*, *урте*; the word *урт* is used in the name of the *Lujavrrurt* mountain massif (Lovozero fjelds) and also for the long, narrow and low ranges of the Eastern part of the peninsula, which are known as Russian *Кейвы*; a range with a sharp crest is called *норр* or *ноарр*. A mountain covered with forest is *варрь* or *варь*; a cliff is *кали* or *кале*; a smaller mountain massif is called *тундр*, *туодар*, which is also the name for a mountain whose top rises beyond the forest line. A mountain with no forest and a soft, rounded shape is *пахкъ*, *паккъ*; smaller mountains and hills are called *тьермь* or *виррь*. There is also the name of *паута*, *пауда*, *пауте* which can be understood both as a vertical cliff or a small hillock with round contours (Russian dial. *пахтица*) (Альмов 1935а; 1935b). A. A. Minkin has the following detailed ranking system for landforms, with no indication of any particular Kola Saami language: *чорр* is a mountain range; *уррт*, *ортть* is a range without a pass; *норр* is a range with a sharp crest; *пахк*, *пахке* is a bare mountain; *чокк*, *чохкъ* is a mountain peak (Минкин 1976 : 153–154). In general terms, this ranking system for the mountain landscape matches the ranking we used in our own language material.

Thus, according to the information in the lexicographical and ethnographical sources, the concept of MOUNTAIN is represented in Kildin Saami by the following denominations: *к̄анн̄ѣт* 'hill, rise, mountain' (АН 88); 'rise' (АФ 99); '1) hill; 2) mountain' (К 36); *в̄урр* 'low mountain, steep slope' (АН 37); 'low mountain, hill' (АФ 45); 'mountain, steep slope' (К 18), *виррь* 'wood-covered hillock, *varaka*' (ГС 124), *virr* 'slope, range' (K09 : 123); *луэхк* 'small mountain, hillock' (АН 154; К 53); *луэhk* 'hillock' (АФ 170); *п̄аххьк* 'tundra mountain; fjeld' (АН 216); *п̄аhkь* '(tundra) mountain' (АФ 244); *п̄аххьк* 'mountain' (К 71); *п̄аххьк*, *паххьк* 'mountain' (Керт 2003 : 54); *п̄агкка* (affectionate) 'tundra hillock' (АН 209); *пагкка* (affectionate) 'little mountain' (ГС 124); *пахкъ* 'rise pointing out above the forest line, fjeld, bald mountain, bare mountain with soft, rounded contours' (ГС 124); *пакенч* 'small-surface rise whose top rises beyond the forest line; bare hillock' (ГС

124); *paakki* 'high land' (K09 : 122); *шўрр* *nāxxьк* 'large mountain' (AH 20); *нёллькесь* *nāкь* 'flat mountains' (АФ 210); *югал* *nāкь* 'rocky mountains' (AH 369; АФ 426); *nāxxьт* 'cliff, ravine, mountain (without vegetation)' (AH 216); 'ravine, rocky riverbank' (АФ 250); 'cliff, ravine, mountain (without vegetation)' (К 71); *nāгкэнч* 'tundra hillock' (AH 209); *nāкэнч* '(tundra) bald peak' (АФ 244); *тёрррьм* 'mountain, knoll, hill' (AH 296); 'hillock, rise' (АФ 349); 'mountain, knoll, hill' (К 92); *тьерм* 'hillock, little hill, hump, ravine' (ГС 124); *тием* 'knoll, ravine' (K09 : 123); *тиерт* 'hill, hillock, rise, mountain' (G 57); *тўндар* 'fjeld' (AH 311; К 98); *тундр*, *тундар* '1) natural elevation rising beyond the forest line; 2) mountain massif' (ГС 124); *tūndar*, *tūndar* 'Lappish mountain (large)' (IT 613); *tundra*, *tuoddar* 'mountain' (G 54—55); *тундренч* 'little fjeld, hillock' (ГС 124); *чāрр* 'fjeld' (AH 336; АФ 387); *tšéárr^a*, *čar*, *čirre* 'low, mountainous plateau slightly higher than the upper forest limit' (IT 653); *tšórr* 'highest point in a mountain or in a chain of mountains; rise, high plateau' (IT 679); *nāльяс* *чāрр* 'bare fjeld' (АФ 387); *tsharr* 'lichen mountain' (K09 : 123); *уррьт* 'rocky mountain, high mountain' (AH 325); 'rocky mountain' (АФ 373); *urró* 'large rocky mountain' (COC 28); *Луяввьр* *уррьт* 'Lovozero mountains' (AH 325); *ортенч*, *орденч* diminutive of *уррьт* 'rocky mountain, high mountain' (ГС 124); *шаррьў* 'mountain (low)' (AH 351; К 110); *kuedshkash* 'mountain covered with pine' (K09 : 122); *vāŕŕ^e* 'mountain, forest-covered mountain, forest-covered bald peak' (IT 721); *варрь*, '*varaka*: forest-covered hill; forest-covered mountain' (ГС 124); *варенч*, *варанч* (diminutive) 'forest-covered hillock' (ГС 124); *rāŕŕteⁱ* 'mountainous terrain (bald mountains) on a riverbank, as opposed to one in a coniferous forest' (IT 416).

The concept of CLIFF is represented in Kildin Saami by the following denominations: *коāлле*, *коаллс* (AH 102—103); *коāлле* (К 39); *колле* (ГС 125); *kall'e* (COC 28); *югал* 'cliff, needle' (AH 369; АФ 426); *югал* *nāкь* 'rocky mountains' (AH 369; АФ 426); *iŕŕ^e* 'needle, tower rock; sheer rock wall' (IT 46); *pākte* 'overhanging rock, riverbank needle' (III 21); *pāŕŕt-iŕŕ^e* 'hard, unconquered mountain' (IT 46); *kalli* 'cliff' (К 121); *kālleⁱ* 'needle, cliff' (IT 85); *tšōl-dāŕŕt* 'rocky alluvial deposit' (IT 677); *čol-naut* 'rocky buttes' (IT 677); *nяццк* *коалле* 'sheer cliff' (АФ 284); *pashm* 'rocky place' (K09 : 122); *vūlm* 'small island-cliff; flat needle (usually slightly above water); underwater cliff, rocky island' (IT 775); *pākte* 'overhanging rock, riverbank needle' (III 21); *kieŕŕk-ruopp* 'high cliff' (IT 455).

The concept of HILL is represented in Kildin Saami by the following denominations: *мог* (ГС 124); *моγ^(a)* 'large hump, earth mound' (IT 258); *tieŕm^e* 'hill (on a road)' (IT 590); *vīndar* 'hill, hump, hillock, hummock' (IT 754); *pāŕŕk-vīndar* 'mountainous hill (bald hill), mountain top (bald mountains)' (IT 754); *vedt* 'small mountain, hill' (COC 28); *pāŕŕŕŕ^e* 'hill with high sedge grass' (IT 347); *ruəpp^(E)* 'stone heap, stone hill, cracked mountain or bare hard-rock formations' (IT 455); *pōŕŕ^e* 'hill, top, mainly rocky or pebbly' (IT 398).

Thus, according to the data of the lexicographical and ethnographical sources, the orographic lexicon of the Kildin Saami language makes no distinction between the scientific concepts of mountain, bald mountain, hill, and tundra. By comparison, *vūpp* 'low mountain, hill' (АФ 45); 'mountain, steep slope' (К 18), *тёрррьм* 'mountain, knoll, hill' (AH 296); 'hillock, rise' (АФ 349); 'mountain, knoll, hill' (К 92); *тьерм* 'hillock, little hill, hump,

ravine' (ГС 124); *vār̥r̥e* 'mountain, forest-covered mountain, forest-covered flat mountain' (ИТ 721); *nāgkə́nč* 'hillock fjeld' (АН 209); *nākə́nč* '(tundra) bald peak' (АФ 244).

An analysis of the materials taken from lexicographical and ethnographical sources showed that the two characteristics that are relevant to the Kildin Saami orographic lexicon are height (or size, i.e. 'large' or 'small') and the presence or absence of vegetation.

This emphasis on the differential semantic characteristics of 'height' and 'presence of vegetation' can be explained by the need to name the geographic environmental features meaningful for herding reindeer and hunting. Compare this, for example, with how lichen fields are classified as growth places for basic reindeer feed: pine forest lichen fields (mountainous or forest-covered) in dry areas; mossy lichen fields (low-land-type, in areas without forest); and lichen fields on bald mountains (on the high treeless plateaus of Eastern Lapland) (АЛЫМОВ 1929b).

The way in which the different parts of a mountainous terrain are named is apparent in the lexicographical and ethnographical sources as the names of 1) mountain summits: *vyə́denč*, *vydenč* 'small summit covered with subalpine birch forest' (ГС 124); *vyə́jyvloagk* 'mountain top' (АН 50); *v̥jə́jv^(e)* 'summit (in place names: mountain with a round top)' (ИТ 767); *laxk* 'summit, mountain top' (ГС 124); *paħħk* 'highest point of a mountain where the snow does not melt, even in summertime' (СОС 28); *nāħk̆ loagk* 'mountain top' (АФ 244); *yajv*, *yə́jv* 'mountain top with rounded contours' (ГС 124); *yajveə́nč* 'lit. little head; top, "crown of the head"' (ГС 124); *čokk*, *čokki* 'mountain peak, sharp top of a rise' (ГС 124); *tshohka* 'sharp mountain crest' (K09 : 123); *t̆šə́j̆k̆* 'summit (of a mountain) above or below the forest line' (ИТ 677); *t̆šə́j̆r̆-ḍšə́l* 'summit' (ИТ 679); 2) overhang in a mountain: *nyon*, *nyon̆* 'mountainous spur, projection, "nose"' (ГС 126); *n̆nyonč* (diminutive) 'small spur, "little nose"' (ГС 126); 3) mountain pass: *nyə́čk* 'saddle, mountain pass' (ГС 125); 4) mountain range: *naħk̆* (ГС 9); *čopp* (ГС 124); *yrt* 'mountain range, massif' (ГС 124); *urr* 'stone ridge' (K09 : 123); *ŭr̆d̆t̆* 'mountain range' (ИТ 701); *čə́la* 'range (mountainous)' (АН 342); *noāke yrr̆yt* 'chain of mountains' (АН 225); *čielgke* 'chain of hills, ridge' (Ш 25); *šarj*, *šarij*, *šorj* 'mountain range (sandy or rocky, with or without trees)' (ИТ 544–545); 5) ravine: *njə́dčnə́gk* 'steep slope, ravine' (АН 246); *njə́čk rýnn̆t* 'abrupt riverbank' (АФ 284); *ybb̆r̆* 'ravine, steep bank' (АН 358; К 111); 6) base of a mountain: *vyə́d̆t*, *və́d̆t* 'base of a mountain; mesa' (АН 49, 61); *vyə́d̆t* 'base of a mountain; mesa' (АФ 59); *v̆yə́d̆t^A* 'foot' (ИТ 776); 7) cave: *nāk̆ lyə́mm ь* 'cave in a mountain, mountain cave, crack in a mountain' (АН 211); 8) slope: *nāħk̆ ran̆n̆t̆* 'mountain slope' (АФ 244); *tér̆m̆* 'rocky slope descending to a lake' (СОС 28); *p̆q̆x̆t̆^E* 'overhanging rock, incline, mountain wall, overhanging mountain slope, steep boulder on (or in) earth' (ИТ 327); *r̆j̆x̆t̆^E* 'bench (edge) of pebbles (stone debris) at the foot of a bald mountain; slope, bald mountain incline' (ИТ 440); *v̆j̆r̆l̆v̆sk* 'flat, sloping place (ИТ 747); *p̆q̆d̆k̆-v̆j̆r̆l̆v̆sk* 'mountain slopes (in winter)' (ИТ 747); 9) gorge: *čopp*, *čopp* 'dead-end gorge' (ГС 125); *kyrr̆č* 'gorge' (АФ 134).

It will be interesting to note that some lexemes in the Kildin Saami orographic lexicon have a figurative (or second) meaning. Both in the studied material taken from lexicographical and ethnographical sources and in the field research data, there are metaphorical terms which exist in many

languages: *нюн*, *нюнь* (lit. 'nose') 'mountainous spur, projection, "nose"' (ГС 126); *нюньнь* '1. nose, beak; 2. bare mountain summit' (КА); *вуэдт*, *вуэдт^А* 'mountain base' (АФ 59; IT 776) and 'sole (for example, of a mountain) or bottom (for example, of a piece of water)' (PP), 'sole, base of something' (КА). The lexeme *вй̄а̄л̄в^(е)* 'summit (in place names: mountain with a round summit)' (IT 767) is explained by native speakers as 'head' or 'elder' (КА). Such facts demonstrate an anthropocentric conceptualisation of space, where the surrounding space is, as it were, "humanised" by relating it to parts of human body (mountain foot, mountain crest) (see, e.g., Сазонова, Бороздина 2010 : 29). V. K. Alymov has also noted, as confirmed by the information in the dictionary by A. Genetz, that in Kildin Saami *чорр*, *царр* 'mountain range' (ГС 124) has another meaning of 'side' or 'frontier' (Альмов 1935b; G 68). This confirms the hypothesis, also put forward for other languages, that the frontier is one of the major spatial archetypes and that the first symbols of a frontier were natural parts of the landscape (a river, a sea shore, the edge of a forest, etc.) (see Сазонова, Бороздина 2010 : 29).

There are relatively few names of positive landforms in Kildin Saami compared to negative ones: *вүммь* 'valley' (АН 47; АФ 57); *вүтт* 'flat (gradually sloping down) grassy mountain valley; upper limit of forest growth in mountains (bald mountains)' (IT 787–788); *нүүд^тс̄к^Е* 'valley, lowland, depression' (IT 284); *нѣлктесс* 'flatland' (АН 184).

6.3. Ranking of the Kola Peninsula landforms in Kildin Saami (according to field research materials)

A comparison between the data gathered in lexicographical and ethnographical sources and the field research data revealed the following characteristics of lexeme usage in the modern speech of native Kildin Saami speakers.

It should first be noted that in the field research materials, there is also no distinction between the concepts of mountain, bald mountain, hill, and fjeld: *нака* 'low, stand-alone mountain covered with vegetation' (ЛГ); 'small bald mountain' (ЗЕ; ЗН; ГП; ГТ); 'small slope' (PP); 'small hillock' (КА). It should be pointed out that in the ordinary mind of the Kola Peninsula inhabitants, Russian *сонка* 'bald mountain' is a widely familiar concept, yet it is practically never found in specialised literature. In specialised geography sources, bald mountains are mentioned for the Far East, Siberia, Kamchatka and the Kuril Islands, but not for the Kola Peninsula. It is interesting to note that in the Russian coastal dialects of the Murmansk Oblast, there is such a distinctive characteristic for *сонка* as 'small': 'small mountain' (Кушков 2011 : 84); 'small rise' (Меркурьев 1979 : 148). A concept perhaps closer to a Northern language mind exists in the Scandinavian languages and is signified by the lexeme *fjäll*: mountain in Scandinavia whose summit rises above the upper forest limit and is covered by snow for most of the year (see Svensk ordbok 2009 : 766; Ernby, Gellerstam, Malmgren 2001 : 165). By comparison, in the Pite Saami language the lexeme *várre* has been translated into Swedish as *fjäll* (Bengtsson, Eriksson, Fjällås, Rosenberg, Sivertsen, Sjaggo, Skaile, Steggo, Wilbur 2016 : 111).

In the modern speech of native Kildin Saami speakers, the different landforms are distinguished by emphasising certain environmental char-

acteristics such as height (large/small; higher than/lower than) or presence of vegetation (with vegetation/without vegetation). Among the vegetation characteristics, the ones most often emphasised are the presence of forest and moss (lichen). A Saami person's perception of a beautiful place is interesting, as described in V. V. Čarnoluskij's notes: "To Laplanders, beautiful places are places typically used for an event, for instance a traditional reindeer herding, or where one can relax and enjoy the place's conveniences: a nearby stream, or some soft lichen to sleep on" (Чарнолуцкий 1930—1931).

The lexeme *vārr̥* 'mountain, forest-covered mountain, forest-covered bald mountain' (IT 721) noted in field studies is explained by native speakers as follows: *varr̥* is the generic name for 'forest'; *vārr̥* is 'forest' (PP); but the native speaker adds that in the Saami languages (Northern Saami, Skolt Saami and Inari Saami), the word *vārr̥* means 'mountain' (KA). *Vārr̥* in the sense of forest has also been established in Kildin Saami dictionaries (AH 33; AΦ 38; K 17). A similar phenomenon can be observed with the lexemes *čōla* 'range (of mountains)' (AH 342) and *чoлa* 'forest darkening towards the horizon' (JIГ), *чōла* 'mountain range' (PP); 'small mountain range' (KA) (see below). The lexemes *varr̥* and *vārr̥*, *čōла* and *чoлa* may be considered as variations, given the absence of a well-established orthographic system in Kildin Saami. The spelling of this lexeme in the field studies was confirmed by a native speaker of the language. A. V. Groševa notes that in the Baltic languages and in some Slavic variants, there is a semantic shift from 'mountain' → 'forest' → 'tree' (including the intermediary step of 'mountain forest'), which may be explained by the fact that the native speakers of Baltic dialects later found themselves in a non-mountainous territory (Грошева 2009 : 24). In the works of N. N. Mamontova and I. I. Mullonen a similar phenomenon is defined as a frequent repetition of semantic chains related to different lexemes. The shifts between 'slope' ↔ 'bank' and between 'swamp' ↔ 'spring, water-hole' rare also classified among this type of "related" sememes (Мамонтова, Муллонен 1991 : 115—116). The works of N. N. Mamontova and I. I. Mullonen also record (without reference to any specific Saami language) the Saami lexeme *vaŋŋ̥*, *vārra*, *varr̥* 'forest; mountain, bald mountain', taken from a Finnish etymological dictionary, where the possibility of a Saami source in Baltic-Finnic languages is mentioned (Fin. *vaara* 'mountain or bald mountain with smooth slopes covered by forest') (Мамонтова, Муллонен 1991 : 102). This phenomenon whereby a single lexeme of geographic terminology combines several different meanings (in this case, 'forest' and 'mountain') is described in the literature as a wide-amplitude semantic fluctuation originating in the reality of the surroundings (Мамонтова, Муллонен 1991 : 115). In the case of the Kildin Saami lexeme *vārr̥* 'mountain, forest-covered mountain, forest-covered bald mountain' (IT 721), this multiplicity of meanings may be explained as follows: The word initially denoted 'forest-covered mountain', as established in T. Itkonen's dictionary (IT 721); then, in one of the Saami languages (Kildin Saami), its meaning was narrowed to 'forest'. The presence of other lexemes played a role here, such as *vūpp̥* 'low mountain, steep slope' (AH 37); 'low mountain, hill' (AΦ 45); 'mountain, steep slope' (K 18), *vūpp̥* 'forest-covered hillock, *varaka*' (ГC 124), *vūpp̥* 'low hillock' (JIГ), and *virr̥* 'slope, range' (K09 : 123).

In the field studies, the following characteristics were revealed for lexemes of the orographic group, clarifying the modern native speaker's perception of the environment. The lexeme $p\bar{a}\bar{x}\bar{t}^E$ 'overhanging rock, incline, mountain wall, vertical mountain slope, steep boulder on (or in) earth' (IT 327) is explained by native speakers as 'ravine' or 'hillock without vegetation' (PP); *пaxхьк* 'mountain covered by vegetation' (ЛГ); *пāxхьк* 'mountain smaller than an *уррьт*' (3E; 3H; ГП; ГТ); 'specific location on a mountain' (PP); 'mountain covered by vegetation' (КА); *пaxка* (affectionate) 'small mountain' (ЛГ); *пāкэнч* 'little slope' (PP); 'knoll' (КА); *пакa* 'low, stand-alone mountain covered by vegetation' (ЛГ); *пакa* 'small bald mountain' (3E; 3H; ГП; ГТ); 'small slope' (PP); 'small hillock' (КА). The lexeme *tiēm^e* 'hill' (IT 590) is explained by native speakers as follows: *тeppьм* is 'a low sloping hillock on which one can ride down on a reindeer sleigh' (ЛГ); *тēppьм* is 'dusk (or hill)' (PP); *тeppьм* is 'hill' (КА). The lexeme $u\bar{r}^dt$ 'mountain range' (IT 701) is explained by native speakers as follows: *уррьт* means 'large mountains (like the Lovozero mountains)' (3E; 3H; ГП; ГТ); 'high rocky mountain without vegetation, often located near the sea shore' (ЛГ); 'small mountain' (PP); 'cliff' (КА), while *шарий*, *шоарий* are presented as 'middle-sized mountain, lower than an *уррьт*, but higher than a *пак*' (ЛГ). The lexeme $t\check{s}\acute{e}arr^a$ (*čar*, *čirre*) 'low mountainous plateau slightly above the upper forest limit' (IT 653); $t\check{s}\acute{o}rr$ - 'the highest point of a mountain or a mountain chain; rise, high plateau' (IT 679) is explained by native speakers as follows: *tsharr* is 'fjeld' (PP); 'fjeld (archaism)' (КА). It should be noted here that this name would better fit the Lovozero fjelds than 'mountains,' since a significant part of the valleys and gorges of this mountainous massif is covered by forests or wind-broken trees. V. Lvov notes that "in Lapland, a swamp or moorland is never called a *тундра*; on the contrary, the name *тундра* always necessarily implies a dry place covered by lichens, whether it is located in a flatland, or on top of a mountain, or in a forest. Some travellers have even noted that what most Laplanders call *тундра* are rocky mountains covered by lichen, and that the Russian words *гора* 'mountain' and *тундра* 'tundra' seem to have identical meanings to them" (Львов 1903 : 7; see also Алымов 1929a). N. N. Mamontova and I. I. Mullonen mention the Saami lexeme (without reference to a specific Saami language) *tuotter*, *duoddâr*, *tuodar*, *tuoddr*, *tunder* 'mountain, bald mountain (without forest); bald mountain or flat rise without forest'; *tudtar* 'large mountain covered with small underwood' (Мамонтова, Муллонен 1991 : 94, 96). By comparison: in Russian coastal dialect, *тундра* is a mountain or rise without forest (Меркурьев 1979 : 163). When discussing the concept of tundra in Lapland (not among the Saami people), one should mention the understanding of this word as a place located at the heart of the peninsula, far from the sea shore, regardless of its type of terrain (Алымов 1929a).

The lexemes $t\check{s}\acute{o}l^a$, $t\check{s}\acute{o}rr$ ($t\check{s}\acute{o}l-d\check{a}\bar{x}\bar{t}$ 'rocky alluvial deposit'; *čol-naut* 'rocky buttes' (IT 677); $t\check{s}\acute{o}rr-d\check{s}\acute{o}l$ 'summit' (IT 679)) are explained by native speakers as follows: *чoлa* is 'a forest darkening towards the horizon' (ЛГ); *чoлa* is 'a mountain range' (PP); 'a small mountain range' (КА); *чopp* is 'a fjeld without vegetation' (КА). I. I. Mullonen points out the Inari-Saami lexeme *čolle* meaning 'rise, hill, hump' in her article about the *Чол*-topographic bases (Муллонен 2008 : 166). The lexeme $t\check{s}\acute{o}l-d\check{a}\bar{x}\bar{t}$ 'rocky alluvial deposit' (IT 677) is explained by native speakers as 'a sharp projection in the mountains' (КА).

tive differences in the orographic lexical set of the Kildin Saami language. Firstly, part of the terms mentioned in the lexicographical and ethnographical sources are no longer functional in modern Kildin Saami: Those terms have apparently lost their relevance and have moved into the language's passive reserve (*kuedshkash*, *vebt*, *vīndar*, *čielgke*, *tšǝrr-dšōa*, *urr*). Secondly, there is a difference between the interpretations of these lexemes in the lexicographical and ethnographical sources and in the field research materials regarding the degree of detail used to describe the landforms and parts of the terrain. For instance, modern Kildin Saami native speakers, unlike the dictionaries compiled by ГС or ИТ, did not indicate any such characteristics as 'extending beyond the vertical forest limit' in the lexemes *пахкъ пакенч* (ГС 124); or 'slightly higher than the upper forest limit' in the lexemes *tšǝarr^a*, *čar*, *čirre* (ИТ 653). It would seem that these characteristics are no longer relevant, which may be due to the fact that the native speakers have lost part of their traditional knowledge.

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Abbreviations

ИТ — Т. I. I t k o n e n, Koltan- ja kuolanlapin sanakirja I, Helsinki 1958 (LSFU XV);
G — A. G e n e t z, Kuollan lapin murteiden sanakirja ynnä kielennallytteitä. Wörterbuch der Kola-Lappischen Dialekte nebst Sprachproben, Helsingfors 1891;
ГП — Галкин Пётр Алексеевич (1928 г. р.); ГТ — Галкина Татьяна Гавриловна (1936 г. р.); ЗЕ — Захаров Евдоким Кузьмич (1956 г. р.); ЗН — Золотухина Надежда Анатольевна (1960 г. р.); КА — Кобелев Александр Андреевич (1968 г. р.); ЛГ — Лукин Геннадий Петрович (1949 г. р.); РР — Рахманина Роза Михайловна (1966 г. р.); КП — книга поступлений; НВ — научно-вспомогательный фонд; АН — А. А. Антонова, Саамско-русский словарь, Мурманск 2014; АФ — Н. Е. Афанасьева, Р. Д. Куруч, Е. И. Мечкина, А. А. Антонова, Л. Д. Яковлев, Б. А. Глухов, Саамско-русский словарь, Москва 1985; БЭС — Большой энциклопедический словарь, Москва – Санкт-Петербург 2000; ГС — Географический словарь Кольского полуострова, Т. 1, Ленинград 1939; ГС-II — Географический словарь Кольского полуострова, Т. II, Мурманск 1941; ГЭС — Географический энциклопедический словарь, Москва 1988; К — Г. М. Керт, Словарь саамско-русский и русско-саамский, Ленинград 1986; К09 — Г. М. Керт, Саамская топонимная лексика, Петрозаводск 2009; МУ — Э. М. Мурзаев, Словарь народных географических терминов, Москва 1984; СОС — Сопоставительно-ономасиологический словарь диалектов карельского, вепсского и саамского языков, Петрозаводск 2007; Ш — А. Л. Широв, Материалы к словарю прибалтийско-финских, чудских и саамских заимствований русского языка, Москва 2008.

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ОРОГРАФИЧЕСКАЯ ЛЕКСИКА В КИЛЬДИНСКОМ ДИАЛЕКТЕ СААМСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

В статье рассматривается орографическая лексика кильдинского диалекта саамского языка: обозначен ее состав и проведены компонентный и культурологический анализы данной тематической группы. Значения орографического термина в лексикографических источниках XIX—XX вв. сопоставляются с современным пониманием его информантами. Показано, что номинация географических объектов в кильдинском диалекте объяснима спецификой хозяйственной деятельности саамов. Выделение таких семантических признаков, как 'высота', 'форма', 'наличие растительности', связано с выпасом оленей и охотничьим промыслом. Антропоцентричность кильдинского материала представлена в составе наименований отрицательных и положительных форм рельефа, выделении особенностей географических реалий: 'высота' (большой / небольшой, выше чем / ниже чем), 'растительность' (с растительностью / без растительности), а также в наличии метафорических терминов, характерных для кильдинского саамского языка.