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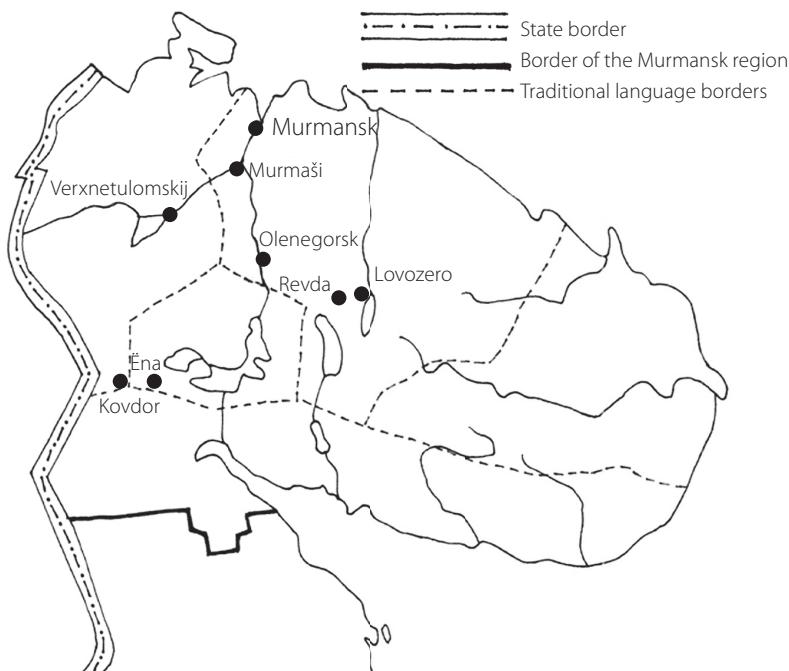
## The Sámi Language Situation in Russia

### *Abstract*

The article presents an overview of the Sámi language situation in Russia. In Russia there are or used to be found four Kola Sámi languages (Kildin Sámi, Ter Sámi, Skolt Sámi and Akkala Sámi), plus a newcomer, North Sámi, which has been used by some Kola Sámi community members since the 1990s. Today, all four Kola Sámi languages are seriously threatened by a language shift from Sámi to Russian. However, a revitalisation process in respect to Kildin Sámi is currently occurring. The present article starts with a general introduction to the Sámi, who are one of the indigenous minority peoples in the Russian Federation. After that, sources of data will be presented and categories of language competence, categories of language users, their numbers and their visibility inside and outside the language community will be discussed. The figures for Sámi language users in Russia are presented in a table below. A description of the actual Sámi language situation(s) in Russia, describing each language variation separately, follows. Finally, conclusions are drawn about the language situation with regard to the potential for language revitalisation, which is the main focus of the article.

## 1. Introduction

The Sámi are an indigenous ethnic minority group living in Norway, Sweden, Finland and on the Kola Peninsula in north-western Russia. The Sámi languages belong to the Finno-Ugric language family and can be divided into two groups: the Eastern Sámi language group and the Western Sámi language group. Kildin, Skolt, Inari, Ter, and Akkala Sámi belong to the Eastern Sámi language group Map 1. North, Lule, Pite, Ume and South Sámi represent the Western Sámi language group. Today, less than 20,000 of the 70,000–100,000 Sámi speak a Sámic language (cf. Aikio 2003: 34–35). According to criteria for judging whether a language is endangered recommended by both J. A. Fishman (1991: 381–415) and UNESCO (2003), all Sámi languages are seriously endangered.



Map 1. The Sámi in Russia: Traditional language borders. (Map according to Misjura 2003 [2007]; traditional language borders according to Sammallahti 1998: 5.)

## 2. The Sámi in Russia

The Russian Federation has a population of slightly over 145 million people. It is a multi-national state with more than 200 different ethnic groups, of which half are indigenous. Although the Russian ethnic group is the largest, approximately 30 million Russian citizens are not ethnic Russians (cf. VPN 2002). Most of the ethnic groups in Russia have been heavily influenced by Russian culture, and Russian is used as the official language of communication across the whole country.

There are about 2000 Sámi in Russia who mainly live in the Murmansk region of the Kola Peninsula (Map 1) – a region that has always been quite important for Russia, both industrially, economically and strategically. After a heavy influx of migrant workers, which was at its strongest in the 1960s and 1970s, more than 100 several ethnic groups now live in the Kola Peninsula. The Sámi, who are the indigenous people of this region, have been displaced and assimilated over the last centuries, and they are today one of the smallest ethnic groups in the region (cf. VPN 2002). As a result of the forced displacements by the Soviet authorities of several Sámi groups from across the whole Kola Peninsula during the 1960s and 1970s, most Kola Sámi language users today live as a minority group in the centralised multi-ethnic municipality of Lovozerо (*Kildin Sámi Lujavv’r*).

The Kola Sámi languages have been strongly influenced by Russian. After the 1917 Russian revolution, there was a short period when the Soviet state implemented certain practical measures to develop and protect the Sámi languages and the Sámi culture. This was followed by almost 20 years of repression and russification, which had a negative influence on the Kola Sámi languages and increased the language shift process from Sámi to Russian. The freedom after the Soviet period opened up new opportunities for the political, cultural and language development of the Sámi. However, there were new economic and social difficulties to contend with. According to the law, the Sámi have several rights to language sovereignty and the use and development of their languages (Krjažkov 1994: 129–140). Yet, their ability to exercise their rights depends on the economic situation in Russia and on the attitudes of the authorities and the majority Russian population towards the Sámi.

### 3. The Sámi language situation in Russia today

According to the last official census, carried out in 2002, 787 of a total of 1991 Sámi living in Russian territory speak Sámi (cf. VPN 2002). Even though this census is one of the most extensive national censuses ever undertaken, it still gives a rather incomplete picture of the Sámi language situation in Russia. The figures are based on voluntary information and self-identification. The statistics do not give any information about spoken varieties and dialects or about the language competence, frequency or context of language usage of those informants who consider themselves Sámi speakers. (cf. VPN 2002).

To get a more precise picture of the Sámi language situation in Russia, the author of this article conducted a survey using a sociolinguistic questionnaire over the period March 2007 to August 2008 as part of the *Kola Sámi Documentation Project* (KSDP 2009). The aim of the survey was to reach as many members of the Sámi community in Russia as possible, and to get more extensive quantitative and qualitative information on the Sámi language situation in Russia, both at the individual level and at the level of the community.

As a result of the survey, 1105 completed questionnaires were collected from several places in the Kola Peninsula and other places in Russia. In other words more than half the Sámi population in Russia answered the questionnaire. The results of the survey will be presented and analysed in my doctoral thesis, which will present a more extensive description of the Sámi language situation in Russia and suggest a model for a revitalisation of Kildin Sámi, the Kola Sámi language with the best prospects.

According to the author's own observations during four years of fieldwork, and from the first results of the questionnaire survey, qualitative interviews and the 2002 Russian census, it is likely that approximately 800 people in Russia have some knowledge of Sámi. "Knowledge of Sámi" in this case means *any* kind of language knowledge, ranging from fluency to a rudimentary understanding.

### Potential language users

Among the 800 individuals who have knowledge of Sámi, probably at least 200 are “potential language users”, which means people who have good passive language skills. They understand all or most of the language and can often speak it, but for several reasons they do not speak the language actively or do not speak it at all. These people usually grew up with Sámi as their first language and spoke it actively in their childhood but then stopped speaking it during childhood or when they started at school. Most of the potential Sámi language users in Russia are middle-aged, which means people between 30 and 50 years. This age group was subjected to greater discrimination, assimilation and stigmatisation than the older and the younger generation. Today, very few from this age group use Sámi on a daily basis and those who are parents do not transfer the Sámi language to their children.

It is likely that most of these potential language users would start speaking Sámi fluently (again) if they were in a language environment where Sámi had a high status and was actively used as an everyday language.

### Active speakers

Probably less than 100 of the 800 people with a knowledge of Sámi are active speakers. “Active speakers” means people who speak Sámi fluently as their first or second language. Unlike potential language users, active speakers use Sámi naturally in their everyday life at *all levels* of communication, that is, they use Sámi as an everyday language inside and outside their homes, independently of the conversation topic.

This group also includes people who do not necessarily use the language on a daily basis at home, but who regularly use it actively in high level contexts as a professional language, as do, for example, interpreters.

Most of the active speakers belong to the older generation, that is, the over 50s. However, there are also some active speakers who are

middle-aged. Normally, active speakers grew up with Sámi as their first language and many did not speak Russian at all after they started to attend school.

### Symbolic language use

A language can be analysed not only in respect to its active and passive use, but also in respect to its symbolic use. In this case, “symbolic language users” are, for example, people who use Sámi to emphasise their ethnicity or signify their membership of a group, but who do not otherwise use it as a language of communication. A potential language user, who uses the language passively, can be, but is not necessarily, a symbolic language user. In the Kola Sámi language community, Sámi is often used symbolically in a public context, for example, when opening meetings and exhibitions. It also seems to be common to use Sámi as a “show language” for the Sámi culture. Here it is used in connection with folklore performances and traditional festivals or when tourists and guests come for a visit. The symbolic use of Sámi seems to be common irrespective of individual language knowledge. Potential language users and community members who only have a restricted knowledge of Sámi constitute the majority of symbolic language users. However, symbolic use of Sámi also occurs among active speakers. Symbolic language use seems to be expressed most strongly among people who are engaged in Sámi public life, for example, among politicians, cultural workers, Sámi language teachers and, to a certain extent, even among language activists.

### Visibility of language users

Most Sámi language users in Russia are not visible. Those who are visible tend to be language activists and so-called language specialists: language teachers, language users with a higher education, older active speakers who are engaged in language maintenance. The most visible group is people who are engaged in public life and people who have a high social status, for example, politicians and people in leading positions. The majority of these people only use Sámi passively

and symbolically. Nevertheless, as official representatives of the Sámi language outside the Sámi community, they are the most visible language users. Active Sámi speakers are not usually involved in societal, political or cultural life, which makes them invisible, especially for outsiders who do not have a deeper insight into the language community. The “invisible group” also includes the majority of potential language users, especially the younger generation, that is, people who are younger than 30 years of age. The younger generation is the so-called “lost generation”. Their parents did not transfer the Sámi language to them; however, many of them heard it from the older generation when they were growing up. It is unusual for the younger generation to speak Sámi fluently; many do not speak it at all. However, there is a group of young people who have a good passive knowledge of Kildin Sámi. Their interest in learning and using the language has grown during recent years. However, their language competence is not usually acknowledged by the rest of the community, and especially, not by the *language specialists*.

Another important group among invisible Sámi language users comprises people with a low social status, for example, mentally ill, alcoholics and social outsiders. However, these people are also part of the language community, and many of them are active speakers of Sámi. Unfortunately, they are usually ignored both by the majority of the language community and by researchers.

In addition, people with competence in Sámi but who are not ethnic Sámi are not normally visible in the Kola Sámi language community. This group includes, for example, non-Sámi members in Sámi families, people who are not Sámi but work in an environment in which the Sámi language is used and members of other ethnic groups who learned Sámi out of personal interest in the Sámi language and culture.

Having discussed language use and visibility, I now present the figures for Sámi language users in Russia in Table 1. I will then describe the situation for each Sámi language in Russia separately.

Sámi language	Knowledge of Sámi (any) <sup>1</sup>	Potential Language Users	Active Speakers
Kildin Sámi	< 700	> 200	< 100
North Sámi <sup>2</sup>	> 100	?	> 4
Ter Sámi	< 20	< 10	1–2
Skolt Sámi <sup>3</sup>	< 20	< 10	—
Akkala Sámi	2 (?)	1 (?)	—

Table 1. Sámi Language knowledge among Sámi in Russia.

### Kildin Sámi

Kildin Sámi is the most widely spoken Sámi language in Russia today. Of the approximately 700 people with a knowledge of Kildin Sámi, there are probably more than 200 potential language users and about 100 active speakers. Four dialects of Kildin Sámi are still used: *Lujavv’r* (Lovozero dialect) is the most spoken dialect, followed by *Killt* (Kildin dialect), *Koarrdegk* (Voron’e dialect) and *Ārsjogk* (Varzina dialect). Today, most users of the four Kildin Sámi dialects live in the municipality of Lovozero.

Kildin Sámi is most commonly used within the family and between close acquaintances. According to accounts from the older generation and retired Sámi reindeer herders, Kildin Sámi is no longer used as a working language in reindeer herding because most of the active Kildin Sámi speaking reindeer herders have retired and the younger herders, who constitute the majority of reindeer herders, do not have sufficient knowledge and interest to use Sámi as their professional language. The languages used in reindeer herding today are probably Russian and Komi.<sup>4</sup> Even if Kildin Sámi may not be heard as a working language among reindeer herders anymore, this does not mean that there are no active Kildin Sámi speakers working and using the language in the reindeer herding associations today. Kildin Sámi

1. This category includes the other categories “potential language users” and “active speakers”.

2. These figures concern those people with knowledge of North Sámi permanently living in Russia.

3. These figures concern the Skolt Sámi community in Russia.

4. This information is not completely reliable. For my doctoral work I plan to investigate language use among reindeer herders more precisely.

has a written language standard based on the Cyrillic alphabet. There is literary form of Kildin Sámi, but the literature mainly consists of prose and poems for children. There are some poems and prose translations from Russian into Kildin Sámi, but there is no literature for adults originally written in Kildin Sámi.

Today, compulsory teaching of Kildin Sámi only takes place in one vocational school, Pu-26, in Lovozero. Until 2004, there was compulsory teaching of Kildin Sámi and Komi for pupils from grade 1 to grade 4 at Lovozero's boarding school. When, in 2004, the boarding school lost its status as a national school for Sámi and Komi children, the compulsory lessons in Kildin and Komi were replaced with one hour of optional teaching a week. Optional Kildin Sámi language courses for adults and children are held in Lovozero, Murmansk, Revda, Olenegorsk and Ēna. However, these courses are mainly for beginners, have no permanent funding and do not take place regularly.

The existing teaching material for Kildin Sámi was mainly developed for school children. There is a serious lack of modern teaching materials for adults and advanced students. There is also a lack of modern and effective teaching methods within Kildin Sámi language teaching.

In addition to the language teaching mentioned above, there is one Kildin Sámi nursery group in Lovozero functioning once a week. However, the main language of communication in this group is Russian.

The *Kola Sámi Radio*, established by an Interreg-Sápmi project that was financed by 19 funders in five countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Russia), is an independent Kola Sámi radio station and has to finance itself, for example, by selling TV-news to the Nordic Sámi TV. (cf. Somby, 2005: 20, Barentsobserver, 2009.) This radio station has the responsibility of broadcasting transmissions in Kildin Sámi, but there have been no regular transmissions in Kildin Sámi during the last two years and most of the broadcasts have been in Russian. For financial reasons the Kola Sámi Radio was in danger of closing at the end of 2009 (Barentsobserver 2009). During the last three years, the movement for the revitalisation of Kildin Sámi has become more active in Lovozero. Active speakers, potential language users, adults and children who are learning Kildin Sámi, have

started to meet regularly for language evenings, where they practise the active use of Kildin Sámi. During this time, Kildin Sámi summer language camps have also been organised for adults and children (cf. SKS 2007, SKS 2008). As a result, new teaching materials for adults and advanced students have been developed. In March 2009, the first issue of *Kil Kjājjn* came out in Lovozero. *Kil Kjājjn* is an unofficial newspaper written in Kildin Sámi which encourages people with knowledge of Kildin Sámi to use the language actively by writing articles in the newspaper (cf. KK 2009). In order to further promote this revitalisation work Kildin Sámi language activists plan to establish a language centre in Lovozero (cf. PZCHD 2009).

### North Sámi

Surprisingly, today the second most spoken Sámi language in the Kola Peninsula is not an original Kola Sámi language, it is in fact North Sámi, a western Sámi language, originally spoken in the north of Norway, Sweden and Finland. North Sámi came to the Kola Peninsula in the 1990s after the fall of the Soviet Union, when it became possible to establish regular cultural and political cooperation between the Nordic countries and Russian Sámi. Courses in North Sámi, which are financed by the Nordic Sámi community and the Nordic countries, are regularly held in the municipality of Lovozero and in Murmansk. Russian Sámi are offered scholarships to go to the Nordic countries to learn North Sámi or even to complete a higher education in the language.

It seems likely that there are more than four active North Sámi speakers of Kola Sámi origin living in Russia today. However, they do not necessarily use North Sámi in their private lives or in the home. As, for example, interpreters or employees of the Barents Secretariat or Kola Sámi Radio, they would use North Sámi actively and on a daily basis as a working language. It also seems probable that there are more than 100 people with some knowledge of North Sámi in the Kola Peninsula today. Some of them may have gained a knowledge of North Sámi through participating in language courses held in Russia, others during intensive language courses, and others have studied it in Norway or Finland. This group also includes people who are potential

users of North Sámi. Typically, these people have spent some time in the Nordic countries, where they learnt and used North Sámi, but stopped using the language after their return to Russia.

North Sámi has the highest status among the Sámi languages. It receives most state support, has come furthest in the language revitalisation process and is used as a lingua franca among Sámi people from all four countries. However, the popularity of North Sámi among the Russian Sámi is not only motivated by reasons of status and communication, personal economic interests also play a part. Studying North Sámi leads to lucrative scholarships and the chance to travel to a Western European country. As a result of their studies, many Sámi students from Russia emigrate to a Nordic country for economic reasons. This is natural and understandable and it has benefited the revitalisation of North Sámi. Nevertheless, despite the Nordic Sámi community's good intentions in supporting cultural, social and political cooperation by giving Kola Sámi community members the opportunity to learn North Sámi, it inevitably creates problems for the maintenance of the Kola Sámi languages. The social and economic problems of many Kola Sámi and the lack of comparable financial and ideological support for the maintenance and revitalisation of the Kola Sámi languages has caused a power imbalance between North Sámi and the Kola Sámi languages which strongly influences the individual language choices of the Kola Sámi.

### Ter Sámi

Of the 20 people with a knowledge of Ter Sámi there are probably only two active language users today. Both are over 70 years old and live in Lovozero and Revda. Less than ten people have sufficient knowledge of Ter Sámi to count as potential language users, and they are over 60 years old. In addition they live far away from each other, spread out across the Kola Peninsula and around the city of St Petersburg.

Currently, there are no teachers of Ter Sámi and, hence, no teaching takes place. However, there is a book of Ter Sámi grammar written on the basis of the Kildin Sámi alphabet. There are also audio recordings of Ter Sámi, which were collected by the Russian Academy of Science in the 1960s and 1970s.

### Skolt Sámi

At best, half of the 20 or so people in Russia today with a knowledge of Skolt Sámi are potential language users. It seems there is not a single active speaker left in the Skolt Sámi community in Russia today.

There is both teaching material and literature in Skolt Sámi. It is written in the Latin alphabet and is used by the Skolt Sámi community in Finland. In Verxnetulomskij and Murmaši, optional courses in Skolt Sámi are sometimes offered to adults. However, these courses are not held regularly and have no permanent funding.

### Akkala Sámi

Akkala Sámi is the most endangered Kola Sámi language. In 1992, about seven or eight elderly Akkala Sámi speakers were counted (c.f. Sergejeva, 1993: 178). But by 2003 the last speaker of Akkala Sámi passed away (c.f. Rantala, 2009: 67). That means that no active speakers of Akkala Sámi are left. However, there are at least two people, both aged 70, with some knowledge of Akkala Sámi. One of them learned Akkala Sámi as a first language as a child. The other is a potential Skolt Sámi user, who understands Akkala Sámi and can translate older Akkala Sámi audio recordings into Russian. Skolt Sámi and Akkala Sámi are quite close and Skolt and Akkala Sámi speakers with a good command of their languages can understand each other (c.f. Pekka Sammallahti: p.c. 19.11.2009).

There is an Akkala Sámi grammar and there are audio recordings of Akkala Sámi, which were collected by the Russian Academy of Science in the 1960s and 1970s.

Today, a group of around 80 Akkala Sámi live in a closely knit community in Ŋna, in the municipality of Kovdor, near the border with Finland, which is a closed military zone. However, it seems that nobody in the Kovdor region speaks Akkala Sámi today, although the Akkala Sámi language situation has not yet been properly investigated. The information we have comes from Kildin Sámi language specialists and politicians, who do not themselves have any competence in Akkala Sámi. According to middle-aged Akkala Sámi from Ŋna, nobody of this generation has learned Akkala Sámi from their

parents, but many have heard the language in their childhood. There are probably people both among the generation of middle-aged Akkala Sámi and the older generation who are potential speakers of Akkala Sámi.

There is a group of Akkala Sámi in Řena who are learning Kildin Sámi as an “intermediate language”, in the hope of switching more easily to Akkala Sámi after they have acquired a good knowledge of Kildin Sámi. On this group’s initiative, optional teaching of Kildin Sámi for adults, adolescents and children has been regularly organised since 2004. The courses are financed by external funding because the municipality of Kovdor does not have the resources to support the courses. However, according to Akkala Sámi informants, the municipality of Kovdor and the local authorities in Řena have a fairly positive attitude towards the revitalisation of Sámi culture and language, and they support the Sámi community as much they can. In addition to Kildin Sámi language courses, once a week the Akkala Sámi community in Řena also runs a language and folklore circle for children at Řena’s culture centre.

The language situation of the Ter, Skolt and Akkala Sámi has not been investigated as extensively as Kildin Sámi. In my doctoral thesis I will investigate the situation of these Kola Sámi language groups more thoroughly.

#### 4. Conclusion

All four Kola Sámi languages are seriously endangered by the ongoing language shift from Sámi to Russian. Akkala Sámi is almost extinct and the situation for Ter Sámi and Skolt Sámi is not much better. North Sámi, the Sámi language with the highest status, is gaining more and more language users even in the Kola Peninsula. The Kola Sámi language with the best chance of revitalisation and survival is Kildin Sámi. Language revitalisation in terms of a reintroduction of Kildin Sámi as the everyday language on all levels of communication is plausible due to the large invisible group of active speakers and potential language users. Nevertheless, successful language revitalisation requires teachers with modern and effective language teaching

methods, new teaching materials and language courses for adults and advanced students. More opportunities to practise active language use are also a prerequisite. A better communication between the generations and more cooperation between Sámi language activists and officials is needed. It is also important to give the Kola Sámi languages a higher status, by, for example, promoting situations where Kola Sámi language competence is expressly required. Another way of giving the language a higher status could be for Nordic Sámi communities to direct more attention and interest towards the Kola Sámi languages. This could be achieved through joint Kola Sámi language courses for Sámi community members from Russia and the Nordic countries, and including the Kola Sámi languages in the highly effective Nordic Sámi language development programs.

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## Оанъхэсъ кыррый

Кыррый вэзхалл Рүшиш-ёммыне сামь кйл туй я пыянт, кбххт пэрия вуаничье пайнэ кйл. Тарым Куэлнэгк нёарк соаме пугк нёллый кйл лёв вэсът кадтмэдтэ я кийлоаннёй выйтнэв сামь кйлэсът рүшиш кйлле. Кйлт, таррый я нюхьт-явьр кйл вэсътэ вял бинъюувэв. Ахъкэль (Акъявьр) кйлл, вуайц цэлдьке, кадэ, ноа лёв вял бллмэ, кесът күдтъенъ тэнн кйл рёяс тёд. Таввялсамь кйлл, ку пудё Рүшиш-ёммыне 1990 ыгенъ, коаппч ёна я ёна сон оаннъет, кбххт Скандинавиясът, ныдтэ э Куэлнэгк нёаркэсът. Кбнн гоарренъ ель вэльшэхт тэнн ёл, ноа кйлт соаме кйл пайнэмуш пай эвтэс мани.

Таррым, кусстай, алт 800 бллмэнъ Рүшиш-ёммынесът лев тёд сামь кйл баяс. Синэнъ, вуайц пыннё, 200 бллмэдтэ вуайц коаххче «потенциальнэ кйл оаннъегуэйм». Синэнъ лёв кйл шиг рёяс тёд: сыйи оантшэв пугк лубэ ённэ, ённэ сыйе маххтэв саррнэ сামь кйлле, ноа югке рээз гуэйке сыйи ев сарн кайнханна, ваймленне лубэ вобьце ев сарн. Рүшиш-ёммынесът тарым ваня 100 ваймлэсъ сামь кйл оаннъедтэ ёллев. Самас ваймлесь саррнъедтэ, вуайц цэлдьке, лев бллмэ, кугк пуэраст я валлтъенне саррнэв йжесъ кйлле кбххт авьтма кйлле, ныдтэ э нымып кйлле, я кугк оаннёв сামь кйл югке пёйв я югке саесът.

Самь кйлл тоайив бинъюув вэзхэллэм (символическэ) кийлэнъ, валльтэ, вүзыхемь гуэйке, манътэ олма ли – сামь вай мудта. Ныдтъшэ вэзхэллэм кийл бинъюув өххтса сামь ялэсът, лубэ, го «шоу кийлл» вэзхалл йжесъ бллмэ культура. Вэзхэллэм кийл оаннёв ев лышшэ бллмэ, ванас тидтэй кийл, ноа э бллмэ, пуэраст тидтэй кийл. Енамп вэзхэллэм кийл оаннёв бллмэ, кугк ваймельт кускнэв өххтса сামь ялла. Янаш сামь кийл оаннёй ев кусстэ. Чута кусстьев сামь кийлл ваймлесь, кугк ваймельт кускнэв өххтса сামь ялла, бллмэ кесът ли ёлл сайж ялэсът я ял выгкэй, го политик я шурьмуз (лидеры). Ноа янаш сামь кийл ваймлесь оаннёй ев кусстэ. Тэнн “эй кусстей” бллмэ туххка ныдтъшэ мэнънэв янаш потенциальнэ кийл оаннёй, нурр пуллдэг, бллмэ эй соаменъ выйтма я бллмэ вулльгесъ ял сенъ, валльтэ, кэбп вобвишна бллмэ, вуайпей роавас чоазенъ я мудта рэзэгуэйм вуайпей бллмэ.

Го кïл пайнэмушш лôгэнч вâсът ѫлхэ кïлт кïл, гу югкепайивса кïл, ку вâллтъенне бинньюваахх югке сэенЬ, танна кïлт кïл вâймлесь я потенциальнэ оаний эйй кусстъей туххк лыххк шурр потенциал. Эвтэс, кунт гуэйке вâсът кïл пайнэ, бэдьсуувэв бххпэй, тидтэй бдт я тэррмъя кïл бххпэм түетЬ, бдт бххпэм кырьетЬ я кïл бххпэм оанъхесь кэскэтЬ лыгксаххтэмь гуэйке эвтэс бххпмуж. ЛашшенЬ кïл бххпэм оанъхесь кэскэтЬ бэдт лыххкэ ёна вуаннчмужэтЬ кïл вâймля оаниймь гуэйке сâмас сâрнэм пâль югкепийве вуаннчмемь вâрэсът сâмас сâрнэм вырькэтЬ. Анньювв э сâмь бллмэе эхтнэг сыськасът кэскэсът югке пуллдэг ёна ѫххтса кïл түетЬ выгкэ я ныдтъшэ выгкэ ѫххтса түетЬ кэскэсът сâмь кïлл вâймлегуэйм, пайхък ял выгкэй чурьвэгүэйм. Ныдтъшэ шурр түйли анийтэ Күэлнэгкнёарк соаме кïлэтЬ ённгэдтэ аля ялл сай, вâллтэ, лыххкэ вёххъкенЬ мугка түетЬ, кугк аннэв кïлт соаме кïлэтЬ оанимуж. Кïл сай пайнэмь гуэйкэ вял э мугка вуэйимушш лйнчле вуаяхч, вâллтэ, Скандинавскэ сâмь бллмэ вâлтченЬ шуря пайдцэльвуд я тыввьвудт Күэлнэгкнёарк соаме кïлэ альн. Тэйт түетЬ вуаяхч йллькье пэйель ѫххтса оанъхесь кïлт кïл бххпэм кэскэ Скандинавскэ соаме я Күэлнэгкнёарк соаме гуэйке. Вял кусстай мугка лыххк, вâллтэ, Күэлнэгкнёарк соаме кïлэтЬ ѫххтэ Скандинавскэ шиг программатъ пайнэмь гуэйке сâмь кïлэтЬ.

Сâмь кïлле пыйенъ Сандэр Антонова  
я Элизабет Шеллер.

## Соагнэххък

ваймлесь кйл оаннёй – активный носитель языка  
вуаннчмушш, вуэймушш – возможность  
вэзхэллэм кйлл – символический язык  
эвтэс бххпмушш – продвинутый этап обучения  
кйл бххпэм оанъхесь кэск – языковые курсы  
кйл пайнэмушш – ревитализация языка  
кйл ваймль – языковой активист  
оанъхесь кырый – резюме  
пыйнэ – предполагать, решать  
тэррьмъя – современный  
тыввьвудт – интерес  
чуэррьв – чиновник, начальник, руководитель, вождь, председатель  
элл ёлл сай – высокий статус  
бххтса ёллмушш – общественная жизнь