The Russian loanwords in literary Estonian
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Chapter 2

Estonian-Russian historical and language contact

2.1. Historical and sociolinguistic background of Estonian-Russian contacts

The first Slavic-Estonian contacts

There is no precise agreement as to when the Slavs first came into contact with Finnic tribes. The East Slavs arrived in North-Western Russia, where they presumably had contact with Finnic tribes, some time in the second half of the first millennium AD, but there is no consensus as to when: estimates range from the 5th century AD (RAUN 1991, 8), the 6th (BERECZKI 2000, 14), the 7th (KIPARSKY 1963, 13) to the 8th (ISSATSCHENKO 1980, 26); there is thus a difference of more than 300 years.

The earlier dates seem to be contradicted by archaeological finds, and placing the first Estonian-Slavic contacts in the 8th – 9th century is probably not too far off the mark (SELIRAND 1987, 157).

From these times stem the oldest Slavic loanwords in the Finnic languages (which had already split up by then, thus partially explaining the uneven distribution of Slavic loanwords), mainly concerning agriculture, handicraft and certain aspects of social organisation. In 862 Viking rulers founded a state on what is now Russian territory; the Primary Chronicle (Russ. Повесть временных лет) tells us that three Viking brothers, Rjurik (Hroerekr), Sineus (Sikniutr) and Truvor (Thorwardr) were invited by the East Slavs to rule over them. They answered the call and came together with their families and retinue. Of the three brothers Truvor established himself in Isaborg (Russ. Изборск, Est. Irboska), a town now

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21 Here we do not take the 1950s Soviet ‘continuity’ theory into account. This proposed and enforced the idea of the Slavs already being present in the area some 2000 years ago. Estonian linguists and archeologists also had to accept this as true; cf. e.g. ‘Первые соприкосновения славян с прибалтийскими финнами относятся еще ко времени до новой эры….Тесные регулярные взаимо-отношения с восточными славянами начались примерно в начале новой эры и продолжаются и в наши дни’ (ARISTE 1953, 5).
in the Pskov oblast of Russia that used to belong to Estonia; already then it must have had a mixed population (Gitermann 1965, I, 38-39).

The official date when Russia embraced Christianity is usually taken to be 988 or 989 AD, though Christianity had already gained a foothold in Russia more than a century earlier: ‘Soon after 860 ambassadors from the Rhos were baptised in Constantinople, and in 867 the Patriarch Photius was able to announce that the Russians, who formerly surpassed all peoples in cruelty, had now accepted Christianity…’ (Obolesny 1966, 496; cf. also Obolesny 1959, 25; Obolesny 1966, 516).

There is also mention of a church in Kiev already in 945 (Obolesny 1959, 26). But not even these earlier dates can be taken as termini post quem for oldest Slavic loanwords including Christian terms like Est. rist ‘cross’ (< ORuss. кръсть), papp23 ‘priest’ (< ORuss. попь), as they are all common Slavic24 and thus undoubtedly in use in Russia long before Vladimir the Great’s time (cf. Kalima 1952, 195).

There are theories that claim that Novgorod was christianised from Bohemia and Moravia independently of Kiev25, which would have forced us to take the possibility of West Slavic into account, but these have been convincingly rejected by Birnbaum (1996, 60).

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22 Beljaev (1929, 244-245) and Vernadsky (1952, 339-340) write that ‘Sineus’ and ‘Truvo’, names which are not recorded in western chronicles, are possibly only epithets for Rurik, supposedly corresponding to Old Norse signjotr ‘victorious’ and pruwar ‘trustworthy’. A legend of three brothers founding a state was known in Kiev, and the chronicler adapted this to Novgorod too.

23 This loanword is already attested in the 1224 Heinrici Chronicon Livonie; cf. papp in the wordlist.

24 Old Russ. кръсть ‘cross’ and попь ‘priest’ are Old Church Slavic loanwords of Germanic origin (probably borrowed from Germanic sometime between 600 and 800 AD; cf. Kiparsky 1934, 228-229; Rew I, 661-662; II, 405).

25 First advanced in 1930 by Nikol’sky (cf. Issatschenko 1980, 35-36). Based on supposed Old Czech influence in Novgorod manuscripts Novgorod was Christianised from Bohemia and Moravia, not from Kiev (Obolesny 1959, 25-26; Obolesny 1966, 515; Lunt 1975, 270; Issatschenko 1980, 35-36). However, though 10th century Russia certainly did undergo Christian influences not only from Byzantium, Bohemia and Moravia but also from the Greek cities in the Crimea, the Christian communities in the Khazar empire, Bulgaria, and further afield, Rome and even Germany (Obolesny 1959, 26), there is no unequivocal basis to assume that Novgorod was separately converted to Christianity from the Slavic West (Birnbaum 1996, 60).

According to Pritsak (1981, 31, 159-163, 583) a Danish king from the 9th – 10th century, whom Pritsak (1981, 121-123) identifies as Oleg from the Russian Primary Chronicle, transplanted West Slavs from Denmark to Eastern Europe. Novgorod’s inhabitants were supposedly descendants of these West Slavs. There is a documented case of Estonian-West-Slavic contact in 1219 in Tallinn, when the Slavic prince Vislav, a vassal of the Danish king Waldemar II, fought the Estonians in the Danish attempt to take the fort of Lindanise (PistoHlkors 1994, 50-53; cf. also Christiansen 1997, 71-72)
In 1030 Jaroslav, son of Vladimir, conquered the Estonian settlement of Tarbatu (now Tartu) and built a citadel there, which he named Jurjev, as well as an Orthodox church. Russian presence proved to be of short duration: Jaroslav’s son Izjaslav sent military parties to Estonia to levy taxes and in 1060 he taxed the Estonians of the province Sakala too heavily. The Sakalians rebelled and turned on the tax collectors, then went on to reconquer Tarbatu (in 1061) and even attacked Pskov.

In the 1100s there was renewed fighting between Russia and Estonia. Mstislav, prince of Novgorod, attacked North-East Estonia in 1111, 1113 and 1116; in the years 1130, 1132 and 1134 his son Vsevolod did. The Estonians in turn attacked Pskov again in 1177, which caused Novgorod to launch a massive attack in 1178, led by Mstislav the Brave. In 1192 Jaroslav, prince of Novgorod, captured Tartu and burned Otepää. Neither citadel was in Russian hands for long, though. Russian influence remained negligible, even though the Orthodox church in Tartu was not destroyed nor the Russian trades- and craftsmen who had settled there evicted. Soon after a stronger force would appear.

The arrival of the Germans

In 1184 Bishop Meinhard landed on the shore of the Dvina in what is now Latvia. After having subjugated and christened the local Latvians and Livonians with help of the Order of the Knights of the Cross, usually known as the Sword Brethren, crusaders of a German order, he turned his attention to the Estonians. The struggle against the Estonians lasted about two decades (1208-1227). The eventual defeat of the Estonians was due to their disunity, which forced them to sometimes call in the Russians for help.  

The provinces of Sakala and Ugandi surrendered in 1215, Járvamaa in 1217 and Läänemaa in 1218. Despite German successes Bishop Meinhard asked for Danish help and the Danes landed in 1219 at Lindanise, where they built a fort, called Taani linn ‘the Danish fortress’ by the Estonians. This later became Tallinn. Between 1221 and 1223 the Estonians tried three times to storm it, once with help from the Russians (cf. Raun 1991, 255, note 5), but did not

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26 Interesting is how Estonian (e.g. Raun) and Latvian (e.g. Plakans) historians have divergent views of the extent of this Russian-Estonian co-operation: ‘The Russians, who retained a traditional interest in the area, were at times actively sought by the Estonians as a counter-force to the Germans and their allies.’ (Raun 1991, 16); ‘The successes of Bishop Albert and the Swordbrothers threatened the Russian principalities to the east, and in 1217 there were a series of Estonian-Russian moves against the crusaders… For the next ten years warfare continued between the crusader-Danish forces and the Estonian-Russian forces…’ (Plakans 1994, 16-17).

27 Kudrijavcev (2000, 73) suggests Tallinn may derive from talh ‘winter’ and linn ‘town’.
succeed in entering it. By 1227 all of what is now Estonia was under foreign rule, a situation that would last for nearly 700 years.

In 1236 the Sword Brethren were defeated by the Lithuanians and Semigallians at Saule (probably Šiauliai in present-day Lithuania); the remaining Brethren united with the Teutonic Order of Prussia. From then on the German crusading order in the Baltic was known as the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Knights.

To repel German and Swedish incursions to Russian territory Alexander Nevsky invaded Estonia\(^\text{28}\) in 1242. In the battle on the frozen Lake Peipus the Knights, together with the Estonians, lost, and thus the eastward expansion of the Knights was curtailed. Setumaa, a province to the east of Võrumaa, was attached to the duchy of Pskov. Since then the Setu’s have undergone a much stronger Russian influence\(^\text{29}\) than the rest of Estonia, and they are mostly of the Orthodox faith. The Danes sold northern Estonia to the Teutonic Knights of Prussia in 1346, who in turn passed it on to the Livonian Order the next year.

The fourteenth century was relatively peaceful; trade between Baltic German lands and Novgorod and Pskov blossomed. There were occasional raids (1341-2, 1368 and 1377), but on the whole there was peace. After Lithuania converted to Christianity in 1386 its resultant increase in power caused to renew its attempts to subjugate the Russians. Emboldened by this the Livonian Order sought to conquer Pskov in 1406, 1407 and 1408, but to no avail. In 1444 an attempt was made to take Jamburg, a Novgorod stronghold, without success, though the Order did lay waste to the countryside and took Vote prisoners, who were resettled near Bauska, south-east of Riga.\(^\text{30}\)

\(^{28}\) Here we diverge from accepted usage by using ‘Estonia’ for both the northern half of present-day Estonia (historically: G. *Estland*, Russ. Эстляндия) and the northern half of Livonia (G. *Livland*, Russ. Лифляндия).

Livonia comprised the southern half of present-day Estonia and the northern half of present-day Latvia. The political entity ‘Estonia’, consolidating ‘Estland’ and the northern half of Livonia, did not actually come into being until 1917.

\(^{29}\) Buck (1909, 51) claims that the Setu use less Russian words than is normally assumed: Estonians think they do because they either read Setu anecdotes, songs and stories in newspapers or almanacs (where Russian influence is stronger, as any literate Setu was then educated in Russian), or they hear them from migrant Setu traders, who by virtue of their profession know more Russian than the Setu that live in villages.

\(^{30}\) These captured prisoners were called *krievipõl* ‘little Russians’ by the Latvians, as they came from Russian territory. Their dialect of Votic became extinct in the 19th century (cf. Winkler 1997 for an exhaustive monograph on the Krevanians and their language). The same word is maybe found in the Estonian expression *oh sa kreeven* ‘oh you kreeven’ recorded by Allik (1928, 9) in 1920s schoolboy slang.
The Orthodox church that Jaroslav the Wise had founded in Tarbatu remained active till 1472, when crusading knights killed the local Orthodox priest and 72 members of his congregation. It might not be a coincidence that only a year after, in 1473, an Orthodox monastery was founded in Petseri. Thus Roman Catholicism remained the only accepted religion in the Baltic German lands until 1524, when the Reformation reached Estonia.

**Russia and Sweden fight over the Baltic**

A formal alliance was concluded between Pskov and Moscow, which was steadily growing in power. In 1471 Ivan III of Moscow invaded Novgorod, with the connivance of Pskov, and war with Livonia did not seem far off. In 1480 the Order carried out a pre-emptive attack on Pskov, but without great success. In 1501 the Russians invaded Livonia, laying waste to large parts of it. The Order, knowing it was up against a much greater power, retaliated the next year. Peace was made in 1503; it was to last 55 years.

In 1558 Ivan the Terrible invaded Livonia through Alutaguse in the north-east, an area where there already were Russians present, mostly on the banks of the Narva and in Narva itself and by Lake Peipsi. During the so-called Livonian war (also called the ‘First Northern War’) Russians were sent from Novgorod to work in Livonia. From this time onwards Russians move into this area. In 1560 the Order suffered a total defeat at the hands of the Russians at Härgmäe (now Ergeme in northern Latvia) and in 1561 Tallinn and the nobility of northern Estonia swore loyalty to the Swedish king. In the same year the southern regions capitulated to the king of Poland. The German nobility, though, retained its rights, granted to it in 1561 by the Poles with the ‘privilegium Sigismundi Augusti’, which was to be the basis of German domination until Estonian independence in 1918.

Capitulation did not mean peace, though. In the 1570s Russia fought Sweden, gaining control by 1576 over northern Estonia, except Tallinn. Poland entered the war too in 1579, and in 1582 Russia and Poland made peace, with Russia renouncing all claims to Livonia. The war with Sweden lasted another year, but smaller local wars kept breaking out. In 1595 the treaty of Täyssinä was finally signed, giving Sweden the right to northern Estonia up to Narva.

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31 A description is given in the Old Russian literary work Житие священно-мученика Исидора и с ним сопострадавших 72 юрьевских мучеников (cf. SLOVAŘ KNIŽNIKOV 1988, 284-285).

32 A Russian poem about Narva from 1665 is LEON BELOUS’ Плач о реке Нарове (cf. SLOVAŘ KNIŽNIKOV 1992, 131-134).

33 Cf. LHV 1929, 20. There were possibly also non-Russians (Tatars?) from further afield: the name Mustafa is recorded near the river Narva in the 17th century (MOORA 1964, 50).
Sweden then fought Poland between 1600 and 1629, when the armistice of Altmark gave Sweden control of the entire Baltic area north of the Daugava except for Saaremaa, which remained in Danish hands. A more permanent treaty with Poland was concluded in 1660 with the Treaty of Oliva, with Russia in 1661 with the Treaty of Kardis.

In 1666 there was a schism in the Orthodox Church in Russia: patriarch Nikon wanted to have the liturgy simplified, remove ‘wrong interpretations’ from the church books and bring the Russian Orthodox believers closer to other Greek Catholic Churches. Those that did not recognise these reforms, the so-called Old Believers (< Russ. староверы ‘Old Believers’, старообрядцы ‘Old Ritualists’ or древнеправо-славные ‘Old Orthodox’) were in 1685 deprived of the protection of the law and persecuted. Many fled to Estonia: via Räpina in the south, via Gdov and Piiriisaar and in the north via the forests of Alutaguse. In 1690 they are mentioned in ecclesiastical inspection protocols: farmers in Mustvee on Lake Peipsi protest against ‘Ruszkolleschken’ (Russ. раскольник ‘schismatic’; cf. raskolnik) in their midst (LHV 1929, 36). Larger colonies came into existence in the 1730s. Sub-sects represented in Estonia include the Fedossevians, named after the Novgorod priest Fedossi Vassiliev, and the Pomors, from Russ. помор ‘coast-dweller’ (cf. Hollberg 1994). These Old Believers did not marry outside their communities and lived secluded lives. By 1846 their numbers had grown to about 4600; their highest number was in the 1930s, when the census recorded more than 8000. Since then their number has gone downwards. Unlike most other Russians in Estonia, the Old Believers were mostly bilingual. In the Alutaguse area there were also the so-called poluverniks: bilingual Lutherans of Russian origin, though they had retained some elements of the Orthodox practice.  

**Russia triumphant**

In 1700 Peter I of Russia, together with Poland and Denmark, attacked Sweden, but was defeated by Charles XII at Narva. The Swedish king, however, did not follow up his success but went on to campaign in Poland, leaving behind only a small force in the Baltic. Russia occupied Tartu and Narva in 1704, and after Sweden’s defeat at Pultava in 1709 Russia forced

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34 By 1645, when Saaremaa fell to Sweden in the Treaty of Brömsebro, the whole Estonian-speaking area was under Swedish control.

35 From Russ. полу- ‘half’ and верить ‘to believe’. Cf. Truusman 1890, LHV 1929, Ariste 1930, Erenberg 1934, and Kaldmaa 1937. Russ. полуверник — полуверац was also used by Russians to denote the Setu’s in south-eastern Estonia (Buck 1909, 3; Lõuna 2003, 14).
the surrender of Tallinn and Pärnu (all other towns having been destroyed\textsuperscript{36}) in 1710, thus ending Swedish power in the area. Whilst the official peace was not made till 1721 in Uusikaupunki in Finland, for all practical purposes Estonia and Livonia were under Imperial Russia from 1710 onwards (Curonia, or Polish Livonia, \textit{Inflanty} in Polish, was added to Livonia after Poland’s third partition in 1795).

Though formally part of the Russian empire in the Baltic provinces, the German elite stayed in place. There are various reasons for this: for Russia as an emerging great power the administrative and military skills of these Baltic Germans could prove to be useful (the development of local institutions was in great part due to the Swedes); in order to achieve her foreign-policy objectives the support of the elite of the new borderland was needed; the established commercial and financial connections of the Baltic with Germany and Western Europe had to be maintained and developed. In short they were a useful intermediary. The Baltic Germans also had a very effective lobby in St. Petersburg, unlike for example the Ukrainians.

After Peter I’s death in 1725 the next rulers did not make any significant changes to the status of the Baltic lands; during Elizabeth’s reign (1741-1761) they were even expanded. Change would come with Catherine II, who in 1764 ordered the borderlands and Finland to be Russified (обрусеть). Catherine, however, did not use the intransitive verb ‘to become Russified’ in the modern dictionary sense of forcibly making Russians out of non-Russians but rather in the eighteenth-century sense of making the borderlands conform to the law and administrative norms of the Russian centre (Thaden 1984, 17).

In 1783, in a first serious step to strip the area of its privileges, the Provincial Reform of 1775 was finally extended to Estonia and Livonia. This concerned major administrative and social reforms; now the economic and administrative unification of the Baltic towns with the rest of the empire was complete. The poll tax was also introduced. This last measure, however, affected the peasants more than the Baltic Germans, so these did not protest.

Due to these reforms and previous ones knowledge of Russian increased considerably in these times: from the 1760s onwards Baltic towns were forced to permit competition from Russian merchants and accept non-Germans into their guilds. Baltic schools were urged to help prepare their pupils for state service by teaching them Russian (Thaden 1984, 28-29).

\textsuperscript{36} For comparison the population of Estonia was between 350,000 and 470,000 in 1695, whilst by 1712 it had dropped to 150,000 - 170,000 (Palli 1998, 44).
By 1795 the percentage of Russians in Estonia had increased to 1.1%, compared to 0.3 in 1719 (KAPPELER 2001, 102).

In 1796, however, Paul I returned all the previous privileges to the Baltic Germans. This situation was to remain until 1830, ending with the outbreak of the Polish insurrection.

From 1797 Estonian men also had to serve in the Tsarist army. From 1874 to 1917 there was compulsory military service in Russia, but from 1705 to 1874 only a certain percentage of the male population was forced to serve; the period served, however, was extremely long, some 25 years in the beginning (only from 1830 were they allowed to go on leave). In times of peace only 4 to 6 recruits out of 1000 were called up, in times of war more. It is estimated that from 1797 to 1874 some 95,000 Estonians served in the army (TANNBERG 1998, 325), of which perhaps only some 20% eventually returned to Estonia (TANNBERG 1998, 323). These recruits of course learned good Russian in these 25 years (many in fact hardly spoke Estonian anymore afterwards), but as relatively few returned they probably had no great influence on the Estonian of the time.

Between 1816 and 1819 the Estonian and Latvian serfs were emancipated. This also gave impetus to the development of rural elementary education in the three Baltic provinces, though they were still economically dependent on the German landowners.

Since the Reformation, a limited amount of instruction, especially in reading and learning the catechism, had been given by church sextons (usually Estonians or Latvians) under the general direction of the Lutheran pastors. During the time of Swedish rule, peasant education was brought under the overall supervision of the high church warden, and textbooks were translated into Estonian and Latvian. Neither the Swedes nor the Russians had considered schools state institutions but had left its support to the local German communities. The schools were under the exclusive authority of the nobility and the clergy (this being sanctioned by St. Petersburg): thus the Russian government had been altogether eliminated from the business of elementary education in the Baltic region (THADEN 1984, 109-112). Due to a lack of teachers and funding Russia had difficulties improving her own educational standards, let alone those of the Baltics, already much higher. There were fears, though, that this system made it too easy to inculcate German instead of Russian values into the pupils.

Nicholas I did confirm the special rights enjoyed by the Baltic nobles, but he did not exempt the Baltic provinces from his general policy of centralisation. He reminded the nobles that they were Russians now, and not Germans. Their rights remained, but he told them ‘soyez aussi de Russes de coeur et d’âme’ (THADEN 1984, 170).
The special position of the Lutheran Church in the Baltics had been recognised by Russia. However, inroads into this right were soon to be made. Children with at least one Orthodox parent had to be brought up as Orthodox Christians, whereas in Finland the father’s religion determined the child’s.

In 1836 an Orthodox bishopric was established in Pskov, near the eastern border of Livonia. The Russian government then started promoting Orthodoxy in hitherto neglected areas. In the school year 1842-1843 Latvian and Estonian language instruction was introduced at the Orthodox seminary there, and already in 1832 the first Russian-language newspaper in Estonia was published (ANNUS 1993, 322-333).

**The peasants’ conversion to Orthodoxy**

In 1838-1840 there were widespread crop failures in Estonia. Famine followed in 1841. The Baltic German nobility did not give any rent reductions; neither did the Lutheran pastors help. The ground was thus ripe for rumours that in Russia proper there was plenty of free land and no obligation to work for the manor. The peasants became convinced that the tsar would more easily give land to those of the Orthodox faith. When these rumours proved to be untrue, about 65 000 Estonian and 40 000 Latvian peasants in Estonia and Livonia had already converted to Orthodoxy. In Estonia there were fewer conversions, as the Orthodox prelates in there did not accept proselytes (according to RAUN 1991, 54) and the local manor owners and Lutheran pastors tried to prevent them. There was a wave of conversions to Orthodoxy in northern Estonia in the 1880s (KARJAHÄRM 1998, 261).

Even if conversion did not help the peasants get land at least it would afford them more protection from the rapacious Baltic Germans, or so it was hoped. Attempts to explain this movement as measures of Russification have failed, as it really does seem to have had its origin in the peasants’ dissatisfaction with their rulers (RAUN 1991, 45; KIRSS 1999, 257-58). Governor-General GOLOVIN pointed out that the Russian government and the Orthodox Church did not have the resources to accommodate a large number of converts; neither did the government want to alarm the Baltic nobility.

By 1849 the Estonian and Latvian peasants had become convinced that converting to Orthodoxy would bring them no benefits and so lost interest. Later many would revert to Lutheranism, possibly about one-fourth of them (RAUN 1991, 80). After Russification increased in the 1880s those who wanted to revert to Lutheranism were prevented from doing so; Lutheran pastors who readmitted them were removed from office and were often sent to Siberia (KARJAHÄRM 1998, 261; KIRSS 1999, 259).
Through these conversions knowledge of Russian increased dramatically, as special Orthodox schools were founded (children of newly Orthodox parents could obviously not attend the existing Lutheran schools). By 1870 there were 107 parish schools and 252 auxiliary schools, with 9,500 pupils (Thaden 1984, 190). A fifth of all lessons were dedicated to religious instruction, another fifth to the teaching of Russian. Old Church Slavic was taught too (Andresen 1991, 76). Later all subjects were taught in Russian, even though many of the Lutheran schoolchildren who also went to those schools had no knowledge of that language. Because of the emphasis on Russian many parents preferred Orthodox schools to Lutheran ones for their male children who would later have to face military service.

Especially for these converts an Orthodox prayer book and a catechism were translated into Estonian (and Latvian) in 1843 (Kruus 1930, 175; Annus 2000, 475, 477). A year later the first Estonian-language grammar of Russian appeared.

**The start of Russification**

Golovin suggested Russian should be the obligatory language in government offices in 1847; this became a law in 1850, but as few local officials had sufficient knowledge of the language the implementation of the law was indefinitely postponed. Russian was taught in schools, but Russian teachers were under pressure to give their students high grades, even undeservedly, so that they could advance to the next class, graduate, and reach Tartu University. In 1858 Alexander II even agreed to delay indefinitely the implementation of the 1850 language law, though he reaffirmed it in 1867.

An important point was reached in 1865, when the Baltic German Governor-General in Riga, Wilhelm Baron von Lieven, was replaced with P. A. Šuvalov, a native Russian. Now changes and reforms in the Baltic provinces were implemented by Russia in consultation with representatives of Baltic society, instead of by them in consultation with the Russian government. Now the Russian language law was forcefully implemented, and by 1870 Russian was the official language of all branches of the central government in the Baltic provinces, including the military, customs, post offices, the administration of Tartu University and all Baltic secondary schools. It would seem that the Russian government had two main reasons

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37 Lühikenne Palve ratam. Tartu, 1843
38 Risti uusu õppetuse eesmises allustused ehk lühikenne pühha sõnum ja lühikenne katekkismus, läbibi nadud ning eaks kinnitud se kõige Pühhamo Wallitseja Sünodi läbbi, ja välja antud se kõige ÜLLEMA KEISRILIKU käsu peale õpetusseks kolide sees. Tartu, 1843.
for taking these steps at this time: one, the wave of social unrest in the Baltic provinces (in 1858 Estonian peasant and armed soldiers clashed in what became known as the Mahtra war; this later spread out, with more than 20 percent of the peasant population demonstrating against and attacking German judges, landowners etc.) and two, concern for security after the Polish revolt of 1863 (THADEN 1981, 34)

The Baltic Germans challenged Russia’s right to implement these measures, pointing to the rights which the Baltic estates had been granted in 1710, but to no avail. Schools, however, could not be completely Russified, as the local German landowners threatened to withdraw their financial support in such a case. Without that support, though, the schools would not be able to function, as Russia still lacked resources.

Estonians themselves, though, were not always against Russian in school: in 1864 an Estonian peasant delegation managed to see Tsar ALEXANDER II and, amongst other things, asked for the introduction of the Russian language as a subject in schools: ‘Thus, during the reign of ALEXANDER II and the early years of ALEXANDER III, the Estonian peasantry actively sought administrative Russification as a means to end Baltic German hegemony in local institutions. At the same time, it favored limited cultural Russification for both practical and tactical reasons. Knowledge of Russian would offer greater economic opportunities to Estonians, while the replacement of German by Russian would obviate the study of two foreign languages. Furthermore, the Estonian petitioners during the national awakening were not unaware that a request for some cultural Russification would probably gain them a more sympathetic hearing in St. Petersburg.’ (RAUN 1981, 297)

Here it is useful to distinguish between unplanned Russification, as is the case for example with people living in a Russian environment; administrative Russification (centralisation), which entails the introduction of Russian laws and the extension of the use of Russian in schools, and cultural Russification (linguistic-cultural assimilation), where non-Russians accept the language and cultural and religious values of the Russian people (THADEN 1981, 8; for the Soviet period these terms will be defined in a slightly different way). Nor should one forget that Russification was not carried out with uniformity, as the two provinces Estonia and Livonia with an Estonian population had different governors: S.V. ŠAKHOVSKOJ, governor of Estonia (Estland) from 1885 to 1894, and M.A. ZINOVJEV, governor of Livonia

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40 A social-historical novel (Mahtra sõda, 1902) on this ‘war’ was written by the Estonian novelist EDUARD WILDE.

41 Unplanned Russification did not occur in Estonia to any significant extent; the only areas where this happened were on the Estonian-Russian border (MOORA 1964, 101, 102-114).
(Livland) from 1885 to 1895. ŠAKHOVSKOJ was known as a virulent Slavophile; ZINOVJEV was more restrained, but still a committed supporter of Russification.

Around 1870 the majority of school age Estonians received at least several years of elementary instruction in their own language. Estonian-language newspapers, which had emerged during the reign of ALEXANDER II, had a growing readership. The first of the famous song festivals were held. By 1880 about 95 percent of the peasants and townsmen recruited into the Russian army were literate. When the cultural Russification campaign started in the 1880s the Estonians’ cultural and social development had advanced too far to be reversed.

The Russification campaigns stemmed not so much from a fear of the Estonians and Latvians themselves, who were thought to be incapable of developing an independent nationality and culture, but of a Germanization of the Estonians and Latvians and a fear of the Baltic Germans themselves. After the unification of Germany in 1870-71 the Baltic Germans were viewed with more distrust, whilst the Polish rebellion strengthened views that the Russian borderlands should be more deeply integrated with the interior of the empire. Russification would thus prevent foreign intervention or local separatism by integrating the area more closely with the empire itself.

Estonian intellectuals saw administrative Russification as a useful tool against Germanisation. Thus came about the illusion that anything which restricted the Germans’ rights would extend Estonians’ rights, when in fact this was not necessarily so.

Only after the Russification campaigns were initiated in the 1880s did substantial numbers of Estonians learn Russian. Baltic German is sometimes thought to have played an intermediary role in the transfer of loanwords from Russian to Estonian: many older Russian loanwords in Estonian are in fact found in Baltic German as well and are more easily explained as Baltic German loanwords instead of Russian ones, a fact which is often ignored (HINDERLING 1981, 27-28).

After the 1880s Russian made headway very quickly. Officials of new institutions, school inspectors, chiefs of police, judges and many teachers were monolingual Russians. Students from Russia who came to the newly Russified university of Tartu all spoke Russian. Their overall percentage of the population of Estonia was only 4%, but knowledge of Russian became essential. Due to both its status as the official language as well as its expanding use as

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42 Similarly, KIPARSKY (1975, 183) says, in his review of PLOGER 1973, that many of the so-called ‘Russian’ loans in Finnish have probably been borrowed via Swedish or German.
a local language it was the third ‘local language’ in the beginning of the 20th century (cf. JANSEN - SAARI 1999, 241).

Russification in schools

The first schools in Estonia were the so-called cathedral schools (*toomkool*) and monastic schools (*kloostrikool*) in the 13th century, where Latin was the language of instruction. In the 15th and 16th centuries municipal schools and girls’ schools were set up, where the language of instruction was Low German. Estonian was also taught by Estonians to foreign priests who needed knowledge of the local language to preach. In Tallinn reading and religion was first taught in Estonian in 1546 (ANDRESEN 1985, 18). The first Estonian-language school was founded in 1593 in Tartu (LIIM 1999, 113). Estonian primers were probably compiled already in the 16th century; the first extant one is from 1641 (ANNUS 2000, 74-75). The first Russian-language school in Estonia was the admiralty school in Tallinn, founded in 1719 to train literate sailors and soldiers for the navy. Apart from reading, writing and arithmetic there was also instruction in shipbuilding and artillery. From 1750 onwards the Tallinn cathedral school had a Russian teacher, but on a wider scale Russian was taught in the German-language county schools (*kreiskool*), from 1804 onwards. In Tallinn there was a county school with Russian as the language of instruction, which was, however, shut in 1830 (LIIM 1999, 89).

Russian was taught extensively in parochial Orthodox schools (Est. õigeusu kihelkonnakool). These were founded in the 1840s after the conversions to Orthodoxy; both Estonian and Russian was taught, and to improve the knowledge of Russian it had to be spoken to the exclusion of Estonian for two days a week, both to the teacher and amongst the pupils themselves.

Already in 1835, though, UVAROV, the Russian minister of education, had suggested that Russians be appointed to fill vacancies in secondary schools and in the university of Tartu, as well as making knowledge of Russian a requirement to enter the university (THADEN 1984, 172-173).

In 1870 measures had already been approved which shortened military service by two years for those who could pass an examination in Russian after having studied it in a Baltic Orthodox school (THADEN 1981, 45-46). With the coming of ALEXANDER III to the throne in 1881 the Russification drive was intensified. Apparently it was ALEXANDER’s former tutor K.P. POBEDONOSTSEV, now Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, who had instilled into him quasi-Slavophile ideas about the relationship between Russian nationality and the Orthodox
Church. ALEXANDER III was also the first tsar to withhold confirmation of the rights granted to the Baltic Germans by Peter I 170 years before. Between 1882 and 1883 a senatorial inspection of Estonia and Curonia was carried out by N.A. MANASEIN, a government official, in response to peasant unrest, petitions for reform by the Estonians and Latvians and various complaints by the Baltic Germans. His findings were used to scale up Russificationary measures, amongst them those pertaining to education: in 1885 all rural elementary schools were put under the control of the ministry of education and from 1887 onwards all subjects were taught in Russian (except religion and Estonian) from the third year onwards, by 1892 it was required in the first year already. In the late 1880s urban elementary schools changed over from German to Russian. At secondary level German was also gradually changed to Russian in the five years from 1887 to 1892. Because many teachers did not know Russian they were fired and replaced with Russians. Russification in education was also often counter-productive; it intensified anti-Russian feeling among both students and teachers. School attendance declined (in Estonia the number of elementary school pupils declined from 25,646 in 1886 to 20,565 in 1892; THADEN 1981, 317). Neither was the quality of the teaching very high: non-Russian teachers did not speak Russian well enough and often neglected its teaching on purpose. Some teachers ignored the ban on Estonian as a language of instruction. There were too few inspectors; on average each school was visited only every five years. The Orthodox schools, though of lower educational quality, paid more attention to the teaching of Russian, to such an extent that even Lutherans joined (in 1881 Lutherans made up 13.4 percent of the pupils in Orthodox schools; THADEN 1981, 50). From 1870 onwards Russian was a compulsory subject in all schools. The University of Tartu became a Russian-language university (as the sole exception the Faculty of Theology remained German), and in 1893 Tartu (‘Dorpat’ in German) was renamed Jurjev.

After the 1905 revolution, however, the situation became somewhat easier: from 1906 onwards it was possible to found private schools with German or Estonian as the language of instruction and between 1906 and 1913 instruction was once again permissible in the local language during the first two years in schools supported by public funds.43 By then the Estonians’ self-awareness had risen to such a degree that even the Russified schools no longer posed a great danger to their cultural development. Newly established

43 In 1888 a school (the Eesti Aleksandri Linnakool) opened near Põltsamaa, financed by Estonians who had collected money for it since 1862. The main language of instruction was Russian, but some Estonian was allowed to be taught (nothing was taught in Estonian until 1917).
educational societies supported private schools, libraries and adult education (THADEN 1981, 322).

It has been said that Russification, in the end, probably had a beneficial effect on the Estonians, as without it they would perhaps have been Germanized. Without Russification they would not have realised that an Estonian nationality, culture, language was worth upholding, and what is more, possible to uphold.

Ultimately many Estonians, though, did enjoy primary and secondary education, sometimes tertiary too, in Russian. This cannot but have had an effect on their Estonian. In the early years of the 20th century the expression ‘the three local languages’ came into use. Knowledge of German, Estonian and Russian was expected for many domestic and service jobs, also for civil servants. Because of their reclusion, wealth and education and the cultural autonomy they had attained the Germans did not integrate into Estonian society to any large degree even in the Estonian Republic (in 1922 they made up only 1.7% of the population). Attempts of the tsarist government to limit the public uses of German did not have any effect on its unofficial and private use.

**The Russian revolution of 1917**

Not much is known about the Estonians’ role in World War I. About 100 000 Estonians were mobilised into the Tsarist army. No national regiments were created until 1917. The Germans were in the difficult position of being nationals of a country fighting Germany. The Tsarist administration, being suspicious of possible collaboration, placed restrictions on their social activities; even the public use of German was forbidden (RAUN 1991, 94).

After two and a half years of war the Russian empire was helplessly weakened. Strikes and demonstrations led to the collapse of the tsarist regime. Non-Russian nationalities now began to pursue some kind of autonomy. Estonia (G. ‘Estland’) and the northern, Estonian-speaking part of Livonia were unified into one province, Estonia. The Provisional Government appointed the mayor of Tallinn, JAAN POSKA, commissar of Estonia. A provincial assembly, the *Maapäev*, was created. From October 1917 to February 1918 the Bolshevik party was in power, though they failed to consolidate their power.

On February 24, 1918 Estonia was declared an independent republic by the Committee of Elders of the Maapäev. Already the next day, however, the invading German army reached Tallinn. In November Soviet Russia began an offensive to recover areas of the former

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44 KETTUNEN (1917, 47) mentions the ‘bad town Estonian’ in his historical phonology of Estonian.
Russian empire now under German occupation. The Germans were routed and by January 1919 the Red Army controlled most of Estonia, but the fledgling Estonian army fought back, and with help from Great Britain and Finland drove back the Russians. In February most of Estonia was clear of Soviet troops. The Estonians then had to fight the Baltic German Landeswehr, but this proved to be easy. In September 1919 peace negotiations with Soviet Russia commenced and a formal peace treaty was signed in Tartu on February 2, 1920.

The Republic of Estonia, 1920-1939

The new Estonian republic was 47,549 km² and had a population of 1,107,059. The ethnic composition was as follows (figures from 1922; PALLI 1998, 45):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estonians</td>
<td>87.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other 1.3% included Latvians, Danes, Poles, Finns and Lithuanians.

In the area to the east of Narva and in Petseri on the south-eastern Estonian-Russian border Russians made up the majority of the population. On the coast of Lake Peipsi there were groups of Old Believers26, numbering about 8000; half of these were fully bilingual, unlike the Russians in Narva and Petseri (BERG 1999, 362).27 There were also sizeable Russian minorities in Virumaa and Tartumaa.

In the Alutaguse area there were also poluvernik’s (also called poluvertsik’s) (ARISTE 1930, 364-370). Altogether there were 91,109 Russians in Estonia in 1922 (of which some 73,000 had Estonian citizenship and about 18,000 of them were refugees from Russia).

The 1920 constitution provided for education in the mother tongue for all citizens, and all minorities were granted wide-ranging cultural economy. In 1925 a specific law was enacted which granted minorities of at least 3,000 persons to establish councils, supported by the state, to deal with their cultural affairs, but the Russian community did not take steps to achieve this (HASSELBLATT 1996, 56). This is usually explained by their heterogeneity; the Russian fishermen and farmers by Lake Peipsi and in the south-east did not take an active part in

26 During the 1930s these Old Believers were the victims of repression (BERG - KULU 1996, 1179; BERG 1999, 363).
27 These Russians were also called ‘bearded Negroes’ (Est. habemega neegrid) in a 1930s newspaper article (Vaba Maa 1930, 6, XI, nr. 260, p. 6).
Russian cultural life, which was mostly led by townspeople like teachers, writers, tradesmen, former Tsarist officials and recent immigrants (cf. Issakov 1996, 7; Lõuna 2003, 74). Now that Estonian was the official language of the state it needed to fulfil other functions. Whilst language reform and planning had already been initiated in the 19th century, this reached its culmination in the 1920s and 1930s. The lexicon was expanded mostly by the creation of neologisms28 and by borrowing from Finnish.29 Now that it was no longer an official language Russian had little influence on Estonian, though the fact that many of the leading politicians and other cultural figures had been educated in Russian was bound to have an effect on the Estonian of the day (Ariste 1939, 31-36).30 Familiarity with Soviet terms came about through news about the Soviet Union, though there was little direct contact.

World War II
In the 1930s German expansion in Eastern Europe caused tension in both Estonia and the Soviet Union.

Hitler was obviously interested in the Baltic States, whilst the Soviet Union needed a buffer zone between itself and Germany. Secret Nazi-Soviet negotiations culminated in the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, signed on August 23, 1939, which envisaged the division of Eastern Europe into spheres of interest. Finland, Estonia and Latvia were assigned to the Soviet sphere; Lithuania was later added in exchange for Polish areas. The Soviet Union massed troops on the Estonian border and Soviet bombers started violating Estonian airspace. In September 1939 Estonia was forced to sign a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union, giving it the right to establish naval and air bases in Estonia and to station

29 Mägiste 1931, 32-56; Mägiste 1958, 125-147.
30 ‘…sama oleks võinud öelda enamikust tolle aja eesti haritlastest, kes peenutsesid sellega, et õiget rahvakeele hääldust väännata saksa või vene keele järgi. Praegu oleme kül peaaegu täiesti vabanemas maailmavaatetest, nagu oleks võõrapärane hääldusviis kõrremasse küütluvuse tundemärke, kuid siiski oleme nüüdki veel mitmeti saksa ja natuke ka vene keele kamitsas’ (‘…the same could be said about the majority of the Estonian intellectuals of that time (the beginning of the 20th century; RB), who prided themselves on mangling the correct pronunciation of the vernacular after the pattern of German or Russian. Now we are slowly freeing ourselves from the point of view according to which a foreign pronunciation is one of the distinguishing attributes of the upper class, though we are still in various respects in German, and to some extent Russian, fetters.’) (Ariste 1939, 5). Cf. also footnote 24. Nowadays one can perceive a movement in the opposite direction, with the Russian spoken and written in Estonia being influenced by Estonian (Kulmoja 1999; Kulmoja 2000); though not to such an extent as Russians sometimes like to believe.
25,000 troops there. At the same time ‘mutual assistance’ pacts were also forced upon Latvia and Lithuania.

In October 1939 some two-thirds of the German population of Estonia immigrated to Germany, after being called ‘back’ by Hitler. This caused mixed feelings in Estonia: on the one hand the historical oppressors of 700 years had left; on the other hand the Estonians wondered why it happened so suddenly and assumed it did not augur well. In October and November the Soviet soldiers started arriving at the bases, but they did not have much contact with the local population. In June 1940, after France’s collapse, the Soviet Union moved swiftly: the Baltic states were given ultimatums accusing them of forming a military alliance against the Soviet Union. Estonia had no choice but to yield and 90,000 more troops were moved in.

Now in military control the Soviets demanded the formation of a new cabinet, one more amenable to fulfilling the requirements of the pact. A. Ždanov, a Politburo member, arrived in Tallinn on June 19. A new cabinet was formed with Johannes Vares, a doctor and poet, as prime-minister. The new cabinet contained no communists, and the Vares government promised to maintain Estonian independence. On July 5, under renewed Soviet pressure, president Pats called parliamentary elections. The newly legalised Estonian communist party formed, together with other ‘democratic’ organisations, an electoral bloc called the Estonian Working People’s League (Eesti Töötava Rahva Liit; EWPL). Now all other parties were disqualified or coerced into withdrawing. On July 14 and 15 the elections took place, with the EWPL claiming a resounding victory of 92.8%. The new Chamber of Deputies proclaimed Soviet power in Estonia and declared Estonia’s desire to become a member of the USSR. On July 30 Pats was deported; on the 6th of August 1940 the Supreme Soviet agreed to accept Estonia as the sixteenth republic of the USSR.

The country was quickly Sovietized in all aspects, though the establishment of Soviet norms was not completed by June 1941, when Germany invaded Estonia. Prominent governmental and military figures were deported to Russia and ethnic Estonians from Russia, often communists who had fled Estonia, were brought in to take up posts in the new government.

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31 The remaining one-third left in 1941; very few remained.
A flood of Russian loanwords entered Estonian in 1940. As AHVEN (1965, 393-394)\(^\text{32}\) puts it in an article on the words necessary for a new order: ‘There was no time to experiment with neologisms. An expression found today for a new concept needed to be in use by the speakers of the language tomorrow. One of the ways to express a new concept was to make new compounds of familiar words; another, derivation from a familiar stem; third, use of an international word or from the language of intra-ethnic communication in the Soviet Union, i.e. Russian. These ways were the ones used’. Certain typically Soviet words like kolhoos ‘kolkhoz’ and kulak ‘kulak’ already occur in pre-1940s Estonian; obviously as words describing foreign concepts (cf. SEPPET 1983, 75-92).

A new school system was introduced, all private institutions abolished and Russian was made the first foreign language, replacing English. 10% of all teachers were deported or executed (RAUN 1991, 155); many pre-1940 books were destroyed or removed from libraries; Marxism-Leninism was made the basis of all study, though due to a lack of textbooks this could not be implemented at first.

Few Estonian writers embraced Soviet themes; most remained non-committal. Translations of Soviet Russian literature experienced a sharp growth. All cultural societies, theatres etc. were shut down and leading cultural figures deported. This included Russian societies and Russian intellectuals, who because of their non-Soviet origin were also seen to be a danger to Soviet rule.

Both the Lutheran and the Orthodox Church suffered enormously: their property was expropriated; theological studies at the University of Tartu abolished and 70,000 theological works from the university library destroyed; in January 1941 the Estonian Orthodox Church was forcibly merged with the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow, and the bishops and a large number of clergy of both the Lutheran and the Orthodox Churches were deported to Russia. In all some 2,000 people were executed and 19,000 deported in 1940-1941 by the Soviet regime (RAUN 1991, 154).

**The German occupation**

On June 22, 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. By July 5 the Germans had reached Estonia. At first the Germans were seen as liberators, especially as the Soviets had just

\(^{32}\) In the original: ‘Ei olnud aega neologismidega eksperimenteerida. Täna uue möiste jaoks leitud väljendus pidi honme olema kogu keeletarvítajaskonna suus. Uue möiste väljendamise üheks selgeks viisiks sai olla keelest tuttavate söndade liitmine uues ühenduses, teiseks – tuttavast tüvest tuletamine, kolmandaks – rahvusvahelise või ka Nõukogude Liidu rahvaste vahelise, s.o. vene keele sõna tarvitusele võtmine. Neid teid kasutatigi.’
deported thousands of people to Siberia and some 33,000 Estonians had been drafted into the Soviet army. Many Estonians hoped that the Estonian state could now be re-established, but this was not to be. By October the whole of Estonia was under German control and would remain so until 1944. The Soviet leadership of Estonia fled to the USSR. By January 1944 the situation had become worse and the front neared Estonia again. Nearly 60,000 Estonians were now under arms in Estonia, many driven by the hope that a Soviet occupation could be warded off until the Nazi capitulation. With the help of these men the Soviet advance was halted till July, when a massive offensive led to the German evacuation of Estonia. The last Germans were driven out in November. Of the 33,000 Estonians mobilised by the Soviets about half died in Soviet labour camps (RAUN 1991, 160). Estonia was to remain under Soviet occupation till 1991.

**Soviet Estonia**

In early 1945 the Estonian SSR lost 5% of its territory, when about three-fourths of the district of Peterimaa was transferred to the Pskov oblast of the RSFSR, and all territory east of the river Narva transferred to the Leningrad oblast. These areas did have large Russian populations, 33 but the division of Peterimaa was considered to be an especially hard blow, as it divided the Orthodox Setu’s, for many the keepers of older Estonian values and culture, into two areas. Between 1948 and 1957 the Estonian school in Petseri was closed (LÕUNA 2003, 129). This division was of course even more keenly felt after 1991, when the temporary border was drawn between Estonia and Russia, seriously hindering cross-border traffic. The NKVD, forerunner of the KGB, screened everyone older than 12 in 1946, and anyone who was considered to be politically unreliable or a prominent figure from before the war was liable to deportation. Among the government organs Russian-Estonians and Russians arrived to take up new posts and those of Estonians. In the 1951 Council of Ministers there was not a single native-born Estonian communist (RAUN 1991, 173).

Estonia was fully integrated into the centralised economic system of the Soviet Union, and the reconstruction of the industrial sector was seen as a top priority. Due to the population losses Estonia had suffered during the war workers were brought in from the RSFSR,

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33 In 1945 there were only some 20,000 Russians left in Estonia, as compared to nearly 73,000 in 1941 (ISSAKOV 1999, 532b).
especially to the north-east were industry was concentrated.\textsuperscript{34} In the countryside collectivisation was initiated and ‘kulaks’ deported. To help the process along and break resistance some 20,000\textsuperscript{35} people were sent in cattle-cars to Siberia and other places in the RSFSR during the last week of March 1949.

After STALIN’s death in 1953 things eased up somewhat. Foreign travel was allowed to some degree (which basically meant foreigners visiting Estonia; very few Estonians managed to visit foreign countries); the Helsinki-Tallinn ship line started in 1965 brought thousands of Finns to Estonia.

The influx of non-Estonians\textsuperscript{36} started in the late 1940s. Exact figures are not available and the first census took place in 1959, but by then the percentage of Russians had risen to 20.1\% (cf. 8.2\% in 1934 and 30.3\% in 1989; PALLI 1998, 45). There were various reasons for the movement of non-Estonians to the Estonian SSR: not only were Russian workers sent there to staff newly-built factories but also to take the place of deported farmers. Simultaneously this guaranteed a minimum political and ethnic ballast to counter any separatist movement and would accelerate and intensify the process of Russification.

For the census years 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989 and 2000 there is information (in percentages) on the ethnic composition of the Estonian SSR/Estonia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estonian</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>Ukrainian</th>
<th>Byelorussian</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{34} After 1940 there was a period when many Estonian communists from Russia (the \textit{jeestlased} ‘Yestonians’, so called for their mispronunciation of the letter \textit{e} in anlaut) were sent to Estonia to take up important posts; these were often ridiculed for their heavy Russian accents (cf. ERNITS 1947; JOHANSEN 1960; RAAG 2000, 278-279).

\textsuperscript{35} Exactly how many were deported is unsure; estimates have ranged from 20,000 to 80,000, but VAHTRE (1994, 200), who bases himself on the newest figures, mentions 20 702, as does the newest Estonian encyclopedia (EE 12, 273b), which gives the following figures: 10861 people deported in June and August 1941, 407 deported in August 1945, 20702 deported (2.5\% of the Estonian population at the time) in March 1949, and 1563 deported in 1950.

\textsuperscript{36} In practice this means Russians, though in the late 1940s large numbers of people from the Byelorussian SSR are said to have arrived in Estonia. In 1979 76 percent of the Jews, 65 percent of the Byelorussians and 54 percent of the Ukrainians considered Russian to be their native tongue (RAUN 1991, 182, 205).
Estonian and Russian

After the occupation of Estonia by the Soviet Union Russian, though officially never a state language, which Estonian was not either\(^\text{37}\), nor a compulsory subject in schools (JANSSEN - RUUTSOO 1999, 551), gained a primary position. By isolating Estonia from the outside world and by placing Soviet/Russian culture on a higher level than Estonian culture attempts were made to instil a feeling of inferiority in Estonians. Russian was described as a ‘rich’ language, and enormous emphasis was placed on its learning.\(^\text{38}\) According to the official viewpoint: ‘Without a knowledge of Russian it is difficult to enjoy the rich culture of both the Russian and other nationalities of the USSR. A knowledge of Russian is essential for the training of national specialists and for the development of Estonian culture’ (KÄBIN 1971, 122). Estonian-Russian relations in linguistics and literature was now a theme promoted from above (cf. TEDRE 1997, 202).\(^\text{39}\)

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\(^{37}\) Unlike the situation in the Caucasus, where the local languages were official state languages (HASSELBLATT 1996, 90).

\(^{38}\) ‘The authorities argue that Russian serves as a means of communication among non-Russians, that it is a window on the wider world, and that advancement can come only on the basis of a sound knowledge of Russian, which is ‘not just a world language, but even a language of outer space’. The non-Russians might respond that very few of them are likely to find themselves in outer space, and until such a time as they go there in substantial numbers, they would like to be able to live a national life with their own national languages and cultures, without having Russian forced down their throats at every turn.” (SCHÖPFLIN 1979, 123)

\(^{39}\) Cf. ARISTE (1952, 705-706): ‘Slávi keele ja läänemee keele ning vene keele ja eesti keele igakülgne uurimine ja valgustamine stalinliku keeleõpetuse alustelt lähtudes peaks aga olema meie keeleedalaste esmajärguliseks ülesandeks. Õigesti lahendatud keelelised suhtlemised suudavad kaheldamatult valgustada paljugi eesti ja vene rahva õidest koostööst, anda vastust sealgi, kuhu ei küüni ajaraamatute andmed.’ (‘Thorough research and enlightenment of the Slavic and Finnic languages and of Russian and Estonian proceeding from the basis of Stalinist linguistics must be the prime task of our linguists. Correctly clarified linguistic associations can undoubtedly shed much light on the ancient collaboration between the Estonian and Russian people, giving an answer there where even the facts of the chronicles do not reach’) and MAGISTE’s (1955, 119) sarcastic comment on an article by ARISTE on Livonian: ‘Daß Ariste dazu noch wiederholt die sprachliche Bedeutung der uralten Berührung der Liven mit den Ostslaven bzw. Russen unterstreicht (s. weiter unten), gehört ja zu seiner Pflicht als sowjetischer Forscher, der, wie man weiß, immer bestrebt sein muß, die uralte Freundschaft aller Völker der Sowjetunion zu dem „großen russischen Volke“ und die ungeheueren
Many teachers from the university of Tartu had left during the war; others were later arrested by the Soviets.

The percentages of Estonians who considered Russian their mother tongue rose from 0.7 percent in 1959 to 1.0 in 1970, but in absolute numbers this is a very small group and can probably be attributed to Russified Estonians moving from other parts of the Soviet Union to the Estonian SSR.

Absolute numbers of Russians, though, had risen from some 73,000 in 1941 to some 475,000 in 1989, making up nearly a third of the population. In geographical terms the majority of the Russians\(^40\) live in the north-east of Estonia; in Tallinn they make up approximately half of the population.

There were of course many reasons for learning Russian, among them social, political, cultural, economical and religious. Of the 15 State nationalities Estonians were those whose knowledge of Russian increased the slowest and Estonians were often proud of the fact that they did not speak Russian well.\(^41\)

In a country where up to a third of the population is Russian-speaking it is difficult to communicate with that third if they do not make particular efforts to learn the local language. The Russians in Estonia did not feel they had to, as they were living in the Soviet Union where Russian was the unofficial most important language, which was supposed to be understood everywhere. An excuse often given is that Estonian is a hard language not useful anywhere else. It must also be said that Estonians themselves usually speak Russian to Russians, and not Estonian, though this is slowly changing. According to sociolinguists (cf. LAURISTIN - HEIDMETS 2002, 208, 212) Estonians used a ‘strategy of linguistic convergence in communication with Russians’, i.e. they spoke Russian to Russians so that Estonian would remain their own private language, similar to the strategy used by the Baltic Germans, who spoke Estonian with Estonians and not German. Whilst acceptance of Russians depends to a large degree on their willingness to learn Estonian\(^42\) (LAURISTIN - HEIDMETS 2002, 199),

\(^{40}\) Here we should say ‘Russian-speakers’, as definitely not all Russian-speakers are Russians, but for most Estonians there is in fact no difference and for the people themselves often neither, even though they might be fully aware of their e.g. Ukrainian or Komi origin.

\(^{41}\) The Estonians’ poor knowledge of Russian was apparently so widely known that it is even mentioned in English literature: ‘Speaking bad Russian, I hoped to pass for an Estonian’ (THUBRON 2000, 5).

\(^{42}\) Competence in Estonian is thus considered a prerequisite for acceptance, but at the same time many Estonians only speak Russian to Russians (LAURISTIN - HEIDMETS 2002, 160).
speaking Estonian does not make a Russian into an Estonian, because the Estonians will not accept them as such (PONARIN 2000, 1539).

Mixed-marriages were also few (among the lowest in the Soviet Union)\textsuperscript{43} and children resulting from these marriages were often Estonian-speaking.

Russian, though never officially compulsory, was of course exactly that in schools and universities, and in order to get ahead in Soviet society a solid knowledge of Russian was indispensable. A country the size of the Soviet Union with more than a 100 peoples did of course need a language that could function as a means of communication between the various ethnic groups; that Russian was the only language to take up this function was obvious, being the language of the majority of the population and having become the lingua franca of large parts of the population already (not always by choice) (cf. COMRIE 1981, 31-32). As we shall see the learning of Russian was fostered at various times in different ways and different intensity.\textsuperscript{44}

For small groups of Estonians (the Estonian Orthodox) Russian and Old Church Slavonic are ecclesiastical languages; whilst very few learn Old Church Slavonic, knowledge of Russian amongst the Orthodox is not uncommon (though services are in Estonian).

\textbf{Schools}

As mentioned before, Russian was never formally a compulsory language in Estonian schools, though in fact it was of course hardly possible to not go to classes. Subjects like religion and ancient languages were removed from the curriculum; in its place all subjects were to be taught in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Due to the arrival of non-Estonians the percentage of schools with Estonian as the language of instruction declined from 77 percent in 1957 to 73 percent in 1972. Most schools were either Estonian-language or Russian-language; the percentage of bilingual Estonian-Russian schools remained stable at about 8 percent. After the All-Union campaign of the late 1970s to

\textsuperscript{43} At the end of the 1960s only 7\% of all marriages in Estonia were between Estonians and non-Estonians, nine out of ten Estonians married within their own ethnic group (KUNG 1981, 187-188).

\textsuperscript{44} There were even attempts in the 1950s to introduce the Cyrillic alphabet for Estonian (VÄÄRİ 1988, 628; RANNUT 1994, 198; undoubtedly the expatriate Estonian RAUN [1985, 23], writing that a change to the Cyrillic alphabet was not considered because written Estonian was too developed, was not aware of these unofficial attempts at Cyrillicization), and possibly also for Latvian (ŽIGURE 1999, 62), where the Estonian linguist PAUL ARISTE supposedly prevented its implementation (considering his previous experiences with the occupying powers it is in fact unlikely that ARISTE would have placed himself in the precarious position of vociferously arguing against such a step).
give the Russian language a greater role in the non-Russian republics Russian became a
compulsory subject from the first grade onwards in Estonian schools, whereas in Russian
schools only from the third.
Especially galling to Estonians was the fact that though Estonian was supposedly equal to
Russian in all ways much more attention was paid to the teaching of Russian in Estonian
schools than to the teaching of Estonian in Russian schools (in 1981-82 for all classes
together: 72 hours of Russian weekly and 16 hours of Estonian in Russian schools, as
compared to 66 hours weekly of Estonian and 41 hours of Russian in Estonian schools)
(RAUN 1991, 212).

The media
After the Soviet takeover changes were made immediately in radio programming. There
were broadcasts in Russian, Russian lessons, lectures on the history of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Constitution. Newspapers were closed and new ones
founded which were closely allied to the Communist Party. Journalists were fired and often
arrested or executed. Newspapers resumed operation in 1944 after the German occupation.
From 1954 onwards it was possible for aspiring journalists to study journalism as a speciality
at the department of Estonian linguistics at the University of Tartu (HÖYER 1993, 193-194).
This meant that most journalists in Estonia had extensive philological training, something
which has to be considered when speaking of the media’s language.
Publishing in Estonian at first increased, though it declined again in the 1950s, when in fact
more was published in Russian than in Estonian. Over a third of all Estonian writers had
escaped to the West, others preferred not to write or were forbidden from doing so. For some
time the Estonian writers in exile produced more, and many say better, literature than the
writers in the ESSR.
Books by authors considered ‘anti-Soviet’ or unsuitable in any way were removed from
libraries and shops and burned or processed to pulp; in all some 30 million books were
destroyed in Estonia in the time period (RANUT 1994, 197). Nothing was published in more
than 50 copies without having been censored. The only exceptions were school exercise books, train-, cinema-, circus- and sauna tickets and pharmacy
receipts. Until 1959 private individuals were not allowed to have anything printed. After 1959 they were granted
that right, but all printed material (if more than 50 copies were made) had to pass via the censor, even wedding
invitations (VESKIMÄGI 1996, 53). Private letters were read by the KGB, not the censors.

45 Censoring was a complicated process, with various stages and different censors censoring one publication at various stages of the printing
process.\textsuperscript{46} In the 1970s, both absolute numbers and percentages of books, magazines and newspapers published in Estonian went down again, so that in 1985 the percentage for Estonian-language books was down to 64\% compared with 87\% in 1955 (RAUN 1991, 214). Radio broadcasting remained Estonian to a great extent. The percentage of Estonian-language programming on television, which was considered to be an important medium in spreading knowledge of Russian, decreased from 26 percent in 1970 to 17 percent in 1980.

\textbf{Independence anew}

After Estonia regained its independence in 1991 approximately 100,000 of the nearly 0.5 million Russians left, raising the percentage of Estonians in Estonia from 61.5\% (1989) to 65.0\% in 1997. In 2000 there were some 404,000 Russians, as compared to 939,000 Estonians. Others made up nearly 100,000. According to the latest Estonian census in March 2000 the total population was 1,370,500.

There have been attempts by the Russian-language population to have Russian made an official language; this, however, is unlikely to happen if the decision is left to the Estonians. Nowadays most Russians have come to terms with the fact that Russian will probably never be an official language. In schools and institutes of higher education Russian is destined to be phased out by 2007 (2001 proved to be unrealistic). Private educational institutions can, of course, use Russian, as does the Slavic faculty of the University of Tartu. Russian still dominates in certain areas (north-eastern Estonia, where in many towns the percentage of Russians is above 90\%). Knowledge of Russian is still expected in many jobs.

‘Unless Estonian state policy has a major microsociological impact, English rather than Estonian will become the language of normal use between Russian and Estonian speakers in Estonia.’ (LAITIN 1996, 50). From my own experience this seems unlikely: Russians and Estonians both learn English in school, but I have never heard them speak English with each other.\textsuperscript{47} Most younger Russians outside of north-eastern Estonia speak at least some Estonian, if not fluently, and those in the northeast do not need it (yet), and most Estonians still speak some Russian, or at least understand it to some degree, though knowledge of Russian is indeed decreasing rapidly.

\textsuperscript{46} For a useful but rambling overview of censorship in the Estonian SSR cf. VESKIMÄGI 1996.

\textsuperscript{47} MILLAN (2004, 305) also claims that ‘In the meantime both Estonians and Russophones are learning English, and conversations between Estonian and Russian youths are often carried on in English’.
2.2. Previous work on Estonian-Russian language contact

The historical overview above sketched Estonian-Russian contacts through the ages, including the linguistic contacts the two peoples have had. This section will give an overview of the scientific study of that contact.

The influence of Estonian on literary Russian, which will not be treated in this book, is very slight: in the Russian of areas close to Estonia (St. Petersburg, Gdov, Pskov) there are some Estonian loanwords (cf. e.g. REW I-III; SAMOJOLOVA 2001; 2001a) and possibly traces of other Finnic influence (ČEKMONAS 2001). The Russian spoken in Estonia, however, has understandably undergone much stronger influence and has been the object of studies mostly by Russian linguists in Estonia (for literature cf. KULMOJA 1999 and BURDAKOVA - BURDAKOVA 2000). E.g. ARISTE (1930, 366-367) notes how the Russian of the bilingual poluverniks of Isaku has been influenced by Estonian (e.g. no palatalization in auslaut, ы is pronounced as [i]) whilst their Estonian has been influenced by Russian (e.g. all consonants are palatalized before front vowels, use of the object is identical to Russian).

For older substrate influence of Finno-Ugric or Finnic on Russian cf. VEENKER 1967; DÉCSY 1967; KIPARSKY 1969; RAVILA 1973; TIMBERLAKE 1974; BÁTORI 1980; BIRNBAUM 1997 and WINKLER 2003. Due to various reasons, some of which have been touched upon above, there are groups of Estonians in various parts of the world, especially in the former USSR, Sweden, North America, Latvia and other countries as far as Australia. The language of the Estonians in the former USSR and Sweden has been researched to some degree, the others hardly at all. For Russicisms in Siberian Estonian cf. VIKBERG 1986; 1990; 1998; in Caucasian Estonian cf. i.e. VILBASTE 1960, 123-127 and VÄÄRI 1960, 429; in Swedish Estonian cf. RAAG 1982, 48, 94; in (now probably extinct) Turkish Estonian cf. ROOS 1975, 98-100.

Non-lexical influence of Russian on Estonian will be shortly touched upon; previous work on lexical influence will be treated more fully.

48 VILLEM ERNITS, the Tartu Slavist, wrote a monograph ‘Estnische Sprachelemente im Grossrussischen und in anderen slavischen Sprachen I-III’, but this was unfortunately destroyed in the 1965 Tartu University fire (cf. VIRES 1959, 103, footnote 10; MAGISTE 1962, 66; MUST 2000, 601).

49 Similarly in northern dialects of Polish the phonemes i and y have merged to i (cf. sin ‘son’ ~ lit. Pol. syn ‘id.’, riba ‘fish’ ~ lit. Pol. ryba ‘id.’), supposedly due to Yatvingian influence (cf. OTREBSKI 1964, 207-216; SCHMALSTIEG 1976, 29).
2.2.1. Non-lexical influence
Most of the work done so far on Estonian-Russian language contact does concern the lexicon, though the fact that Russian has influenced Estonian in other ways did not go unnoticed already in the early 1900s: ‘Otsekohe sula Vene keele sõnu ei leia meie Eesti kirjandusest kõll mitte palju, aga muidu on Vene keele mõju palju ja mitmel viisil tunda’ (EDERBERG 1911, 256). Especially after regaining independence in 1991 much was written about the devious way in which Russian influenced Estonian syntax and how Estonian journalists unwittingly carried over Russian syntactical models over into Estonian. For a recent overview of the influence of Slavic on Finno-Ugric cf. HONTI 1994. Below follows a short overview of the most important articles on these and other aspects.

2.2.1.1. Phonology
There are no works that deal solely with the influence of Russian on the phonology of literary Estonian or its dialects. The fact that Russian had influenced Estonian pronunciation had already been noticed by HUPEL in the 18th century (HUPEL 1774, 264); WIEDEMANN (1875, 52, 84), in his monumental grammar, writes that Russian influence is heard in the pronunciation of /l as ɫ and ō as ɻ in the eastern subdialects of South Estonian. Tauli (1956, 200-203) briefly considers Russian influence on dialect phonology, as does MUST (2000, 589-591).
KETTUNEN (1929, 93) suggests that the change /t's > ts/, typical for certain words in South Estonian (e.g. tsongma ‘rootle’ = Fi. tonkkia, tsorisema ‘burble’ = Fi. sorista, tsirk ‘bird’ = Fi. sirkku), could have spread after anlaut ts- had been borrowed through knowledge of Russian (or Latvian), though affricates were also part of the phonological system of Proto-Finnic. This is probably why MUST (2000, 591) seems to think the /t's > ts/ change is of older origin.
ARISTE (1939, 5) mentions the Russian-like pronunciation of inter-war intellectuals denigrating their own language.

2.2.1.2. Morphology

50 ‘We do not find so many direct pure Russian words in our Estonian literature, but otherwise the influence of the Russian language is felt strongly and in various ways’.

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The lack of influence of Russian on Estonian morphology is reflected in the dearth of research on the topic. Best known is the suffix -nik, mostly used for persons\(^51\) and first attested in 1589 in a genuine Estonian word (koddenick ‘citizen’; VTS 94). It is very common, though its productivity seems to be declining (EKG I, 521). None of the older Estonian words in -nik are Russian loanwords from which -nik could have been abstracted; this led MÄGISTE (1968, 12) to derive its origin through half-loans from Russian: Russ. огородник ‘gardener’ (огород ‘kitchen garden’) > Est. aednik ‘id.’ (aed ‘garden’).\(^52\) Russian origin of -nik was first proposed by Knüpffer (1814, 28; cf. also KONT 1974). However, KIPARSKY (1965, 431), pointing to 16\(^{th}\) century names such as Jan Wabbenick, Hans Wabbenicks zone, Martenn Wappenick, Matthias Wabbaticki poiick, Mattis Wabbatik, Tonnis Wabberdieck and Pep Wabbedick, and the sentence ahn Jurgen, des wabbenicken poysz (mod. Est. vabaniku poiss) (cf. MÄGISTE 1962, 58-59), thinks that these maybe are not Estonian formations of vaba + nik but loans from ORuss. svobodniks ‘freier Mann’, which then could have been the source of the suffix -nik in Estonian. If we assume KIPARSKY is right then the cumbersome half-loan, half-calque explanation can be given up.\(^53\) The suffix -nik also occurs in newer loanwords such as polkovnik ‘colonel’, It also occurred in Baltic German (-neck, -neek, -nek), where it was also a productive suffix, and where it was a loan from Latv. -nieks (KIPARSKY 1936, 122).

Mostly jocular and often pejorative are the various suffixes borrowed from Russian and found mostly in loan-contaminations in slang or dialects\(^54\): the adjectival suffix -шка: e.g. plikuška

\(^51\) In MÜLLER’s sermons there is a lone occurrence of -nik as an adjective suffix: vambmoistnikuth InimeBet ‘unwise people’ (MÜLLER 1600, 217); according to MÄGISTE (1962, 19) this is simply a slip of the pen. In South Estonian -nik is occasionally found as a adjective suffix: halõdnik ‘doleful’ (cf. Est. hale ‘id.’), hapnik ‘sour’ (cf. Est. hapu’id.’) (EMS I, 314, 385). Some newly-formed words such as hapnik ‘oxygen’, (obs.) mõõdunik ‘the past’ and (obs.) praegunik ‘the present’ do exist. Adjectival use, however, of an agentive suffix is common in Estonian (and in all Finnic languages except modern standard Finnish), cf. the adjectival use in Estonian of the suffix -ja (EKG I, 482).

\(^52\) KIPARSKY (1949a) provides additional evidence from Old Latvian and Old Prussian to establish that prefixes may be borrowed without being abstracted from prefixed loanwords. Similarly Albanian has borrowed the Greek prefix καφο- as kampo-, which occurs commonly in such compounds as kæpseptrëti ‘the poor priest’or kæpödherpëli ‘the poor fox’, though there are hardly any direct Greek loans with this prefix. Likewise Aromanian has borrowed Gr. παλēs ‘old’ as a prefix to form pejoratives as in Arom. paľu-câne ‘bad dog’ (SANDFELD 1930, 43-45).

\(^53\) The half-loan, half-calque form would be a counter-example to MORAVCSIK’s Universal 2, stating that bound morphemes can be borrowed only as parts of complete words (cf. TRASK 1996, 314).

\(^54\) Suffixes borrowed from Russian are more common in the eastern Finnic languages (cf. MÄGISTE 1956a; OINAS 1958).
‘girl’ < \textit{pli\kern.5pt ka} ‘girl’ + Russ. (дев)ушка (MÄGISTE 1935, 85; 1956a, 277)\(^{55}\), dial. sõbruska ‘boyfriend’ (MÄGISTE 1935, 85; JUVA 2002, 414a) < sõber ‘(boy)friend’ + -шка, dial. kibluska ‘garlic’ (EMS III, 31) < \textit{kiblu}(k) ‘id.’ + -шка; the adjectival -ский: e.g. tegelinski ‘hustler; go-getter’ < tegel(ane) ‘character, personage’ + -ский, rakuski ‘Hündchen’ < raku(ne) ‘Hündchen’ + -ski (EEW VIII, 2402), erakonski ‘(cifriger) Parteimann, -funktionär’ < erako\kern.5pt nd ‘party’ + -(н)ский (MÄGISTE 1968, 12), inslenski ‘influenza’ < influentsa ‘influenza’ + -ский (SAARESTE 1957, 485); the adjectival suffix -ной in kehvnoi ‘bad, poor’ < kehv ‘bad, miserable’ + -ной, popsnoi ‘yokel-like’ < pops ‘cottage’ + -ной, vahvnoi ~ valnoi ‘cool, great’ < vahva ‘great’ + -ной (SAARESTE 1927a, 199; MÄGISTE 1935, 85), vahvnoisti ‘well’ < vahva ‘great’ + -ной + Est. suffix -sti (ALLIK 1928, 9), kihvtnoi ‘great’ < kihvt ‘great’ + -ной, kurbnoi\(^{56}\) ‘sad’ < kurb ‘sad’ + -ной, sitnoi ‘shitty, useless’ < sitt ‘shit’ + -ной\(^{57}\) (TENDER 1994, 355); adjectival suffix -вой in kramavoi ‘gramophone’ < grammofon ‘gramophone’ + -вой (SAARESTE 1957, 485), tobevei ‘silly’ < tobe ‘silly’ + -вой (SAARESTE 1927a, 199); the nominal suffix -ka: e.g. täika ‘flea market’ < täi ‘flea’ + -ka, Snelka ‘der Sportplatz bei Schnells Teich in Tallinn’ < Schnelli (tiik) ‘Schnell’s pond’ + -ka (MÄGISTE 1968, 13), krimka ‘thriller; crime novel’ < krim\kern.5pt (inaal\kern.5pt film, - roama) ‘id.’ + -ka, liuka ‘skating rink’ < liu(väl\kern.5pt i) ‘id.’ + -ka, naiska ‘woman’ < nais-, genitive of naine ‘id.’ + -ka, piuka ‘pioneer’ < pio(neer) ‘id.’ + -ka (TENDER 1994, 354); the moderate suffix -ватый\(^{58}\) in räbalavaato ‘pretty bad’ < räbal ‘miserable’ + -ватый (KASK, A., quoted in ELISTO 1935, 86; MÄGISTE 1935, 86; 1964, 101-102). MÄGISTE (EEW XII, 3779) believes that Est. \textit{vehkat} ‘away’ in the expression \textit{vehkat tegema} ‘to escape’ might conceal the Russian infinitive ending -ать from e.g. éxâť ‘to go’ (this is thought to be ‘affective’ by SAARESTE 1927, 166). Compare also the supposedly

\(^{55}\) In the Swedish formerly spoken in Vyborg/Viipuri (a Finnish town ceded to Russia in 1947 under the Treaty of Paris) a parallel form \textit{fiikusk\kern.5pt ki} ‘girls’ (Sw. \textit{fi\kern.5pt cka} ‘girl’ + Russ. pl. –ушки of -ушка) has been recorded (TANDE\kern.5pt FELT 2003, 102).

\(^{56}\) Compare also Est. slang kurbl\kern.5pt ch ‘sad’ < kurb ‘sad’ + G. -lich (TENDER 1994, 354).

\(^{57}\) Structural borrowing such as the abstraction of a suffix from borrowed words usually only occurs in cases of relatively intense contact (cf. 3.2 The borrowing scale). HAARMANN (1984, 41) writes that though Ingrian has borrowed many words from Russian in -ной, the suffix itself has not been abstracted, and is not found in words of Ingrian origin. Russian influence is generally thought to be stronger in Ingrian than on Estonian, but as we have seen above, the abstracted Russian suffix -ной occurs in (now obsolete) Estonian slang. Perhaps such cases where a jocular effect is sought are more similar to planned change, and should not be invoked to ascertain foreign influence.

\(^{58}\) Also borrowed in other Uralic languages: cf. Karelian: \textit{mu\kern.5pt š\kern.5pt savati} ‘blackish’ < \textit{mu\kern.5pt š\kern.5pt ša} ‘black’ (PALME\kern.5pt OS 1981, 22) and Komij: кузе\kern.5pt ват ‘длинноватый’ < кузь ‘длинный’ (LY\kern.5pt TKIN 1955, 170).

An emphatic foreignism is *samatopski* ‘cigarette made of home-grown tobacco’ from *sama* (Russ. сáмо-) + *top* from Est. *toppíma* ‘to stuff’ + the quasi-Russian ending -*ski* (cf. the Russian masculine adjective ending -*ский*) (cf. MUST 2000, 351). Another case of contamination is EstS *looniväit* ‘elephant’ < Russ. слон ‘elephant’ + Est.dial. *elivaít* ‘id.’ (MUST 2000, 549).

The combining form *kom-* was borrowed from Russian after 1940 as an element of various (sometimes calqued) compounds such as *kompartei* ‘communist party’ < Russ. ком*п*ár*тия ‘communist party’. Est. *kom-* was then also used in Estonian creations such as *kmoom* (‘communist youngster’, a partial clipped form of *kommunistlik noor* ‘id.’, a translation of Russ. ком*с*омол). Cf. komsomol. Recorded in a dictionary of prison slang (ILM - TENDER 2003, 57) is *polvang* ‘political prisoner’, which seems to be a calque of Russ. политзаключённый ‘political prisoner’ < полит- ‘political’ (< полити*ч*еский) + заключённый ‘prisoner’, though in Estonian this has been further abbreviated to *pol*.


In the Isaku dialect the Russian emphatic particle -*to* has been borrowed: küll *este mina olin* ‘kärme ’marju-ta *korjama* ‘I could gather those berries pretty quickly’ (MUST 2000, 394).

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59 Elsewhere found only in the obsolete jocular expression *sam saks olema* ‘selbst Herr sein’ (WIEDEMANN 1893). The borrowing of this Russian intensifier is similar to the copying of quasi-Russian endings for comic effect; of the languages of the former Soviet Union it is only found in those where Russian influence has been considerably stronger than on Estonian: cf. Kolyma Yukaghir *tudegele kuddem tudesam äj amdej* ‘he killed that one and then died himself too’ (MASLOVA 2003, 26). Cf., however, the mixed language Copper Island Aleut, which has borrowed practically all Russian pronouns, and uses these in subject and object cases, but preserves a genuine reflexive pronoun (cf. GOLOVKO 1997, 121).

60 Reminiscent of KURYLOWICZ’ sixth law: a native form may be analogically reshaped under the influence of a non-native form, especially if the non-native variety is more prestigious. In our case these words are adapted to Russian not for prestige but for jocular reasons (KURYLOWICZ quoted in TRASK 1996, 114).


62 Mirrored exactly in dialectal Romanian *preafrumos* ‘most beautiful’ < Sl. *pre* + Rom. *frumos* ‘beautiful’ (ASENOVA 2002, 63; cf. also ROSETTI 1964, 73-74). The Romanian prefix *pre*-, however, may also be of Latin origin (cf. CIORANESCU 1966, 537b-538a).
2.2.1.3. Syntax

The influence of Russian on the syntax of Estonian is a poorly studied field. OJANSUU (1922b, 68-69, 140) and MIKKOLA (1928-29, 747-749) suggested that the use of the reflexive pronoun eene and the possessive pronoun oma is due to Latvian and Russian influence.63

WINKLER (2003) suggests that the Finnic habitive construction with the possessor in the adessive, a copula and the possessee in the nominative (e.g. Est. minul on raamat ‘I have a book’) may be of Russian origin (usually it is thought the similar Russian and Latvian constructions are due to a Finnic or Finno-Ugric substrate. Cf. 2.2. Previous work on Estonian-Russian language contact.

GRÜNTHAL (1941, 213-214) proposed that copula loss in successive constructions such as vaja teha ‘have to do’ have at least been influenced by Russian, where constructions such as мне надо купить карандаш ‘I have to buy a pencil’; use of the participle alone in conditional sentences (e.g. Palganud süs kaks paremat töömeest! ‘[Should] have hired two better workmen!’) is also due to Russian influence (265). Use of the third person plural verbal form in north-eastern dialects (it also occurs in colloquial Estonian) instead of the passive (e.g. ütlevad pro öeldakse ‘they say, it is said’) GRÜNTHAL (1941, 332) also ascribes to Russian influence.

In eastern Finnic languages the use of the passive form instead of the third person plural is relatively common, and is assumed to be due to Russian influence (TAULI 1966, 70-71). This also occurs occasionally in certain north-eastern Estonian dialects: cf. Alutaguse siad `ulguti lahti’the pigs were wandering around’ (lit. Est. sead hulkusid lahti), Jõhvi `mõisad põledetti süsi’the manors were burning coal’ (lit. Est. mõisad põletasid süsi) (PAJUSALU 2002, 112).

SUHONEN’S (1974, 93) claim that the Estonian construction V-O-ALL-NOM-INF (e.g. aitas temale tuba pühkida ‘helped him/her to clean the room’) is modelled on Russian is rejected by HASSELBLATT (2000a, 71), who assumes German origin (cf. half ihm/ihr das Zimmer zu reinigen) is just as likely, if not more so. Other newer articles include HINT (1990a; 1991; 1996) and EHALA (1994).

There are many articles, though, often of a popular character, on the (‘pernicious’) influence of Russian on Estonian syntax (HINT 1970; 1987; 1990; 1996a64; for a collection of typical

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63 STOLZ (1991, 55-58) also assumes Latvian influence.
purist’s annoyances cf. LIIVAKU 1969 and 1999). Contrastive Estonian-Russian studies centered on comparative grammar are carried out mostly in Tartu by the group around IRINA KÜLMOJA. Cf. KÜLMOJA 2005 for an overview of recent work and a bibliography.

2.2.1.4. Bilingualism
Articles on bilingualism include ARISTE (1930), MOORA (1964, 35-50; 65-89), MUST (1965) and HEITER (1968). The only book on the subject is Проблемы русско-эстонского и эстонско-русского двуязычия published in Tallinn in 1985, with an unsurprising emphasis on the importance and benefits of learning Russian. There is no research on a possible ‘Stadtrussisch’, the Russian equivalent of the ‘Halbdeutsch’ spoken by Estonians (cf. STOLZ 1991, 18).

2.2.1.5. Toponymy
Toponyms and proper names do not belong to the normal lexicon of a dictionary, and thus they are not treated in our work.

The Russian influence on Estonian toponomy is the subject of studies by PALL (1970) and SIMM (1970, 1972). Placenames like Võnnu, which occurs in various places in Estonia, were claimed by VIJKUNA (1947-48, 273-274) to be proof of old Slavic colonies in Estonia, as Võnnu was thought to derive from G. Wende ‘Slav’, but VASMER (REW I, 182) agrees with MIKKOLA (1921, 203) in deriving it from Finnic. Recently GRÜNTHAL (1997, 210-213), rejecting MÄGISTE’s (1970a) old etymology, has suggested that the name of the former Estonian province Ugandi is of Old Russian origin (< *ug- ‘south’), and KUDRIJAVEC (2002) derives the river name Piusa (in south-eastern Estonia) from ORuss. *pljusa.68

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64 Cf. HASSELBLATT 2000 for arguments against some of HINT’s points. PETAR KEHAYOV (p.c.) has mentioned copula drop, relatively common in north- and south-eastern dialects of Estonian, but also in the eastern Finnic languages, as being possibly due to Russian influence.

65 Cf. also MILIAN (2004, 220): ‘The overnight transition from Estonianized Soviet Russian terminology and Russian language syntax to complete shunning of this terminology and a rapid reversal to the syntax standardized 50 years earlier, even in the daily press, demonstrates the flexibility of the Estonian language.’

66 The Slavic etymology is still accepted by KUDRIJAVEC (2000, 66).

67 A more likely etymology than MÄGISTE’s (1970a, 73-74), who derives it from an unattested verb *ugama ‘murmeln, lispeln’, or the derivation from the Germanic tribe name Inguaones (cf. LEV I, 339), which seems to go back to ILLIĆ-SVITYČ (cf. TRUBAČEVIĆ 1965, 19).

68 JOHANSEN (1956) suggested (and rejected) Russian origin for the German name ‘Brohe’; Est. Jõelähtme jõgi) for a certain river in northern Estonia.

2.2.1.6. Proper names

There is not much research on the question of Russian influence on Estonian proper names. An interesting problem in the 1920s was the transliteration of the feminine forms of Russian surnames: in a readers’ questions column in the 1925 issue of *Eesti Keel* (*The Estonian Language*) Elmar Muuk, the major Estonian pre-war orthographer, lashes out at the reader who is unsure whether to write feminine forms of Russian surnames with an *-a* or not. ‘There is no need to borrow the Russian feminine suffix *-a* into Estonian, just as there is no need to write *Tallinski garnison* instead of *Tallinna garnison*. We cannot transplant foreign suffixes into our own language, just as we cannot decline Russian names in Estonian with Russian endings.’ (cf. the original Estonian in Muuk 1925, 141, cf. also Muuk 1926, 36 for more of Muuk’s advice). In the 10th issue (Saareste et al. 1931, 108) of Eesti Keel the editors recommend that all names of citizens of Estonia, regardless of their ethnic origin, be written conforming to the rules of Estonian grammar, i.e. that there be no feminine forms of Russian surnames. However, if reference is made to foreign citizens, then the feminine form remains. This led to the situation that ‘Anna Pavlova’ would be written as *Anna Pavlov* were she to be an Estonian citizen, and as *Anna Pavlova* if not.

This question came up again in the 1940s and is reflected in various editions of the orthographical dictionaries published at the time: the 1940 VÖS recommends that the spelling of feminine forms of Russian names conform to the masculine form, i.e. *Olga Lapkovski*, not *Olga Lapkovskaja*. In 1941, after the Russian occupation, the State Publishing Centre organized a language committee, which gave the instruction to simply transliterate Russian female forms without any adaptation (cf. Elisto 1948, 47; Kask 1965, 4). In the 1945 VÖS then *Olga Lapkovskaja* is the preferred form. By the time the 1953 VÖS appeared it was apparently not anymore deemed necessary to demand that О́лга Лапковская must be transliterated as *Olga Lapkovskaja* and may not be Estonianized to *Olga Lapkovski*. Newer dictionaries only show transliteration tables for the letters, and do not give advice on how to transliterate names; neither does the 1995 guide to Estonian orthography (*Erelt* 1995).

Some research has also been done on the use of first names in Russian and Estonian-Russian families (cf. Hussar 2001, 391-397).
2.2.2. Lexical contact

The earliest references to lexical contact between Estonian and Russian go back some 300 years. In his 1732 grammar of Estonian, which includes an Estonian-German dictionary, ANTON THOR HELLE adduces a short list of Russian loanwords, many of which are also still accepted today. Earlier mentions of Estonian-Slavic contacts do exist; GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ, the German philosopher, in a letter written in December 1693 to the orientalist and Ethnologist HIIB LUDOLF (1624-1704), writes that he is researching the relationship between Estonian and Slavic (cf. MÜLLER 1975, 655; WESSEL, K. 2003/2004, 79).

Specific articles dealing only with the Russian loans in Estonian begin with BRÖMSEN 1814. In the present work only loans are treated; calques from Russian, of which there are many in Estonian, have not been included. Though calques are a subject on which much has been written (often also of popular character), there is in fact little beyond lists of examples (EDERBERG 1911, 1913, LIIVAKU 1978, LIIVAKU - MERISTE 1975, LIIVAKU 1999). KURMAN (1968, 93) calls attention to the changes in meaning many words underwent after the Soviet conquest: e.g. where the 1945 orthological dictionary (VÖS) defines natsionalism as ‘rahvuslus’ (‘nationalism’), in VÖS 1953 it is already defined as ‘reaktsiooniline kodanlik ideoloogia’ (‘a reactionary bourgeois ideology’), but this perhaps just merely semantic shift and not calquing. A case of semantic narrowing would be dekaad ‘ten-month, ten-week or ten-day period’ in EÖS (1925) to ‘ten-day period, ten-day (holiday)’ in EKSS (1988) under the influence of Russ. десяд ‘ten-day period’. Calques were also willingly introduced into Estonian when during the language renewal period J. V. VESKI created e.g. käendus ‘bail; warranty’ (käe- ‘hand’ + suff. -ndus) after Russ. порука ‘id.’ (по- ‘on’ + pykä ‘hand’) (VESKI 1958, 22).

Not uninteresting would be to follow the change in definitions of words with religious connotations in the various editions of the dictionaries. Typical are changes like bulla ‘paavsti käsukiri’ (= papal edict) in the 1935 EÖS to simply käskiri ‘written order’ in the 1940 and 1945 VÖS, but again back to paavsti käskiri ‘papal edict’ in the 1948 SÖS and 1953 VÖS. MÄTTÄNEN (1972) has done similar work on the political vocabulary to some extent in her (unpublished) university thesis (cf. also AHVEN 1965 and AHVEN 1967). TÄNAVA (1962) is a university thesis on Russian calques in Estonian.

A problem which in other languages does not occur very often is the fact of possible Russian influence in the creation of new words. Often these new words, created in the 1920s and 1930s, were vaguely based on words with similar meaning in other languages like English, French, German and Finnish. To quote KIPARSKY (1939a, 287): ‘...olen tullut siihen
käsitykseen, ettei uusia vartaloita voida muodostaa niiden liittymättä, vaikkapa tiedottomastikin, johonkin ennestään tuttuun äännekompleksiiin 69. For some words Russian origin can also be suggested, though these words are then not Russian loanwords as such 70: the Estonian word laup ‘forehead’, was created accidentally when during the printing of a book the -d- in lauda ‘of the stall’ was mistakenly inverted, forming a non-existent *laupa. J. AAVIK, the language renewer (cf. e.g. AAVIK 1924 and 1936), then later assigned this creation the meaning ‘forehead’. MÄGISTE (1932a, 284) though, assumes that Russ. лоб ‘forehead’ must have influenced AAVIK in his choice, just as J. V. VESKI assumes that Russ. назад ‘back’ influenced AAVIK’s naasma ‘to return’ (footnote 4. in MÄGISTE 1932a, 283); tene ‘thin, delicate’ is compared to Latin tenuis, but also to G. dünn ‘thin’ and Russ. тонкий ‘thin’. MÄGISTE emphasizes that these are not possible etymologies of the Estonian words, but merely words which sound or look vaguely similar and could have influenced AAVIK whilst creating new words (cf. also KURMAN 1968, 61; HINDERLING 1981, 89).

In slang also Russian-like endings or Russian-like words are created with no direct precursor in Russian like Est. gotovkin ‘ready’ < Russ. готов ‘ready’ with the Russian surname suffix -кин. 71

The following list briefly sketches those works in which Estonian-Russian (lexical) language contact plays a large role 72; published books or articles in which only a specific loanword is dealt with will be referred to in the relevant word article. 73 The first attestation of each word will be given in the individual word articles.

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69 ‘I have come to the conclusion that one cannot create new word-stems without linking them, albeit unconsciously, to previously familiar sound-complexes’.

70 MÄGISTE (1932a, 286) realized this problem: ‘Kuiagi raske on vahet tõmmata, kus lõpeb laenamine ja kus algab eestipärsan häälikukohandamine, loomistöö.’ (‘It is difficult, however, to say where borrowing ends and where adaptation to Estonian pronunciation, creation starts’).

71 Unless it is borrowed from the Russian the surname ГОТОВКИН, which does exists, though only ГОТОВКО is found in UNBEGAUN (1995, 219).

72 Two unpublished works could not be consulted: БАХМАН, К. И. 1955, Исследование русских лексических заимствований в эстонском языке (по материалам публицистики и лексикографии второй половины XIX и начала XX вв.). Ленинград. This is an unpublished PhD dissertation, of which there is no trace in any library, save for an abstract (BACHMAN 1956). Also not found was BRODEN, I. 1963, Russische Lehnwörter im Estnischen und Karelischen. Magister-Hausarbeit. Berlin. The author herself does not have a copy anymore (IRENE BRODEN, p.c.).

73 OSKAR LOORITS had written a monograph on the influence of Russian, but this was never published (cf. GEV III, 117).
VON BRÖMSEN 1814

The first work to deal specifically with Russian loanwords in Estonian was VON BRÖMSEN’s ‘Sammlung von Wörtern, welche aus der russischen Sprache in die estnische gekommen sind’, which appeared in Beiträge 3 (139-149) in 1814. VON BRÖMSEN lists 86 words in all, of which 35 are nowadays accepted Russian loanwords (i.e. considered to be Russian loanwords by MÄGISTE (= EEW I-XII) and RAUN 1982); the others are mostly of Germanic origin, the others of Baltic or indigenous Finnic origin. Though VON BRÖMSEN’s approach is dilettantish (as shown by his list of Estonian words which sound like Russian ones, but have a completely different meaning), he does have the honour of being the first.

Of the words (correctly) etymologised by BRÖMSEN about 25 are still used in spoken Estonian, though more can still be found in the present-day written language.

HUPEL 1832

In a brief article submitted to the last issue of ROSENPLÄNTER’s Beiträge, ‘Erklärung des Ursprungs jetzt estnischer Wörter aus fremden Sprachen’ (Beitr. 20, 120-129) HUPEL says that research into the origin of words is important for the history of a people, and that foreign words in a language does not mean the speakers of this language are but a random hotchpotch. He goes on to explain that similar-sounding words in Latvian and Estonian are not borrowings from one language to the other but mostly of German origin. HUPEL also lists some words which he thinks are German but have in fact been borrowed via Russian like Est. kattal < Russ. котён, G. Kessel; Est. tool < Russ. стул, G. Stuhl; the only one which is indeed from Russian is Est. pitsat < Russ. печать; G. Petschaft is a loan from Slavic. In HUPEL’s list of 37 words 17 are actually loans from Russian.

AHRENS 1843

In AHRENS’ 1843 (²1853) grammar there is what RAUN and SAAREST (1965, 6) call ‘an attempt at an etymological dictionary’. Most etymologies are not new discoveries by Ahrens himself.

74 G. Petschaft ‘stamp’, recorded first in the 13th century, is a loan from Slovenian pečat ‘id.’, and has been partially adapted to Schaft ‘shaft, stem’ (KLUGE 1995, 623a).
AHLQVIST 1875
AUGUST AHLQVIST published his ‘Die Kulturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen’ in 1875. He etymologizes mostly Finnish but other Finnic words too connected with concepts like ‘hunting’ and ‘clothing’. Ahlqvist’s rambling overview is now little used, but as is the case with WESKE 1890, his work is sometimes unfairly neglected. Some Russian etymologies for Estonian words had not been suggested before.

WESKE 1890
Славяно-финская культурные отношения по данным языка I. Казань.
WESKE’s work consists of three chapters, of which the second concerns Slavic, Russian and Lithuanian (i.e. Baltic) words in Finnic. WESKE was the first to pay more than passing attention to the question of (especially) Slavic loanwords in Finnic and posited systematic phonetic rules concerning Slavic loans in Finnic. However, many of WESKE’s etymologies, which concern older Slavic loanwords, are now not accepted nor are many of his phonological correspondences. Due to the relative unavailability of WESKE’s work he is not often cited, and compared to MIKKOLA 1894 he is of course less reliable. However, he does not deserve the obscurity that has been his lot. Some etymologies which later researchers ‘discovered’ had already been suggested by WESKE.

MIKKOLA 1894
Berührungen zwischen den westfinnischen und slavischen Sprachen. I. Slavische Lehnwörter in den westfinnischen Sprachen.
MIKKOLA’s brilliant work was the first that critically dealt with the problem; the first work which is still essential today. After sketching Finnic-Slavic contacts from the beginning (which MIKKOLA places sometime before 800 AD) onwards, he emphasizes that the Slavic loanwords in Finnic, though sometimes seeming to represent older stages of Slavic than the earliest Russian records, are definitely Russian and not from West Slavic or other Slavic languages. All Finnic languages have both older and newer loanwords apart from Livonian, whose Russian loanwords have been borrowed from Latvian.
MIKKOLA was also the first to sketch the sound correspondences, an overview, which is, on the whole, still valid today. He also suggested that Old Russian had both short and long nasal

75 ‘Westfinnisch’ is an obsolete term for ‘Finnic’, and does not include Saami.
76 As SETALÄ suggested in 1916 (cf. SETALÄ 1932, 43).
vowels and that these were reflected in Finnic loanwords\textsuperscript{77}, something which KIPARSKY proved\textsuperscript{78} only some 50 years later (KIPARSKY 1948).

**MIKKOLA 1938**

MIKKOLA’s 1938 *Die älteren Berührungen zwischen Ostseefinnisch und Russisch* is essentially a shorter reworked version of his 1894 book, though usually not considered an improvement (KALIMA 1939-40; KALIMA 1952, XIII; PŁOGER 1973, 19; DINGLEY 2001). MIKKOLA leaves out the chapter on earlier research on Russian loanwords in Finnic. The period of the earliest Finnic-Russian contacts is now periodized to after 800 AD. In this reworked version he treats both older and younger Russian loanwords, contrary to what the title suggests, but also considers many Finnic words of accepted (cf. e.g. PŁOGER 1973) Russian origin not to be Slavic after all but of Finnic origin: e.g. Fi. *karsta* ‘dirt’, *laatu* ‘quality’, *luokka* ‘class’, *muokka* ‘preparation’, *papu* ‘bean’, *raaska* ‘have the heart to’, *raja* ‘border’, *rotu* ‘race’, *tuska* ‘pain’, *varpunen* ‘sparrow’, *velho* ‘wizard’, *veräjä* ‘gate’, *virsu* ‘birch-bark shoe’, *vitsa* ‘whip’. We have to agree with MIKKOLA, though, when he categorically states that words such as Fi. *hiri*/*Est. hirs* ‘pole’ and Fi. *ies*/*Est. ike* ‘yoke’ cannot be loans from East Slavic. MIKKOLA also leaves out many dialect words, apparently because of their limited distribution.

**ERNITS 1947**

After the Second World War Estonian-Russian brotherly relations were to be the subject of more attention in Estonian linguistics (cf. VIIBERG 1997, 202). Results of this research were amongst others\textsuperscript{79} VILLEM ERNITS’ Русско-эстонские языковые отношения (in ARISTE 1947, 115-131), an article based on a paper read at the 1947 Leningrad conference. It does, however, manage to afford useful information. Sketching Slavic/Russian-Estonian contacts from the beginning till after the Second World War, ERNITS suggests that the first Slavic-Finnic contacts already took place further to the south-west, near the upper reaches of the Dvina, Dnepr and the Volga, and much earlier, in the first half of the first millenium AD. In his survey ERNITS also pays particular attention to the influence of Estonian on Russian in

\textsuperscript{77} ‘…merken wir gleich, dass *u* in *suntio* und *uo* (*< o*) in *kuontalo* die ursprüngliche kürze und länge des slav. nasalvokales wiederspiegeln.’ (MIKKOLA 1894, 48).

\textsuperscript{78} There is, however, still no consensus today among Slavists as to whether phonological length played a role in the vowel system of Old Russian (cf. ECKERT et al. 1983, 81). Cf. 5.1.2.3. Nasal vowels.

\textsuperscript{79} Other works are ARISTE 1952, MOORA 1964 and MUST 1954 (published in 2000).
general and on the Russian dialects spoken in Estonia. ERNITS’ sketch does not treat anything in particular depth, but is a useful overview.

**KALIMA 1952**

KALIMA’s *Slaavilaisperäinen sanastomme* (a German translation, ‘Die slavischen Lehnwörter im Ostseefinnischen’, appeared in 1956), the most important work since MIKKOLA 1894 and written as a handbook for Finnish university students, deals with the Slavic loanwords found in the Finnic languages, but he does not rule out contact between West Slavic and Finnic (pp. 56-57, 194-195, p. 44, 148 in the German edition), a view which has now been abandoned. In fact KALIMA deals only with Russian loanwords (all in all some 305), but uses the term ‘Slavic’ to forestall possible criticism concerning chronology. The northern group of the Finnic languages (Finnish, Karelian, Lude and Veps) are given more attention, as KALIMA had more material about these languages at his disposal.\(^80\) Even today KALIMA’s analysis of phonological substitutions can be used profitably, though with caution. KALIMA remains the most up-to-date treatment of the problem, but as more than 50 years have now passed since then perhaps a new comprehensive overview would not go amiss (as called for by e.g. WINKLER 2002, 379).

**ARISTE 1952**

PAUL ARISTE published an article *Slaavlaste ja läänemerelaste vanimaist keelelisist kokkupuuteist* (‘On the oldest linguistic contacts between the Slavs and the Baltic Finns’) in the literary magazine Looming in 1952 (698-706). Considering the year of publishing the style, content, STALIN-quotes and anti-MARR comments are not surprising, as ARISTE probably did not have much choice in the matter. ARISTE pushes the first Slavic-Finnic contacts even further back into time; he claims archeological research has shown that the Slavs were already present in the Dnepr and Volga areas before 0 AD. At the time such views were imposed from above (cf. also LOORITS 1955, 18) and thus common in all scientific work; for a particularly servile example cf. VASSAR 1954.\(^81\) He also etymologizes certain Finnic words as

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\(^{80}\) The present work aims to fulfil in part KALIMA’s wish: ‘Im übrigen halte ich es sowieso für sehr erwünscht, daß wenigstens den russischen Lehnwörtern des Estnischen noch eine eigene gründliche Untersuchung zuteil wird.’ (KALIMA 1956, VII).

\(^{81}\) In a similar vein the Latvian JĀNIS LOJA (1958, 164, 195), in his introductory textbook on linguistics, claims that such words of genuine Baltic origin as *dārgs* ‘expensive’, *miers* ‘peace’, *tālka* ‘local work gathering’ and *nāve* ‘death’ are in fact loans from Russian.
Slavic loans, though most of these (Est. hírs ‘pole’, Est. ike ‘yoke’, Est. tuba ‘room’) are either not believed to be from Slavic or have other well-established etymologies. Est. pard, Fi. parta ‘beard’ even today lacks a generally accepted etymology, though newer research (e.g. SSA II, 318) tends to think Germanic the most likely source. ARISTE, however, does not mention any other possible source than Slavic.

ARISTE (702) also mentions the possibility of contacts between the Baltic Finns and West Slavs, which also is now not accepted. Finally he also admits that some words have been loaned from Estonian into Russian. In a fine example of Soviet-speak ARISTE (706) concludes: Õigesti lahendatud keelelised suhtlemised suudavad kaheldamatult valgustada paljugi eesti ja vene rahva iidest koostööst, anda vastust sealgi, kuhu ei küüni ajaramatute andmed. (‘Correctly unravelled linguistic associations will undoubtedly shed much light upon the ancient co-operation between the Estonian and Russian peoples, give an answer even there, where data from chronicles does not reach’).

**MUST 1954**

MUST’s doctoral thesis, as with many doctoral theses in the Soviet Union, did not appear in print until 2000 (cf. below) and only a 25-page abstract was published: Отражение русско-эстонских отношений в лексике южно-эстонских диалектов. Таллинь 82 1954. In it she shortly but succinctly sketches Estonian-Russian linguistic relations, with the obligatory references to the ‘great Russian nation’, ‘the historic friendship’ of the Russians and Estonians, and the ‘beneficial influence’ of the Russians on the Estonians. MUST says that these relations go back some 2000 years, conform to the accepted dogma of the time, according to which the Slavs’ presence so far north was as ancient, not more so. The thesis dealt with Russian loanwords in South Estonian dialects, but many of the loans she mentions are also found in the literary language.

Apart from the etymologies mentioned in this abstract and her 1956 article some of the etymologies that MUST discussed in her unpublished thesis were cited with reference to her in Soviet Estonian publications, whereby they occur in print before the thesis was finally published in 2000.

**BACHMAN 1956**

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82 Now usually spelled Таллин in Russian-language publications in Estonia, though often Таллин in Russia itself, much to the displeasure of the Estonians.
K.I. BACHMAN wrote a thesis in 1955 on Russian loanwords in Estonian, based on material found in newspapers and lexicographical sources from the second half of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, which he defended at the University of Leningrad. As is the case with MUST’s thesis it was not published, but a copy of it is not available neither in Russian nor Estonian libraries. A 15-page abstract was published in 1956 which gives a short overview of the types of Russian loans borrowed. BACHMAN’s thesis consisted of an introduction (pp. 1-20), a chapter on the influence of Russian on Estonian (pp. 21-326), a chapter on the semantics of Russian loans in Estonian (pp. 327-379) and an appendix with an alphabetical list of Russian loans in Estonian.

**MUST 1956**

MUST’s article from 1956 concerns the adaptation that modern Russian loanwords have gone through after borrowing, with special emphasis on dialectal loans. She describes how loans have been adapted phonologically and morphologically, and points out various reasons why words are borrowed. MUST comes to the following six conclusions: 1) most Russian loans denote some aspect of culture previously unknown; 2) borrowing is due to stylistic reasons, whereby the lexicon of Estonian has been enriched; 3) luxury loans are especially common in the eastern dialects; 4) mostly substantives have been borrowed; 5) most nouns are borrowed from nominative forms, and 6) all loans, even the newest, adapt to a great degree to the morphological and derivational system of Estonian. Because this does not hold for the phonological aspect, newer loans can be easily recognized as such.

These obvious statements are not of particular interest, and the value of this article lies mostly in the examples, which were thereby accessible to other researchers. Many of the loans noted by MUST in this article were not mentioned in print anywhere else until the publication of her PhD thesis in 2000.

**ARISTE 1958**

In his article *Vene laensõnadest vanemas eesti kirjakeele*83 (1958) ARISTE says that there are more older Russian loanwords in Estonian than in other languages, as the southern Finnic peoples, especially the southern Estonians and the Livonians, were in contact with Krivichians (Russ. Кривичи) before the more northern Finnic peoples came into contact with the Slovenes (Russ. Словены). Like Ojansuu (1916, 115) he assumes that many Russian

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83 ‘On the Russian loanwords in the older Estonian literary language’.
words could have been borrowed into other Finnic languages via Estonian. He also claims that some Russian loanwords could have entered North Estonian through Votic intermediation, but admits that this would be difficult to substantiate. As many other writers ARISTE does not use the terms ‘Slavic’, ‘Old Russian’ or ‘Russian’ in any consistent way. He also suggests that the earliest Slavic loans may date from the first centuries AD, a view which cannot be accepted. Some loans (e.g. sinine ‘blue’ < синий ‘id.’) are purported to be Russian, though MIKKOLA 1894 already convincingly showed that this is not so. Others are considered unsure, though they have been practically undisputed Russian loans (e.g. papp ‘priest’ < попь ‘id.’) since the 19th century.

**BACHMAN 1959**

BACHMAN published another article based on his thesis in 1959 entitled О некоторых типологических особенностях русских лексических заимствований в эстонском языке. He again gives a short overview of the types of Russian words which were borrowed by Estonian (cf. BACHMAN 1956), but pays more attention to morphological adaptation and loan translations.

**JOHANSEN 1961**

JOHANSEN (1961, 78-89), in part a review of KALIMA 1952, looks at Russian loanwords in Estonian from a historian’s point of view. His article is divided into three parts (Slavic loans in Finnic, social and civilizational loans, loans in border dialects). For us the second part is most interesting. JOHANSEN reminisces about his childhood and sketches the language situation in turn of the century Tallinn.

JOHANSEN accuses KALIMA of underestimating the number of Russian loans in Estonian, though KALIMA specifically says: ‘...im Estnischen...finden wir m. E. auch relativ wenig späte Lehnwörter, wenigstens im Vergleich zum Wepsischen und Wotischen.’ (KALIMA 1956, 22). Here KALIMA is undeniably right. JOHANSEN lists many words that quickly disappeared after Estonian independence, he also mentions calques, though KALIMA dealt with loanwords only. Some of the words JOHANSEN mentions are now not thought to be of Russian origin (valitsus ‘government’, parv ‘ferry’). Among etymologies suggested originally by JOHANSEN are tiba ‘Russian’ (pej.) from ты, блядь! (this etymology is not universally accepted; cf. tiba).

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84 One is reminded of D.E.D. EUROPÆUS, who claimed certain Russian loanwords in Finnish were borrowed around the time of Jesus' birth (cf. MIKKOLA 1894, 24-5).
MÄGISTE 1962

In 1962 JULIUS MÄGISTE published the 78-page work *Äldre ryska låtord i estniskan särskilt i det gamla estniska skriftspråket*, the first monograph on the Russian loanwords in Estonian. In it he first treats 61 generally acknowledged older Russian loanwords, as well as the Russian suffix -nik. This is followed by a list of 34 lesser-known loanwords found in the older written language, some of which were not treated by MIKKOLA (1894) even though already known in MIKKOLA’s time. The third concerns Russian loans discovered since the 1950s, including those proposed by the author himself. MÄGISTE thus shows especial attention to the older loanwords and uses a wide variety of (North- and South-)Estonian-language material from the 17th and 18th century, from which he quotes extensively. More or less as a terminus ant quem he uses the 1739 Bible translation, as it appeared just as the period of Russian dominance started and so reflects the usage of pre-Russian times. He also emphasises that the Slavic tribes came into contact first with the southern Finnic tribes such as the Livonians, Estonians and Votes, and that thus these southern Finnic languages will have Russian loanwords not known in the northern Finnic languages Finnish, Karelian and Veps.

KINGISEPP 1972

VALVE-LIIVI KINGISEPP published an article (KINGISEPP 1972, 87-108) on the Russian loanwords found in O. W. MASING’s ‘Marahwa Nääddala-leht’, the first Estonian-language newspaper with a wider audience, which appeared from 1821 to 1823 and in 1825. In its various issues she finds 93 loans of Russian origin, of which kreml ‘kremlin, citadel’, monaster ‘monastery’ and ukaas ‘ukase’ are shown to be Russian loanwords for the first time. Of these three only the last is still in use.

PLÖGER 1973

In PLÖGER’s *Die russischen Lehnrörter der finnischen Schriftsprache* Estonian-Russian language contact, strictly seen, does not play a significant role. However, as Finnish is closely related to Estonian and many Slavic/Russian loanwords found in Estonian are also found in Finnish and are thus treated by PLÖGER, her work is of importance to us. In addition to MÄGISTE 1962 this is the only monograph on the Russian loanwords in a Finnic literary

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85 MÄGISTE assumed he was the first to propose Russian origin for certain loanwords, but ARISTE (1981, 95) takes him to task for not realizing that he, ARISTE, had in fact already written about them in ARISTE 1958.
language (MUST 2000 deals with dialects). Of interest to us especially from a methodical point of view are her chapters on phonetic substitutions and uncertain/rejected Slavic loanwords. Articles on loanwords found also in Estonian (though PŁÓGER does not mention such cognate loans in other Finnic languages) often prove useful.

ARISTE 1981a
ARISTE 1981a is a collection of articles of a popular character, published earlier elsewhere. Among them the article *Vene laensõnu vanemas eesti kirjakeele* (83-96) is a conflation of two articles from the 1950s (ARISTE 1952 and 1958). ARISTE still adheres to the theory that the Finnic peoples could have had contacts with West Slavs and assumes that Est. **koonal**, Fi. *kuontalo* ‘head of flax (on a distaff)’ is a West Slavic loanword. He also considers Est. **ike** ‘yoke’ to be a Slavic loan, though PŁÓGER (1973, 316-319) showed convincingly that this is not so. ARISTE (p. 95) also accuses MAGISTE (1962) of pretending to be the first to ascertain the Russian origin of specific words, when in fact MARI MUST had already done so in the 1954 abstract of her unpublished thesis. The references prove that MAGISTE (1962) did indeed have access to the abstract of MUST’s thesis, and the words **noos** ‘booty’, **pällün** ‘wormwood’ and **rood** ‘subdivision’, which MAGISTE derives from Russian, had already been etymologized in MUST’s abstract.

RAUN 1982
ALO RAUN’s *Eesti keele etümoloogiline teatmik* appeared in 1982. It is very concise, basically a list of some 5800 Estonian words with bare references to cognate words or loan sources. Useful is a list at the end of the book of persons who either created words (AAVIK, VESKI) or etymologized them (ARISTE, MAGISTE et al.). RAUN of course does cite many Russian loanwords, but few that had not been recognized as such before.

SAAGPAKK 1982
As SAAGPAKK mentions in his preface (p. X) he spent much time and effort in providing etyma for words in his dictionary. In a sense this is thus also an etymological dictionary. Not all words are, however, etymologized, so we are forced to conclude that he included only those etymologies found in the literature and added no new ones himself. This is borne out by the fact that there are no etymologies not cited previously elsewhere.
MÄGISTE 1982-1983 (= EEW I-XII)

Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I-XII.

MÄGISTE’s huge etymological dictionary of Estonian (4106 pages) is an unfinished typescript, published after MÄGISTE’s death. It was published as such by the Fenno-Ugric Society in Finland, an unchanged second edition was published in 2000. It is to this day the most comprehensive source of Estonian etymologies. MÄGISTE cites many Russian loanwords, especially from North-Tartumaa, where he was born, but as he left Estonia during the Second World War he had limited access to literature published in Soviet Estonia and inevitably pays less attention to newer Russian loanwords.

RÄTSEP 1983

RÄTSEP’s 1983 article concerns not only Russian loans but gives an overview of the origin of the Estonian lexicon, including percentages. The figures are 54-75 Slavic loans (0.97 - 1.35% of the total lexicon) and 315-362 (5.69 - 6.54%) Russian loans. ‘Slavic’ loans are Old Russian or possibly West Slavic loans, Russian loans those borrowed from the 14th century onwards. Amongst those loans specifically mentioned by RÄTSEP ike ‘yoke’ is now only tentatively considered a Slavic loan (cf. SSA I, 220ab). RÄTSEP leaves out such international words that have entered Estonian via Russian.

SEPPET 1983

SEPPET (1983), based on her 1981 MA thesis, treats Russian words found in ÖS 1960. SEPPET mentions 65 Slavic loanwords (borrowed before the 14th century), 426 loanwords borrowed before 1940 (she includes ethnonyms like avar ’Avar’ and tšerkess ’Cherkess’) and more than 270 from after 1940. SEPPET comments that many typically Soviet words like kolhoos ‘kolkhoz’ and komsomol ’Komsomol’ were in use already before 1940, and that many words attested only since 1945 in dictionaries can be found in pre-war literature. According to SEPPET’s figures there are more than 700 Russian loanwords in the 1976 ÖS, of which about half are of Russian origin, one fourth internationalisms loaned through Russian and one fourth from other languages of the Soviet Union, though loaned through Russian.

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86 RÄTSEP 1983 is the only attempt in Uralic studies to give a complete overview of percentages of words of Uralic, Finno-Ugric, Finno-Permnic, Finno-Volgaic, Finnic and of loan origin on the basis of the whole lexicon.
SEPPET has in fact both loanwords and foreign words. Most of her post-1940 words are found in the 2000 ‘Dictionary of foreign words’ (VSL 2000). This dictionary, however, also contains loanwords; the difficulty of delineating the two is mentioned in the introduction (VSL 2000, 6).

**MUST 2000**

MUST 2000 (based on her 1954 dissertation) deals only with newer (from the 17th century onwards) Russian loanwords found in Estonian dialects, though there are of course many words in her work that are found in the standard language too. As may be expected there are many more loanwords in the Estonian dialects adjacent to Russia. Not treated are technical terms, internationalisms and loanwords from Soviet times; neither are calques or expressions of Russian origin. MUST has 2052 word articles: some 2015 are from Russian, some 35 from Old Russian. About 750 loans are from the south-western dialect area, 600 from the northwest. About 450 Russian loanwords are known all over Estonia and can be found in most dialects. Some 480 are found in dictionaries of the written language, of which at least 100 are loans from the Russian written language.

MUST’s source is the dialect collection of the Institute of the Estonian Language in Tallinn. She did not add words from other sources, which necessarily means that any loanwords not recorded in peasant speech in the last 120 year or so are not found in it. In works like WIEDEMANN (1869) and EKMS, however, there are many Russian loanwords, which have not made their way into the literary language, but are also not recorded by MUST.

With MUST’s work we come to the odd situation that, although the dialects have thus now been relatively thoroughly combed for Russian loanwords, the literary language has not.  

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87 *Venäläisperäisyys ja ekspressivisyyys suomen murteiden sanastossa* (‘Russian influence and expressivity in the lexicon of Finnish dialects’) by VESA JARVA is the newest work on the Russian-Finnic theme. Though JARVA’s work does not touch upon Estonian, it is an important book. His main premise is that there is no clear border between loanwords (in this case from Russian) and expressive words. Russian loans are adapted to words of indigenous origin and their ‘Russianness’ diminishes with distance to the Russian border. Expressivity and Russian origin do not necessarily exclude each other, and a particular word may contain both Russian and expressive features.