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Swedish Contributions to Lapp Linguistics

BO WICKMAN

THE LAPP LANGUAGE has been studied by Swedish scholars at least since the seventeenth century. At first the aim of this study was mainly practical: knowledge of the language was necessary for the missionary work carried on among the Lapps, and a literary language had to be created to make it possible to translate religious books into Lappish. The first Lapp book was printed in 1619. The New Testament in Lappish was first published in 1755, and the whole Bible in 1811.

In the eighteenth century several grammars and dictionaries of Lappish appeared in Sweden: *Grammatica Laponica* and *Dictionarium Sveco-Lapponicum* (both 1738) by Peter Fjellström, *Grammatica Laponica* (1743) by Henric Ganander, and the big *Lexicon Lapponicum* (1780) by E. Lindahl and J. Öhring, also containing a grammatical survey. Detailed information on books printed in Lappish during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries is given in the 'Bibliographie der lappischen litteratur' by J. Qvigstad and K. B. Wiklund (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, 13, Helsinki 1899).

Modern Lapp linguistics in Sweden, on a strictly scientific basis, started with the Uppsala scholar Karl Bernhard Wiklund (1868–1934). He was a native of Central Sweden, born at Västerås, but already in early youth his interest was directed towards the North and his purpose settled to make the language and culture of the Lapps the primary object of his life-work. At the age of seventeen he went to Jokkmokk, in Lule Lappmark, in order to learn Lappish and later made himself thoroughly acquainted with all the Lapp dialects spoken in Sweden. At the University of Uppsala he taught Finnish and Lappish from 1894, was made Docent of Fenno-Ugric linguistics in 1896, and Professor in 1905.

In 1890 Wiklund published a dictionary and in 1891 a grammar of the Lule Lapp dialect, which occupies a central position among dialects spoken in Sweden and also formed the basis of his manual *Lärobok i Lapska Språket*, containing grammar, texts, glossaries and supplements on the older forms of the Lapp literary language in Sweden. This appeared in 1901 and in a second, revised, edition in 1915. His Lapp reader of the year 1894 gives texts in the North Lapp dialect (the so-called Norwegian Lapp literary language), with a glossary.

In his doctor's thesis, *Entwurf einer urlappischen lautlehre* (1896), Wiklund advanced his theory of the origin of the Lapp language, according to which the Lapps must originally have spoken some other language and exchanged it not long before the beginning of the Christian era for the Fenno-Ugric language which later developed on the one hand into Lappish, and on the other hand into Finnish and the other Fennic languages (Estonian, Live, Vote, Vepse). The theory was based on the consideration that the Lapps' racial character differed so markedly from that of the Finns that the two peoples could hardly have formed a single ethnic unit at the period assumed to have been the common starting-point of the development of their respective languages. The hypothetical language spoken by the Lapps before that time, of which nothing is known, was called 'Proto-Lapp' by Wiklund. This 'Proto-Lapp theory' is still being discussed; some scholars have adhered to Wiklund's view, whereas others have opposed it.

The work just mentioned contains much material collected by Wiklund from various dialects, as do other of his works, but it is regrettable that he never managed to publish his vast dialectological material as a whole in the form of dictionaries and grammars. As far as his

lexical and much of his morphological material from the Lule Lapp dialect is concerned, however, in addition to Wiklund's own publications it is now presented to the public in the big Lule Lapp dictionary edited by Grundström (1946–54; see below), and the remaining material is available in manuscript at the University Library of Uppsala and at the University's Institute for Dialect and Folk-lore Research.

In the field of Scandinavian linguistics, Wiklund was also an accomplished scholar and he was an expert on Scandinavian and ancient Germanic loan-words in Lappish and Finnish. In 1892 he published an important paper on the old Scandinavian loan-words in the Russian Lapp dialects, and such loan-words form an important part of the material in his Lule Lapp grammar of 1891 and the doctoral thesis of 1896. A standard work on the subject is his treatise *Zur kenntnis der ältesten germanischen lehnwörter im finnischen und lappischen* (1912), and his *Lappische studien* (1927) deals largely with the same subject. Wiklund vigorously maintained the view that many hundreds of the Scandinavian loan-words in Lappish date from the Primitive Scandinavian language, i.e., from the epoch before the Viking era when the different Scandinavian languages had not split up to any considerable extent. He even sought to prove that there are Lapp words of pre-Germanic origin, taken over from Primitive Germanic before the sound-shift. That there were Primitive Scandinavian loan-words in Lappish had been shown already by Vilhelm Thomsen and has long since been considered an established fact; but Professor Collinder has more than once contended that the existence of pre-Germanic loan-words cannot be demonstrated and that such words are hardly likely to exist. That was also Thomsen's opinion.

The *Entwurf einer urlappischen lautlehre* is basic for the historical comparison of Lappish and Finnish, although Wiklund's theories concerning the relation between the two languages with respect to the vowels of the first syllable are no longer accepted. Another important contribution is his treatise on ancient Lappish *a* and *u* in unstressed syllables (1901–1902), in which he proved conclusively that the form of the vowels in question in modern Lappish depends on the vowel of the third syllable in Primitive Lapp. This laid a firm foundation for the solution of many problems of morphology and derivation.

Wiklund dealt with consonant gradation in the Uralic language family as a whole (1914–1919), but the Lapp material occupied a central position in this work. Numerous other contributions by Wiklund to Lapp linguistics, published in *Le Monde Oriental* and elsewhere, are given below in the Reference list.

Nils Moosberg, a pupil of Wiklund, concentrated his research work primarily on the so-called Ume Lapp dialect, the northern-most sub-group of South Lappish, and among other things he wrote an important treatise on consonant gradation in the Tärna and Sorsele dialects, which is available in manuscript in the Uppsala University Library.

Wiklund's successor in the chair for Fenno-Ugric Languages at the University of Uppsala, Björn Collinder, has magnificently maintained the tradition of the Wiklund epoch and made a point of familiarizing himself with all the Lapp dialects spoken in Sweden. At the same time he is a distinguished scholar in the field of Finnish and of comparative Fenno-Ugric and Uralic linguistics. Thoroughly versed also in Scandinavian linguistics, he has made important contributions to the knowledge of Scandinavian and ancient Germanic loan-words in Lappish and Finnish. In his doctoral thesis, *Über den finnisch-lappischen quantitätswechsel* (1929), he dealt with East Lappish, spoken in Finland and Russia; later he published significant monographs on the dialects of Jukkasjärvi (North Lappish) and Gällivare (Lule Lappish), as well as a collection of texts, with a grammatical survey and a glossary, from the Härjedalen dialect (South Lappish). He has thus covered the whole range of Lapp dialect groups, from the north-eastern to the southern Lapp territories.

Collinder has dealt on several occasions with the problem of the position occupied by

Lappish within the Fenno-Ugric family of languages (1944, 1945, 1954a), and in opposition to Wiklund and the Finnish scholar Paavo Ravila he concludes that Lappish cannot be shown to be more closely related to Finnish than to Mordvin and Cheremis. He does not, therefore, consider that a separate Fenno-Lappish proto-language must have existed. Even if it is admitted that the Lapps and Finns cannot have a common racial origin he thinks that the Lapps, together with the Ob-Ugrians and the Samoyeds, may be descendants of the speakers of Primitive Uralic, and that the other western Fenno-Ugric peoples may be those who have exchanged their original language for a Fenno-Ugric one.

Collinder has always been keenly interested in phonetics, and among valuable contributions to our knowledge of Lapp phonetics is a paper on the conception of quantity with special reference to Lappish (1928). Other relevant works by Collinder are given in the Reference list.

One prominent Swedish investigator in the field of Lapp linguistics is a Lapp by birth, Israel Ruong. His doctoral thesis (1943) represents a thorough investigation into the Lapp system of verbal derivation, based on his own native tongue, the Pite Lapp dialect of Arjeplog parish. Perhaps only someone whose mother tongue is Lappish and who has received a thorough linguistic training could have mastered and adequately explained the subtle shades of meaning of the manifold derivation groups and the system they form. Ruong has also prepared school-books on, and in, the Lapp language for Lapp children, and is preparing more.

Gustav Hasselbrink has devoted his linguistic research work particularly to the South Lapp dialect of Vilhelmina parish, with which he has been closely acquainted for many years as a clergyman. His thesis (1944) dealt with the phonology of this dialect and is an especially welcome addition to our knowledge of South Lappish, all the more so since the Vilhelmina dialect was formerly one of the least known. Hasselbrink has also, in collaboration with the Norwegian scholar Knut Bergsland, published a South Lappish reader (1957) which includes a grammar, texts and a glossary.

A very important contribution to the knowledge of Lappish in recent years is the extensive Lule Lapp dictionary, provided with both Swedish and German translations of the words and phrases, compiled by Harald Grundström on the basis of material collected by K. B. Wiklund, Björn Collinder and himself (1946-1954). It also contains a detailed survey of the declension and conjugation of the dialect in the form of paradigms. Grundström lived for over twenty-five years in Jokkmokk as a clergyman and had acquired an intimate knowledge of the Lule Lapp dialect. He published, in Lappish, the autobiography of the nomad reindeer-owner Anta Pirak, as dictated to him by the author, and furnished it with a Swedish translation and a glossary in Swedish and German of the words occurring in the text (1939). The German translation was carried out in both cases by the German scholar Wolfgang Schlachter.

Tryggve Sköld, a student of Collinder's, has published a paper dealing with some Primitive Scandinavian loan-words in Lappish (1954). Among works in preparation at the Institute for Fenno-Ugric Languages at Uppsala is an etymological dictionary of the Lapp language.

The scholars mentioned above and several others have carried out linguistic field-work among the Lapps, collecting lexical, grammatical, toponymical, and other material of value for the study of Swedish Lapp dialects. The major part of this manuscript material is found at the Uppsala Institute for Dialect and Folk-lore Research (Uppsala Landsmåls- och Folkminnesarkiv) or at the Swedish Institute for Place-Name Research (Svenska Ortnamnsarkivet), also in Uppsala. The References appended to this paper record printed works only, but the manuscript material belonging to the University Library and to the Institute for Dialect and Folk-lore Research has been listed by Collinder in the periodical *Svenska Landsmål och Svenskt Folkliv* for 1956 (pp. 36-50). The Institute also possesses a rich collection of material on gramophone records, covering all Lapp dialects spoken in Sweden and in adjacent parts of Norway and Finland.

NOTE

As the extensive literature, often in the Scandinavian languages or Finnish, dealing with the ethnography, language, and folk-lore of the Lapps was almost unknown to anthropologists outside Scandinavia, the Royal Anthropological Institute requested a number of scholars to review the studies carried out in their respective countries, the series being edited by Dr E. J. Lindgren. Norwegian contributions to Lapp Ethnography and to research on the Lappish language and folk-lore were described by G. Gjessing, K. Bergsland and R. Th. Christiansen in the JOURNAL, Vol. 78, 1947 and Vol. 80, 1950; 'Swedish Contributions to Lapp Ethnography', by Ernst Manker, appeared in Vol. 82, 1952, and 'Swedish Research on the Religion and Folk-lore of the Lapps' by Åke Hultkrantz, in Vol. 85, 1955.—Ed.

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