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AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF VEPS TOPOGRAPHICAL VOCABULARY*

Abstract: The paper is based on data provided by the Linguistic Atlas of the Veps Language, which is currently under preparation at the Institute of Linguistics, Literature and History of the Karelian Research Centre, Russian Academy of Sciences. It analyzes five linguistic maps representing the areas of some items of Veps topographical vocabulary which are etymologically closely related to the Finnic languages. Nowadays the vocabulary is rapidly disappearing due to the loss of the indigenous lifestyle and the mother tongue of the people. Therefore, our study includes not only proper lexical data, but also some place names as well as some items of the Veps lexical substrate observed in Russian dialects. This has helped us to more accurately define the historical areas of some Veps terms. Mapping has revealed many details of the lexemes areal distribution, obviously caused by different reasons from geographical to administrative and political ones. The study has established several etymological layers of words with topographic semantics. A few proper Veps terms (e.g. *purde*) are considered to be of special value as they show the lexical potential of the Veps language. Also, some lexemes of unclear etymology (*uhring, poźe*) were found, which might have existed in the pre-Veps substrate. The paper describes some possible ways to interpret their etymology.

Keywords: Veps language, linguistic geography, topographical vocabulary, geographical terms.

1. Introduction

Areal linguistics is a contemporary linguistic approach dealing with the division of protolanguage communities into languages and dialect regions, their interaction with adjacent languages and dialects, as well as with the results of these interactions both on the level of direct borrowing of linguistic units and considering a linguistic substrate. It makes an essential contribution to the study of ethnic territory formation.

Linguistic or dialect atlases are of primary importance in areal studies. A three-volume "Atlas Linguarum Fennicarum" (ALFE 2004; 2007; 2010) prepared by an international team of authors from Finland, Estonia and Karelia is thought to be one of the most prominent projects recently undertaken in Finnic studies. The Veps language is represented there among other kindred

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languages. However, a large volume of the Veps dialect material reflecting, primarily, the result of individual development of the Veps language, and its contacts with Northern Russian dialects has not been indicated.

Currently, Preparatory work is underway at the Institute of Linguistics, Literature and History of the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences for the publication of a separate Linguistic Atlas of the Veps Language. The Atlas will include maps on grammar, phonetics and vocabulary. As the work has not been finished yet, we will briefly describe its history and the evidence applied for the purpose.

The idea to create the Atlas was put forward as early as in the 1940s, when The Atlas of the Karelian Language (Бубрих, Беляков, Пунжина 1997) was under preparation at the Institute of Linguistics, Literature and History in Petrozavodsk. The idea belonged to D. V. Bubrich. The first version of the Veps survey was compiled by M. M. Hämäläinen and N. I. Bogdanov in 1958. The project was not realized due to the lack of trained staff.

The work on the Linguistic Atlas of the Veps Language was resumed in 2012 with support of the Russian Foundation for the Humanities. A new survey has been developed on the basis of some ideas from the survey by Bogdanov and Hämäläinen. It consists of 385 questions, whereof 83 concern phonetics, 67 grammar, and 265 vocabulary (Вопросник 2013) and it is based on a contemporary scholarly view on the Veps language.

The Atlas survey was created from 2012—2013 during field trips to 30 Veps settlements (points) where the language is still spoken. Seventy-five points were mapped, part of them already nonexistent. Their inclusion was possible due to the considerable corpus of resources available for use in addition to the field material.

Linguists began to study the Veps language in the early 19th century, after the Veps had been discovered by A. Sjögren. Finnish scholars undertook a lot of field trips to the Veps territories. In the Neogrammarian Era they paid special attention to the Veps language and even called it the Finnic Sanscrit (Grünthal 2015 : 22), believing it possessed a certain archaic character that may shed light on the history of the Finnic linguistic community evolution. As a result of such trips, there appeared a large number of collected papers with samples of Veps speech (E. N. Setälä, J. H. Kala, L. Kettunen, P. Siro, A. Sovijärvi, R. Peltola, P. Virtaranta, S. Suhonen et al.), as well as some on the historical phonetics and syntax of the Veps language (Kettunen 1922; 1943; Tunkelo 1946). Lauri Kettunen's material on the Veps language is of great importance in the field of geolinguistics. They can be found on the website of the Centre of National Languages of Finland (see VVS). Estonian scholars Tiit-Rein Viitso, Aime Kährik, Marje Joalaid, Kristi Salve and others have also done serious studies on the Veps language and culture.

In Russia, regular study of the Veps dialects started in the 1950s. A large collection of the Veps dialect evidence, including over 400 hours of tape recordings, are found in the Phonogram Archives of the Institute of Linguistics, Literature and History of the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk.During the period of field studies of Veps, more than 150 trips were made to practically all the Veps dialect areas. Some material was included in the academic discourse of the dialectal Dictionary of the Veps Language by M. I. Zaiceva and I. I. Mullonen (СВЯ), as well as volumes of Veps language samples, and The Veps

Linguistic Corpus (vepsian.krc.karelia.ru). This factual material has been employed during the work on the Atlas, which is currently found at its final stage. In 2016, the monograph "Очерки вепсской диалектологии (лингвогеографический аспект)" (Зайцева 2016) was published. Here, dialectal material is described, the basics of the Veps Linguistic Atlas are developed, and the first 50 maps are presented.

Veps dialects differ, in the first run, in pronunciation. However, the most recent studies have also shown certain dialect variability at the grammar level (Зайцева 2013 : 46—71). Lexical units as an index of dialect variability still remain understudied in Veps dialectology. This paper aims to prove the role of vocabulary in the study of Veps dialect areas.

For analysis, we have chosen a group of words of Veps topographical vocabulary. The survey was based on 15 questions. The areal/dialectal distribution of either lexemes *per se* or their semantics was chosen as a criterion for lexeme selection. The material collected has shown that some topographical lexemes were not of interest for mapping, albeit representative for an understanding of the areal distribution of the Veps language. The word *pern* 'step riverbank, shoreline', for example, is only found in two eastern dialects (Šim, Päž), and also as a toponym *Pernan/päline* in the northern Veps village Tž. This definitely separates the eastern margin from the rest of the Veps linguistic area, and proves a connection to have existed between the northern and eastern dialects. However, it would leave the map relatively empty. In the opposite case, if a lexeme is used in all dialects and subdialects, mapping will also lose sense. For example, to denote a forest margin, practically all Veps subdialects use the compound *mecröun ~ mecrüun*, whereas the alternative lexeme *t'üvedus* recorded in the СВЯ is not found in later collections. Anyway, the majority of the concepts were collected and mapped, and their lexemes demonstrated dialect variability and links between individual Veps dialect areas thus revealing their evolutionary history.

The role of geographical terms is specific as they are widely used in place names. As toponymy is rather conservative, it often preserves outdated vocabulary which has lost its appellative use. Below, the paper describes the role of toponymic material in areal studies when reconstructing the historic areas of some terms, which definitely increases data validity. The Russian lexical material collected in adjacent territories is applied here for the same purpose. The terms have formed during the assimilation of the Veps, and as such contain a considerable volume of Veps substrate including topographical vocabulary. Although the Veps substrate in the Russian dialects of Obonež'je (see, e.g., Мызников 2003) lies beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth mentioning that it is the topographical vocabulary that remains permanent in the process of assimilation and language shift (Saarikivi 2006 : 23—26).

2. Designations for 'spring, water source' (211)[1]

The areal distribution of the lexeme *purde* shows that the word must have had a wider use in the past and, supposedly, was the only designation for the concept 'spring, source of water'. The idea is supported by the fact that the lexeme is well-preserved in western Central-Veps dialects, including a

[1] The figure in parentheses is the number of the question for the Linguistic Atlas of the Vepsian Language. The survey was published in Вопросник 2013.

group of transitional dialects at Upper Kapša, plus some sporadic records in Northern Veps and Southern Veps areas. However, the term has been practically lost in the Veps dialects of Prionež′je, where its former use can mainly be reconstructed with the help of toponymic records of the late 20th century: mire *Purdeso* (Veh[2]), hayfield *Purdeniit*, field *Purdepöud*, tract *Purdedorog* (Š), tract *Purte* (Št). The Southern Veps record of the lexeme in the form *purtę* 'open place in the forest, glade' in Krl (СВЯ) may be either the result of the semantic evolution of its original meaning or a place name included in the dictionary. In the 1980s our field trip recorded the name of a forest hayfield *Purte* in Krl, which supports the existence of the term in the Southern Veps area.

The word is not found in the area of Eastern Central-Veps dialects, except for one record in Vär, which lies near the boundary between the Western and Eastern subdialects of the Central-Veps dialect. Moreover, the lexeme *purde ~ burde* 'spring' was found in the Southern Ludic subdialect of Kuujärvi, and its toponymic use extends to the Ludic area including Pyhäjärvi (brook *Burde*), Sambatus (hayfield *Purde*),[3] and Kotkadjärvi (stream *Burrinoja*). The occurrence of *purde ~ burde* in the Southern Ludic area at the northern boundaries of the Veps territory and its absence in the rest of the Karelian territory supports its Vepsian roots (Муллонен 2002 : 162).

To reconstruct the historical area of the lexeme, it is essential to take into account Northern Russian records, in particular, the Olonec *пурдажник* (*курдажник*) 'spruce forest on swampy ground', *пурвиж* 'peat, peatland' (СРНГ), the Vytegra *пурдожина* 'peat', *пурдежная земля* 'clayey waterlogged soil' (СРГК), and, probably, the more remote but phonetically impeccable Archangelsk *пурдеж* 'low swampy spot in the field', *пурдега* 'low, thin grass in wet spots' (СРНГ). It is also worth noting the place names Vlg. *Пурдега*, cape *Бурднаволок*, hayfield *Бурда* in Zaonež′je, as well as Hold. *Пурдога*, Vlg. *Пурдога*, spring *Пурдовский родник* in Northern Belozer′je. They are likely to represent the Veps heritage in these Russified territories. These Russian dialectal and toponymic data support the solid position of the lexeme *purde* at the early stages of Veps language history.

The ALFE (2004 : 400—403) suggests that the Vepsian word has a German etymology, which looks doubtful concerning both the semantics of the Germanic etymon and the total absence of such Germanic loanwords in Veps dialects. Nor are analogous examples found in other Finnic languages.

It seems more logical to suggest that the term *purdę* < **purdeg* might have originated from the Veps derivative of the verbal stem *pursta* (СВЯ) 'to blow one's nose', which, as evidenced from kindred languages, had an earlier meaning 'to leak, to seep' (SKES 657: *pursuta*). The Finnic *purista* 'to splatter', *puristaa* 'to squeeze/wring out' (SSA) may also be taken into consideration. The lexeme *purdę* does not exist in the Finnic languages. The voiceless variant *purtę* may have been the result of devoicing occurring in the word stem (*purtke-n*: Genitive Singular) due to the typical vowel dropping in the second syllable. Conversely, the voiced variant with voicing of the first consonant (*Burde*) recorded in place names must have occurred due to the voice-sonorant cluster *-rd-* in the word. The interpretation may

[2] See "Alphabetical listing of abbreviated names of Vepsian localities with numbering according to linguistic maps" (p. 121—122).
[3] Only place names from the proper Veps territory were mapped.

be supported indirectly by the analysis of another term *lähte* 'well, spring' as a deverbative, cf. *lähtta* (< **lähteδäk*) 'to come out, to go'. The analysis shows the same genetic algorithm for the topographical term. Finnish scholar A. Räisänen has implicitly indicated an etymological connection between the Veps *purdę* and *pursta*. When analyzing the origin of the Finnish term *puro* 'brook' he suggested that it was kin to the Veps *purdę*. He also traced the Finn. *puro* to *puristaa* 'to squeeze, to wring out' and *pursua* 'to leak, to seep', thus assuming the Veps *purdę* to have followed the same deverbative way (Räisänen 2010 : 515). However, the presence of *-d-* in the stem of the Veps word still remains a puzzle. To explain this, one has to presume a possible transition stage of **ti* > *si* in the verbal stem.

The term *lähte* is found to mean 'well' in three Veps dialect areas. However, in some subdialects the word is sporadically used to denote a spring. This is probably due to the similarity of their denotata, and the large number of natural spring wells in the area. The Eastern Central-Veps subdialects Pnd, Kj, and Vl are especially demonstrative as their pronunciation has been somewhat transformed. In Northern Veps subdialects Št and Š, and in eastern Central-Veps Šim and Pnd *lähte* acquired the meaning 'ice hole'. This could happen either due to the semantic evolution of the lexeme or, most likely, as a result of Karelian influence: the 'ice hole' semantics is common for all the Veps dialects. It should be noted that Northern and Eastern Veps subdialects have been strongly influenced by the Karelian language.

In some Veps subdialects, a sporadic use of the term *uhring* can be found, apparently correlated with *urting* 'spring; swampy spot, pit in the forest'. The origin of the lexeme and the phonetic links between the variants above remain obscure. However, its semantics indicates a certain connection with the deverbal stem found in *urd'a, urdada* 'to break through, to erode' and its derivative Veps *urdam* 'spring neck', Lud. *uurdam* 'brook with muddy banks'.

It is interesting to note the Veps *uru* 'furrow' and its related words in kindred languages (Finn., Kar. *ura*) as it seems to be related to the verb *uurtaa* (Finn.), *urd'a, urdada* (Veps) (SSA). The pattern of deverbial genesis being also common for other lexemes denoting 'spring' speaks in favour of this interpretation. *Urting* (possibly also *uhring*) can be classified as a deverbal name with the suffix *-ng* (Finnic *-nko*) denoting 'the result of the action' expressed by the verb (Hakulinen 1968 : 174).

The presence of *h* in *uhring* may possibly be inherited from the Finnic long *uu* (cf. Finn. *uurtaa* 'to dig' and its derivatives *uurto, uurre, uurtana*). This assumption is supported by the studies on similar phonetic variations in the usage of *h* at syllable end recorded in Finnish dialects, e.g. *huomata* ~ *hohmata* 'to notice', *saara* ~ *sahra* 'fork', *tuulata* ~ *tuhlata* 'to waste, to squander', etc., cf. also Karelian *huumar* ~ *huhmar* 'mortar bowl' (Rapola 1966 : 251—252). The genesis of this phenomenon still remains obscure. However, it is probable that the phonetic environment plays its role as *h* appears at the contact of a long vowel and a sonorous consonant. As a whole, the suggested etymological interpretation appears conventional, while the vowel *-i-* in the second syllable and the voiceless *-t-* in the variant *urting* remain to be studied. It is unclear how the lexeme *ouring* 'pit in the forest' recorded by L. Kettunen in Čai (VVS) should be qualified in this series, and whether or not there is a connection between *uhring* and *kuhr* 'a small pit in the forest, or mire' in Pnd (СВЯ) considering the semantic

similarity and certain instability of the initial consonant in the position before *u*, cf. *uhm* and *kuhm* 'bump', *uho* and *tuho* 'snowstorm'.[4]

Considering that the term has scarcely been found closer to the Volga-Baltic watershed, and the absence of reliable toponymic records beyond its border, one may hypothesize that originally the term had a limited use. Its etymology is also vague. All that may indicate a substrate origin.

Finally, the Russian loan word *rodnik* is gaining in use, thus substituting the primary Veps lexemes. This is especially noticeable at the eastern border of the Veps area (see Map 1).

The analysis of the Veps area gives evidence of a certain difference between its North-Western and South-Eastern parts. The former is represented by the original Veps lexeme *purdę*, but its meaning in the latter is obscure. Probably, the lexeme *lähte* had a wider use, with no distinct semantic differentiation between 'spring' and 'well'. The lexeme *uhring* of an obscure linguistic origin is used in the middle part of the linguistic area. The Veps lexemes denoting 'spring' as well as other topographical terms are now being displaced by the Russian loanword *rodnik*.

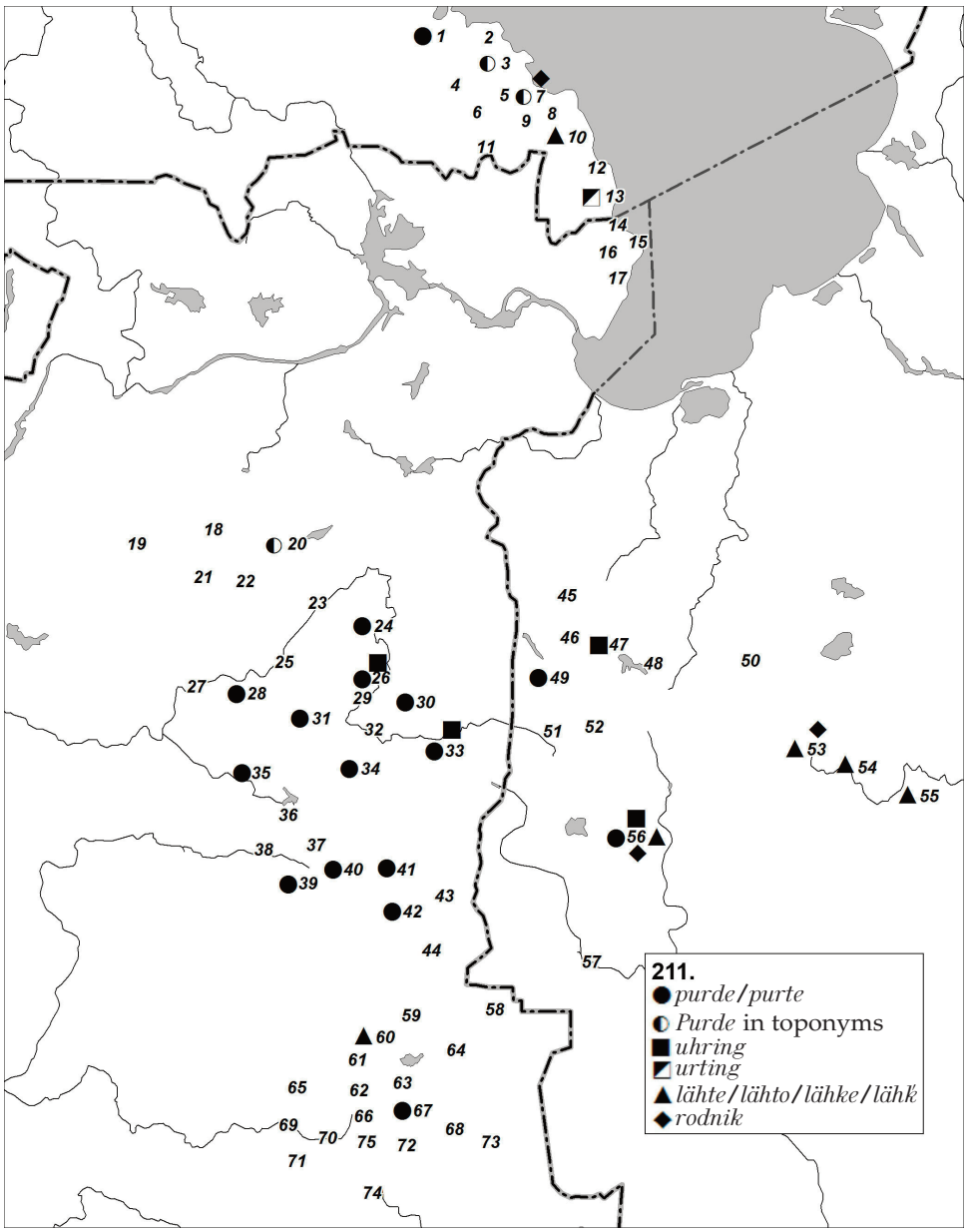
3. Designations for 'strait' (212)

There are three lexemes to denote 'strait' in Veps subdialects. The metaphoric lexeme *kaglaz* in the sense of 'strait', originating from the Veps *kagl* 'neck', has been recorded in Pnd. The lexeme *kaiduz*/*keiduz* (cf. Veps *kaid* 'narrow') is used in a number of Central-Veps subdialects of Upper Ojať. It has one record from the Southern Veps dialect and another from the Eastern Central-Veps subdialect. Its variant *kaidęlmaz* helps reconstruct the stem *kaidelma-* with the suffix *-lm*(*a*) specific for topographical vocabulary (cf. Finn. *lahdelma* 'bight, backwater', *notkelma* 'hollow, trough', *saarelma* 'island'). A kin lexeme is used in the Karelian language, cf. KarPr, Liv. *kaidus*, *kaijelmuz*, Lud. *kaiduz*. This may be evidence of common formation processes.

The Finnic lexeme *salmi* is represented in three phonetic variants. The СВЯ lexicographers recorded the most ancient variant of *salʹm* from the extinct Čai subdialect. The variant *soumʹ* with the sound transition *al* > *au* > *ou* typical for the central part of the Veps language is used in two Central-Veps subdialects. The variant *soun* with the common final *-m*>*-n* sound transition is recorded in the Southern Veps dialect.

Clearly, the records discussed above represent the residual area of the common Veps topographical term *salʹm*. It is recorded in some place names, both in the contemporary and former Veps territories: *Soumʹ* — strait of L. Nažamjärv (Ladv); *Soumʹ* — strait of L. Sarggärv (Tj), *Soumez* — strait of L. Kapšarv (Nür), L. *Salʹmjärv* (Mg), Vlg. *Saumʹe* on a strait (Kar), **Salʹm* (Russ. *Сальма*) — strait of L. Pechevskoye (Peč). The adjacent Russian (Russified) territory yielded the following records: Wtl. *Салма* (Šokšozero) in the southern Sviŕ region, R. *Салма* in R. Vytnusa basin, Brk. *Салма*, Wtl. *Салмакский мох*, L. *Салмозеро*, possibly also Brk. *Салнов* in the R. Paša

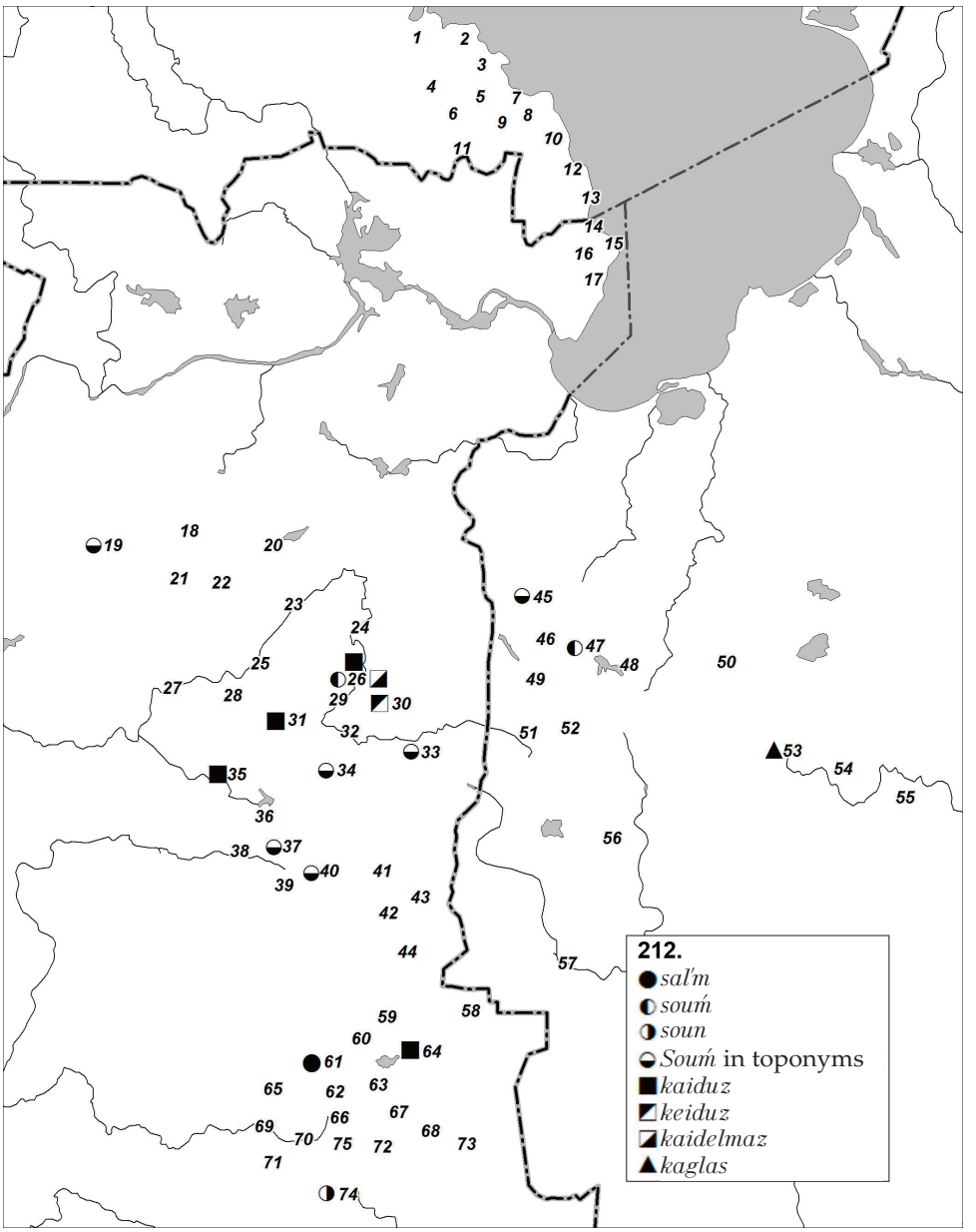
[4] It has been argued that the Veps word *kuhr* may have been the source for the Russian dialect word *кугра* 'water-filled pit in the forest' widely used near the border of Karelia in the Archangelsk Region (Vytegra, Pudož, Kargopol, Plesetsk subdialects) (Мызников 2003 : 366), Given its very limited usage in the Veps-speaking milieu the connection may in fact be the opposite: from Russian subdialects to Veps ones. It is also possible that the adoption took place at the times of the ancient pre-Veps substrate.



Map 1. **Designations for the concept 'spring, wellhead'.**

catchment area. The narrower area of the lexeme use can be explained by the small number of such objects as 'lake straits' *per se*. There are no straits, for instance, in the Northern Veps area formed on the shores of Lake Onega. Consequently, the term is not found (see Map 2).

However, there might have been yet another reason which narrrowed down the use of the term, notably, its complete or close homophony with the lexeme *saum* ~ *soum* ~ *saam* 'corner', which is widely used in the Veps language. This might have resulted in the neologism *kaiduz*, which appeared relatively early, considering the areal distribution of the lexeme. Consid-



Map 2. **Designations for the concept 'strait'.**

ering the area and the period of its formation, at least two place names in the Svir catchment area beyond the borders of the contemporary Veps linguistic area look interesting: Wtl. *Kaŭdoca* in Lower Ojať.

4. Semantics of the lexeme *org* (217)

The lexeme *org* has been recorded in Northern and Central Veps subdialects, but not in Southern Veps subdialects, either lexically or toponymically. The word is found to have two major semantic fields described as homonyms in

the СВЯ. It is recorded as 'lowland' in the majority of Western Central-Veps subdialects on the Ojat' River, and in the territorially adjacent subdialects on the upper reaches of the Kapša. However, on the Kapša the lexeme is practically unknown in its terminological sense, and its case forms have been converted to adverbs in En, Kor, Vär, Nür, Jog subdialects (cf. СВЯ: *orgho* 'downwards', *orgos* 'down, at the bottom').

The semantic field of 'lowland' is not well-formed, and it is multi-component. Comparison with kindred languages suggests that initially the lexeme *org* could have been used to denote not just any type of 'lowland', but an 'elongated depression between hills' (cf. Finn. dial. *orko* 'narrow hollow, glen between hills, lowland between mountains overgrown with thick spruce forest; spring neck, gully; depression; furrow; scratch; wound'; Vot. *orko*. Est. *org* 'valley' (SSA)). The main semantic component of the lexeme is a 'narrow depression'. It was used in Eastern subdialects with the meaning 'gully' collocated with the semantic word 'creek' (*orgi̯ine* (Vl), *orgoine* (Päž)).

Semantic evolution went differently in Northern Veps subdialects: 'forested lowland' (cf. KarPr *orko* 'hollow between mounts overgrown with tall spruce forest; thick spruce forest', Lud. *org* 'wet low-lying site overgrown with forest') → 'thicket, thick forest'.

Thus, although the semantic evolution of the word varied in Veps dialectal areas, it followed certain universal patterns observed in kindred Finnic languages (see Map 3).

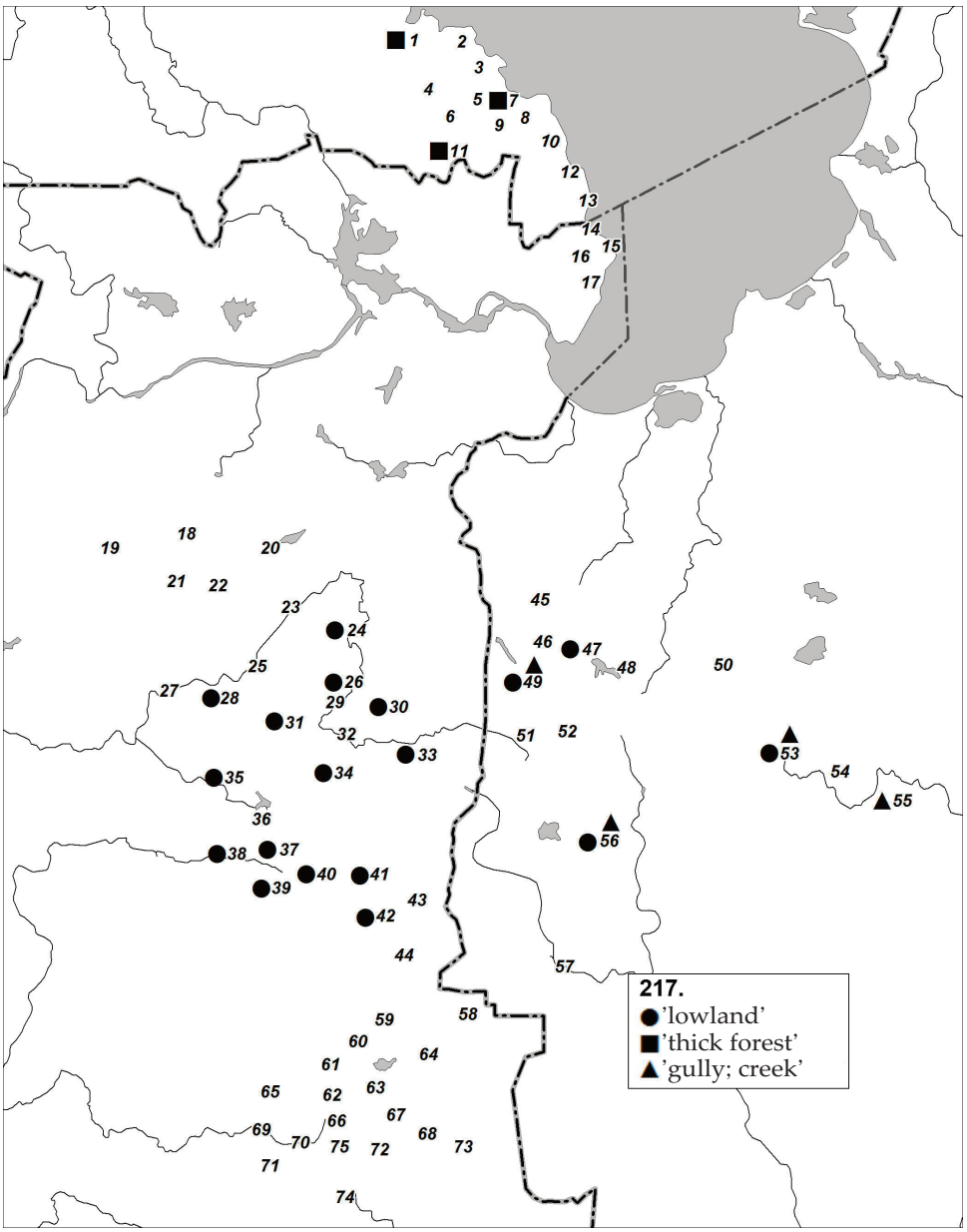
Remarkably, the word is widely used in the Russian dialects adjacent to the Veps dialectal area. However, it has two main senses referring to the original Veps word: 'forested swampy lowland' and 'thick spruce forest' (Мызников 2003 : 264—267). The areal distribution of the word in Russian is rather vague.

5. Designations for 'thick spruce forest' (220)

There are several lexemes in Veps dialects that denote 'thick spruce forest'. They are identical or similar in semantics, although there exist certain differences in their areal distribution.

The lexeme *pihk* 'low forest; thick shrub; young coniferous forest' is widely represented in the Western variants of the Central-Veps dialect, but beyond its borders it has only been recorded in Northern Veps (Št). Meanwhile, a wider Northern use of the lexeme is supported by the names of the forest areas *Martinanpihk* and *Virganpihk* in Kask and *Akan/pihk* in Tž. The term from Šeltozero is also fixed in the place name *Pihku/sel'g*. According to VVS, *pihk* 'forest' has been recorded in Per at the southernmost border of the Northern Veps dialect area. Point fixations are found also in Päž (in the sense of 'young deciduous forest' (СВЯ) and in Ars (in the sense of 'forest' (VVS)). The latter record coupled with place names *Suŕpihk* in Sod and *Turkinpihk* in Šid (names of the forest areas at the place of former slash-burn clearings, recorded in the late 20th century) shows that the word was widely used in the past and in the Southern Veps area.

Supposedly, the Veps use of *pihk* for 'thick spruce forest' was secondary, descending from its initial use for 'tar, resin', which is known in most Finnic languages including the Veps dialects (SSA; СВЯ). Although the semantic evolution of the word went in different ways, it had consistently



Map 3. **Semantics of the lexeme** *org***.**

come to denote 'thick spruce forest' only in the Veps language. This way of semantic evolution is proved by numerous facts recorded in the Russian subdialects of Obonež'je, in the area of Veps-Russian substrate-adstrate relations along the Svir' River and in southern Obonež'je, where *пихка* means 'thick spruce forest'. The word had underwent phonetic adaptation to the Russian accent heard on the northern (*пихта*) and eastern (*пивка*) shores of Lake Onega (Мызников 2003 : 108—111). Russian dialect data enable us, first, to reliably unite two areas, the Central-Veps and Northern Veps,

into one continuous area and, second, reconstruct the historical borders of the Veps territory which apparently once used to stretch over entire Obonež'je.

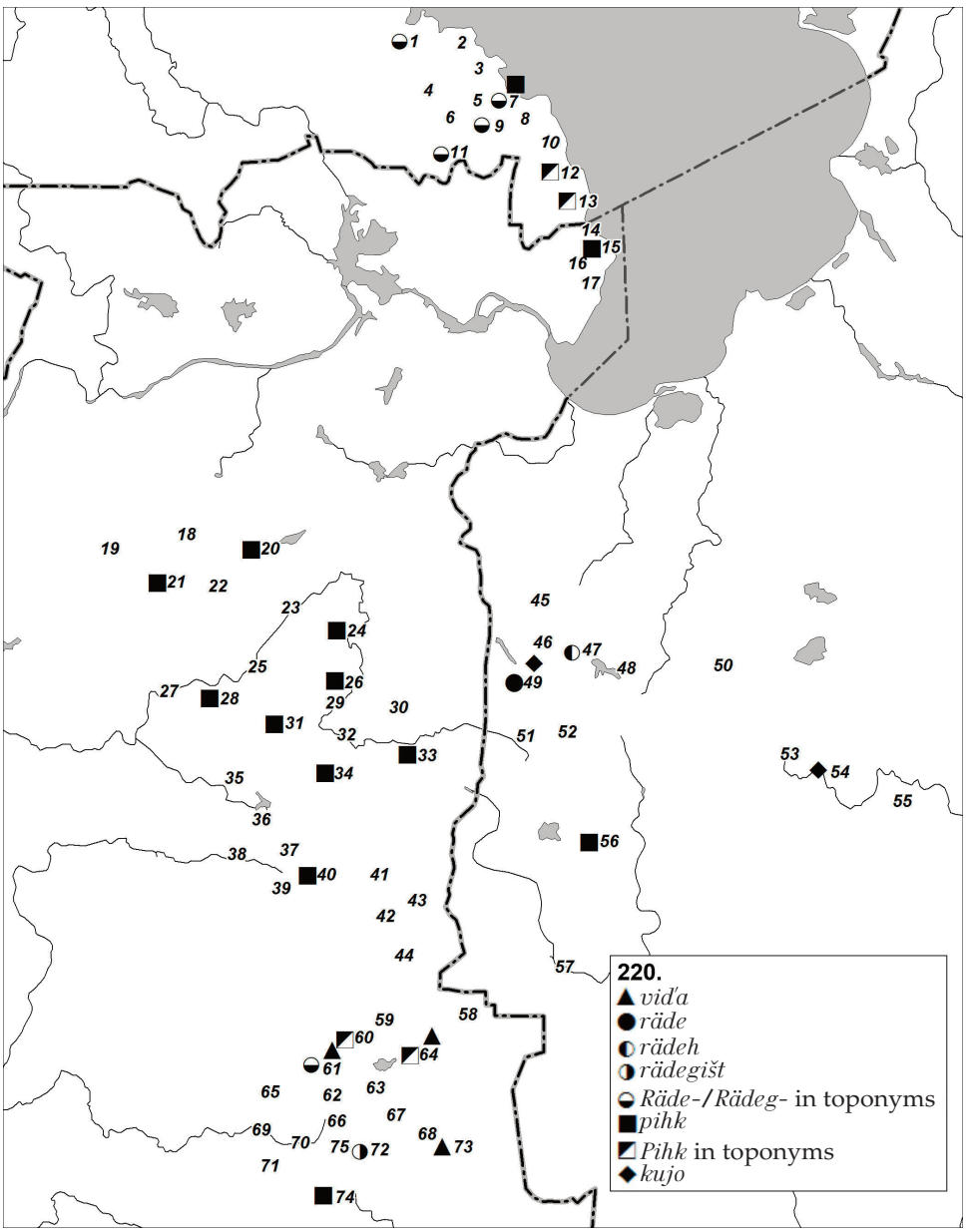
In turn, *räde ~ rädeh* denoting 'thick spruce forest' is known in two Eastern Central-Veps subdialects, and also as a derivative *rädegišt* (the suffix — *išt* has collective semantics) in a single Southern Veps subdialect. It is apparently also fixed in the place name *Räď u/seľg* recorded in Čg (VVS) by Lauri Kettunen. Moreover, its former presence in the Northern Veps area is evidenced by a large number of place names: Hld. *Räde* (also as *Räde/org, Räde/so*) in Š, Hld. *Rädeine* in Št, *Rädegut* in Ms, *Rädegen/čuga* in Mäg. The evidence may speak for the residual character of the area: the lexeme currently became lost in most subdialects. The former wider use of the lexeme is supported by data obtained from the adjacent Russian dialects of Prisvirje: *рядега, рядога, рятега* 'thick spruce forest; lowland overgrown with coniferous forest'. The word is also used in Pudož, Zaonež'je and Kondopoga subdialects of the Russian language. It may be either of Vepsian or Karelian origin (for more detail see Мызников 2003 : 281—282), cf. KarPr *rätä, reädä, räčeikkö* 'young thick spruce forest', Liv. *räzeikkö* 'windbreak', *rädžeikkö* 'thick scrub' (ПФГЛК).

Unlike the words *räde* and *pihk* once used in the Veps linguistic area, the word *vida ~ viď a* 'spruce thicket, young spruce forest' is only used in the Southern Veps dialect. There exist similar words in Finnish and Karelian dialects, and they are primarily used to denote 'thick spruce forest' (SSA). This can prove the idea that the lexeme *vita* was basic among other lexemes with similar semantics. As noted above, the term *pihk* denotes 'thick spruce forest' only in the Veps language. The first meaning of the lexeme *räde* is 'brushwood, shrub' as in other Finnic languages (see *räteikkö, rääseikkö* in SSA). In terms of areal characteristics the Veps *vida* can be put in line with other Southern Veps linguistic facts which demonstrate the preservation of archaic phenomena in this Veps linguistic periphery. It is noteworthy that the term has neither become fixed in place names nor used in the Russian topographical vocabulary in the territory adjacent to the Veps range. The lexeme has been proved to be used, but only locally.

The three lexemes above have analogues in kindred Finnic languages (SSA). The eastern Veps term *kujo* 'spruce thicket' with a vague etymology is of special mention (see Map 4).

6. Designations for 'swamp, quagmire' (222)

Such descriptive constructs as *notked so* 'quaggy mire' (Noid), *vedekaz so* 'waterlogged area' (Šid) or *solätik* 'swampy pool' (En) are used to denote a swampy area. The verbal form *vajutęz* (from the verb *vajuda* 'to get bogged down, get stuck') has been recorded in Št. Russian loanwords are also used: *lačovin* (Kor) or *väzel'* (Jog). Two terms with areas of their own stand out in the motley list. The lexeme *nova* meaning 'swamp, quagmire' is used only in the Central-Veps area and is found both in its western and eastern parts. Its Central-Veps localization is supported by place names. There exist some toponyms, mainly, names of swampy hayfields, at the upper reaches of the Ojaď River, whereas this toponymic base cannot be found in the Northern and Southern Veps dialect areas. True, a single Northern Veps record (not specified for its dialectal usage) can be found



Map 4. **Designations for the concept 'thick spruce forest'.**

among those of the Finnish researcher R. Peltola: *nova* 'wet hayfield on riverbank; forest on mire' (Tuomi 1967 : 232). Presumably, this etymologically Veps topographic term is related to the Finn. *neva* 'open treeless mire; swampy site; swampy hayfield; spring; river', Kar. *neva* 'water, water body (lake, river, sea)' and Est. dial. *nõva, neva, neev, neeb* 'large stream; ditch; dried river channel'. However, it seems hardly possible to integrate the Veps term into the Finnic list above due to its phonetics (SSA). Meanwhile, there is also the variant *nola*, which is phonetically close to the *nova* recorded in a single subdialect.

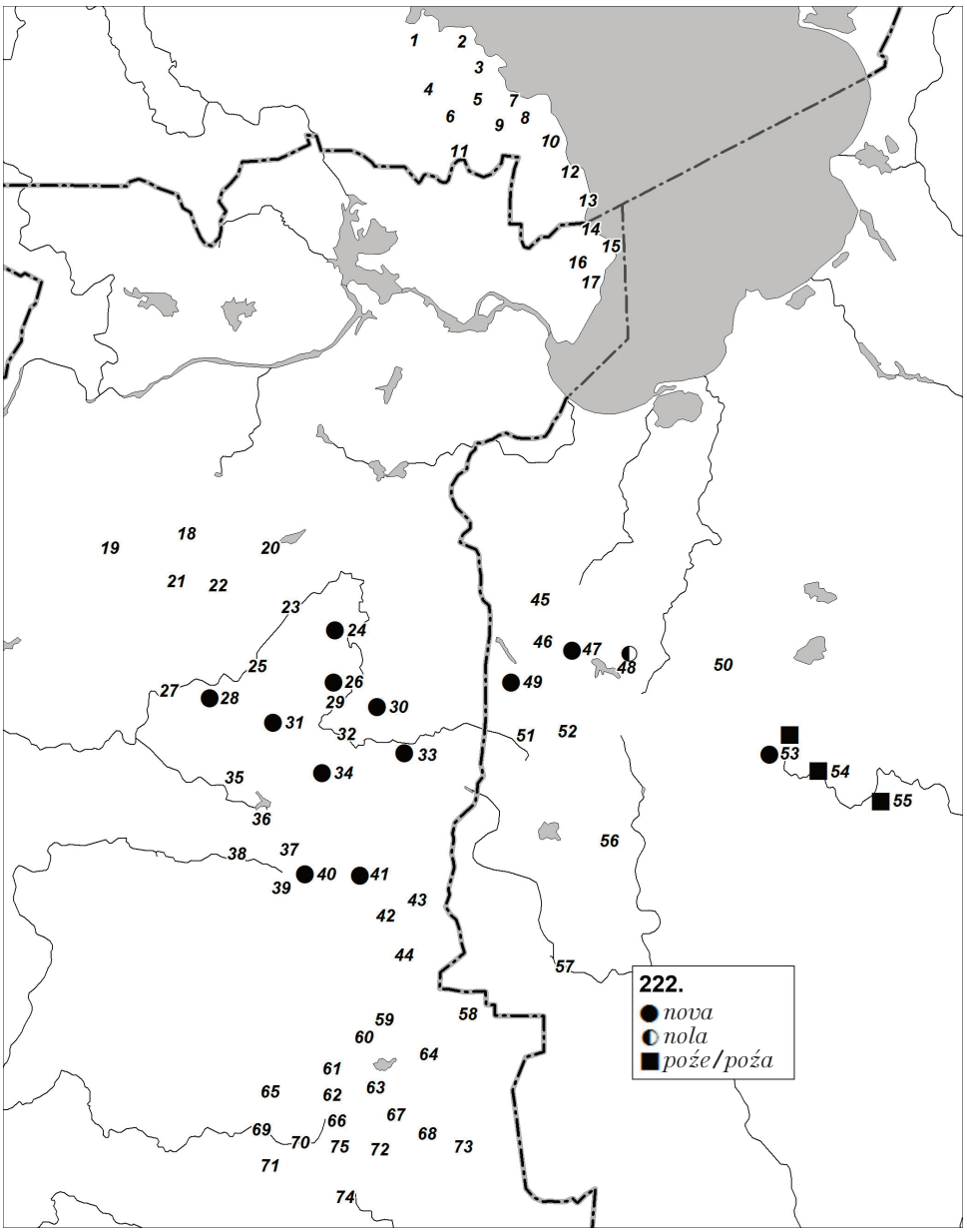
The lexeme *poźa* (in СВЯ *poźę*) has been fixed in three subdialects of Belozerje, but is not found anywhere in the Veps territory. However, the place names of the eastern coastline of Lake Onega include a bay called *Подзя* or *Подзялахта* (Kuganavolok, Pudož), and a field of the name *Позя* (Kolodozero, Pudož), which may be indicative of a wider use of the lexeme as a term in the past. The source of the word in the Veps language still remains obscure. It should be noted that this area of Lake Onega is characterized by the Veps heritage and, in particular, by evidence of a Veps substrate in the local Russian subdialects.

Looking for the genesis of the word, special attention should be paid to the Veps *pačak* 'mud', where the element *-ak* is a suffix also found in some other Veps lexemes, cf. *lačak* 'flattened, concave', *uhm* and *uhmak* 'bump', *nem* and *nemak* 'cape', etc. Possibly the Vepsian word has common sources with the Finnish *patsi* and its dialectal variants *passi, patti* 'muddy swampy place; puddle inside a mire; mire lakelet'. The unstable consonant in the second syllable of the Veps word is reflected in some place names: Brk. *Pazeine ~ Paďžoja ~ Пазручей*, L. *Paďžar* (Russ. *Пажозеро*); Brk. *Паджев ~ Пажев*, Wtl. *Пажевские Мхи*, Brk. *Пазручей*, etc. Such place names prove that there must also have existed a Veps topographical lexeme denoting 'muddy lowland', kin to the Finnish *patsi*. In turn, the hypothetical Saami similarity to the Finnic term, by phonetic rules, should have been represented as North Saami **buoccâ* < proto-Sami **pōće* (Mullonen 2002 : 289). The reconstruction, though, is not supported by the existing records of contemporary Saami dialects. Meanwhile, this leads our attention to the Northern Russian *почa* 'low waterlogged site, mire; overgrown lake' (СРНГ). It may have originated from a topographical term either of the extinct Proto-Sami language or the substrate of a pre-Veps language of Obozer'je and Obonež'je. The Veps Belozer'je term *poźe ~ poźa* 'swampy place; puddle; water-filled pit in meadow' could also have been a source for this substrate term.

In this case it may be included in the list of the other reconstructed lexemes of Belozer'je adopted by the Veps language, and then (indirectly or sometimes directly) by the Russian dialects of the region (see Map 5).

7. Conclusions

The bulk of the topograhical vocabulary considered in the paper represents words that are common in Finnic languages (*org, lähte, nova, vida, pihk, sal'm*, etc.). Some of them have undergone semantic alterations in the course of independent evolution. In this context, a few specifically Veps terms are of a special value as they demonstrate the lexical potential of the Veps language. The areal analysis shows that these neologisms differ in age: from the historically relatively early *purdę* common for all the Veps dialects, including those already extinct as a result of Russification and Karelization, to the younger dialect word *kaglaz* 'strait'. Some of the topographical words have an obscure etymology (*poźa, uhring*). The areas of these terms are found closer to the eastern borders of the Veps ethnic territory at the Volga-Baltic watershed. The large and well-preserved pre-Veps toponymic substrate may indirectly indicate that part of the linguistic heritage of an ancient population once assimilated by the Veps is still preserved in eastern Veps subdialects.



Map 5. **Designations for the concept 'swamp, quagmire'.**

The results on the areal distribution of the topographic vocabulary obtained in the course of our studies are most interesting. They reflect the processes of the Veps settlement between Lakes Ladoga, Onego and Beloje. Dialectal division of the Veps language is primarily based on the phonetic variability in the Veps subdialects spoken in various territories. Rather unclear lexical variations may also indicate areal specificity. In particular, there exist lexemes specific to just one dialect: *nova* ~ *nola* is a purely Central-Veps word, like *vida* is for Southern Veps, and *poźa* for Eastern Veps. Although found in the majority of Veps dialects, the term *org* differs in semantics. The term *org* is

used in most of the Veps dialects, but with different semantic denotations. While the Western subdialects of Central Veps have preserved the main semantic component of the Finnic word 'lowland', the Eastern subdialects have developed one more component in addition to the original one — 'narrow (lowland), i.e. 'gully' and 'brook', and another additional component 'forest (growing in the lowland)', appearing in the Northern dialect.

At the same time, the lexical material demonstrates a considerable permeability of the dialectal borders. Thus, in some cases, the Northern dialect may be mixed with Eastern subdialects, or with Western ones, respectively. The dialectal map reflects a long history and a lot of events, from geographic to political. We have already stated that the borders of the 15th-century administrative area called *Заонежье погост* (district) of *Обонежская пятина* had a clear ethnic nature. This idea is supported if we compare the Veps toponymic areas with the administrative map (Муллонен 2012). Obviously, the pogost boundaries were also of ethnic importance.

Some common characteristics of the Northern and Southern dialects may have been formed within the limits of the so-called *Оштинский погост*, which in the 15th century used to embrace part of the Northern Veps (Kl, Kas) and Eastern Veps (Šim) settlements. The rest of the Northern Veps settlements belonged to the so-called *Остречинский погост* with its centre on the Sviŕ, which thus connected them with the Central-Veps territory.

With the disappearance of the traditional way of life, the former basic Veps topographic vocabulary, which is closely related to the Finnic languages, becomes rapidly extinct. Under such conditions, long-standing place names can be used to verify the area of some lexemes. Thus, place names helped us identify the area of the term *sal'm* 'strait', whose occurrence in other lexical groups was less eloquent geographically. Also, the Northern Veps term *räde,* which is already extinct in Northern Veps subdialects, has been recorded in regional place names.

Useful material for areal specification can also be found in the database of adjacent Russian dialects. The Veps linguistic heritage has found its way to Russian subdialects both as a result of borrowing and in the process of Russification of the local Veps population (Veps substrate). This is represented by a substantial number of topographical terms: *пурдега* 'spring', *рядега* 'thick spruce forest', *пивка* 'forest', *орга* 'lowland' and many others beyond this paper. The Sviŕ River served as one of the routes of expanding the Russian ethnic and linguistic influence on the Veps territory. The so-called Russian corridor was formed on its banks, separating Northern Veps and Central Veps. However, the Finnic component in the Russian subdialects of this territory provides evidence for a link to have existed between the two Veps dialect areas. Furthermore, the Russification of the Sviŕ region also weakened the links with the historical Veps territory in the Onego/Ladoga watershed, where the Livvi-Ludic ethnic and linguistic zone had been formed as a result of Karelian immigration. The Russian substrate vocabulary on the Sviŕ (in this case Veps *purdę* — Russ. *пурвиж, пурдажник* — Lud. *purde ~ burde*) reconstructs the only ethnic-cultural area which embraced the southern and northern Sviŕ territories.

The areal analysis of the Veps topographical vocabulary in connection with toponymic evidence and data on Russian subdialects reveals that the Veps dialects are closely connected. It also speaks for the fact that contem-

porary dialect areas have even been closer in the past when they were not separated by the Russian "corridors" formed in the process of Russification of the Veps territories along the waterways. Other semantic groups of vocabulary demonstrate a somewhat wider areal distribution. This has probably to do with the specifics of the topographical vocabulary, whose corpus finds its origin in the Proto-Finnic vocabulary. Besides, its use in place names helps reconstruct the areal history of some terms. However, it seems problematic for the majority of other groups of vocabulary.

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Abbreviations

Brk. — brook; **Hold.** — agricultural holding; **L.** — lake; **R.** — river; **Vlg.** — village; **Wtl.** — wetland.

dial. — dialectal; **Est.** — Estonian; **Finn.** — Finnish; **KarPr.** — Karelian proper; **Liv.** — Livvi; **Lud.** — Ludic; **Russ.** — Russian; **Vot.** — Votic.

ALFE — Atlas Linguarum Fennicarum I—III, Helsinki 2004; 2007; 2010; **VVS** — Vepsän verkkosanasto. http://kaino.kotus.fi/sanat/vepsa/; **Вопросник 2013** — Вопросник по собиранию материала для «Лингвистического атласа вепсского языка». — Вепсские ареальные исследования, Петрозаводск 2013, 7—46; **ПФГЛК** — Мамонтова Н. Н., Муллонен И. И. 1991, Прибалтийско-финская географическая лексика Карелии, Петрозаводск; **СВЯ** — М. И. Зайцева, И. И. Муллонен, Словарь вепсского языка. Ленинград 1972; **СРГК** — Словарь русских говоров Карелии и сопредельных областей, Санкт Петербург 2005; **СРНГ** — Словарь русских народных говоров, вып. 1—46, Санкт Петербург 1966—2013.

Alphabetical listing of abbreviated names of Vepsian localities with numbering according to linguistic maps

74. Ars — Arskahť (Радогощь), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
58. Bor — Bor (Саньков Бор), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
66. Buš — Bušak (Бошаково), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
61. Čai — Čaigl (Чайгино), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
43. Čid — Čidoi (Чидово), Podporož´je District, Leningrad Region
20. Čik — Čikl (Чикозеро), Podporož´je District, Leningrad Region.
35. En — Enaŕv (Вонозеро), Tichvin District, Leningrad Region
4. Hap — Hapšom (Габшема), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
39. Har — Haragl (Харагеничи), Tichvin District, Leningrad Region
16. Him — Himď ogi (Гимрека), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
2. Iš — Išań (Ишанино), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
38. Jog — Jogens (Усть-Капша), Tichvin District, Leningrad Region
26. Jä — Järved (Озера), Podporož´je District, Leningrad Region
17. Kaľľ — Kaľľ (Щелейки), Podporož´je District, Leningrad Region
21. Kar — Karhil (Каргиничи), Podporož´je District, Leningrad Region
13. Kas — Kaskesoja (Каскесручей), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia

18. Kek — Kekaŕ (Кекозеро), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
57. Ker — Kerčak (Керчаково), Babajevo District, Vologda Region
54. Kj — Kuja (Куя), Babajevo District, Vologda Region
10. Kl — Kaleig (Рыбрека), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
37. Kor — Korbal (Корбиничи), Tichvin District, Leningrad Region
44. Korv — Korval (Корвала), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
27. Kos — Koskenpä (Надпорожье), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
5. Krik — Krik (Крюкова Сельга), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
67. Krl — Kortlaht (Кортлахта), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
14. Kuk — Kukagď (Володарская), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
23. Kuz — Kuzra (Кузра), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
33. Ladv — Ladv (Ладва), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
59. Lah — Laht (Лахта), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
72. Mai — Maigäŕ (Боброзеро), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
69. Mas — Maslagj (Маслово), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
8. Mec — Mecantaga (Залесье), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
34. Mg — Mäggäŕ (Мягозеро), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
11. Ms — Matvejanseľg (Матвеева Сельга), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
9. Mäg — Mägi (Горнее Шелтозеро), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
51. Naž — Nažamgärv (Нажмозеро), Babajevo District, Vologda Region
24. Nem — Nemž (Немжа), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
22. Nir — Nirgl (Ниргиничи), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
42. Noid — Noidal (Нойдала), Tichvin District, Leningrad Region
25. Nor — Norj (Норгина), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
40. Nür — Nürgl (Нюрговичи), Tichvin District, Leningrad Region
36. Ozr — Ozroil (Озровичи), Tichvin District, Leningrad Region.
31. Pec — Pecoil (Пелдуши), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
19. Peč — Pečal (Печеницы), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
63. Pel — Peloo (Пелдуши), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
15. Per — Pervakat (Урицкая), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
48. Pk — Püutkask (Пелкаска), Vytegra District, Vologda Region
53. Pnd — Pondal (Пондала), Babajevo District, Vologda Region
75. Pož — Požarišš (Пожарище), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
56. Päž — Päžaŕ (Пяжозеро), Babajevo District, Vologda Region
41. Reb — Rebagj (Ребов Конец), Tichvin District, Leningrad Region
30. Rih — Rihaluine (Подовинники-Азмозеро), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
62. Sar — Saŕ (Остров), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
68. Sir — Sirj (Перелесок), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
29. Sj — Sarjärv (Сарозеро), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
64. Sod — Sodjärv (Сидорово), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
50. Sär — Särgärv (Сяргозеро), Babajevo District, Vologda Region
1. Š — Šokš (Шокша), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
46. Šat — Šatjärv (Шатозеро), Vytegra District, Vologda Region
60. Šid — Šidjärv (Прокушево), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
47. Šim — Šimgäŕ (Шимозеро), Vytegra District, Vologda Region
32. Šon — Šondjal (Шондовичи), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
7. Št — Šoutarv (Шелтозеро), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
65. Žar — Žarad (Жары), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
71. Ted — Tedroo (Тедрово), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
45. Tj — Torazgärv (Торосозеро), Babajevo District, Vologda Region
12. Tž — Toižeg (Другая река), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
70. Tut — Tutuk (Сташково), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
52. Vah — Vahtkäŕ (Вахтозеро), Babajevo District, Vologda Region
6. Van — Vanhimseľg (Вангимова Сельга), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
3. Veh — Vehkoja (Вехручей), Prionežskij District, Republic of Karelia
73. Vg — Vaagedjärv (Белое озеро), Boksitogorsk District, Leningrad Region
28. Vil — Viľhäl (Ярославичи), Podporož′je District, Leningrad Region
55. Vl — Voilaht (Войлахта), Babajevo District, Vologda Region
49. Vär — Väräsjärv (Кривозеро), Vytegra District, Vologda Region

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ИРМА МУЛЛОНЕН, *НИНА ЗАЙЦЕВА* (Петрозаводск)

АРЕАЛЬНАЯ ДИСТРИБУЦИЯ ЛАНДШАФТНОЙ ЛЕКСИКИ ВЕПССКОГО ЯЗЫКА

Статья подготовлена на материалах «Лингвистического атласа вепсского языка», работа над которым ведется в ИЯЛИ КарНЦ РАН. В ней предложен анализ пяти лингвистических карт, показывающих ареалы ряда вепсских ландшафтных терминов. В силу утраты традиционного образа жизни и родного языка вепсская лексика ландшафта, входившая в основной словарный фонд и имевшая глубокие этимологические связи в прибалтийско-финских языках, стремительно уходит из употребления. В связи с этим к исследованию помимо собственно лексических данных привлечены топонимы, а также вепсская субстратная лексика в русских говорах. Это позволило уточнить исторические ареалы ряда вепсских терминов. Картографирование выявило ареальную дистрибуцию лексем, обусловленную разными причинами — от географических до административно-политических. Выявлены разные этимологические пласты слов с географической семантикой, из них особенно ценны немногочисленные собственно вепсские термины (напр., *purde* 'родник') — как свидетельство лексического потенциала вепсского языка. Выделены также лексемы с неясной этимологией (*uhring* 'родник', *poźe* 'топь, топкое место'), которые могут быть наследием довепсского субстрата, предложены подходы к их этимологической интерпретации.