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VARIATION IN THE ADAPTATION
OF FINNIC LOANWORDS IN RUSSIAN

Over several past decades Russian dialectology has experienced a lexico-graphical burst of activity providing an increasing amount of lexical materials, including, among others, lexemes of Finnic origin. New lexical data, along with recent achievements in studying dialect speech, urge us to return to the subject of the adaptation of Finnic loanwords in Russian, the primary domain of which is dialects. The present article focuses on the most characteristic feature of the adaptation process — variation. The study is based on the data collected by the author for her PhD thesis "The Adaptation of Baltic Finnic Loanwords in Russian" (Samoilova 2000). It comprises data from various etymological dictionaries of the Russian and Finnish languages, dictionaries of Old Russian, dictionaries of Russian dialects (including СРНГ), from Jalo Kalima's "Die ostseefinnischen Lehnwörter im Russischen", as well as from other works on Finnic loanwords in Russian (articles by A. K. Matvejev, S. A. Myznikov, Igor Vahros, M. E. Rut, V. A. Merkulova, O. V. Vostrikov et al.). All examples are given as they appear in source literature; the absence of stress in some Russian examples means that the stress is not indicated in the source.

1. Variation in phonetic adaptation

1.1. Phonetic realizations

The very initial stage of adaptation, i.e. the process of substitution of phones in a Finnic word with Russian phones which are closest in phonation, exhibits a great deal of variation. Almost all Finnic phones have more than one realization in Russian (see a detailed examination of all found realizations in Samoilova 2000). Various factors have contributed to this fact; they are mainly related to differences between the phonetic systems of Finnic and Russian languages, as well as to diachronic or synchronic differences within the Russian language itself. The most significant motivating factors for variation in phonetic realizations are changes in the systems of East Slavonic and Old Russian, and Finnic features which are uncharacteristic of Russian,

as well as dialect variation, the absence of exact phonetic equivalents, and the existence of a number of options in Russian. These will be examined one at a time.

1.1.1. Changes in the systems of East Slavonic and Old Russian

Since the phonemic inventory and the phonetic content of its units in East Slavonic and Old Russian changed over a period of time, some Finnic phones were realized differently in different periods. For example, before the loss of reduced vowels (c. 12th c.), Finnic *u* and *i* could be realized as back and front jers respectively, which were lost in weak position, whereas after the loss of jers, the realizations of Finnic *u* were *u* and *o*, and Finnic *i* was realized as *i*, *e*, or *y*. Thus, we encounter the river names *Мста* < **Мъста* and *Мустюга* (cf. Fi *Mustajoki*, Es *Must(a)jõgi*), each borrowed at different times.

Among other processes reflected in the old layer of Baltic Finnic vocabulary is the development of polnoglacie (полногласие), or pleophony, characteristic of East Slavonic linguistic territory, viz. the insertion of an epenthetic extra-short vowel, homorganic with the original one. Thus, for example, Finnic *-al* is realized as a disyllable *-olo-* in old loanwords and treated separately in newer words:

солóмя 'strait, sound' < соломл < cf. Fi KaA *salmi*, Es *sal'm*, *salme* 'sea strait' (later also *сáлма*);

Old Russian коломнще 'graveyard' < cf. Fi KaA *kalmisto*, Es *kal'mistu* id.;

калтáк, колтáк 'small floe' < Fi *kalt(t)o* 'black ice' or Es *kalts* 'floe'.

Similarly, we find *-ja-* < *ę in accordance with Finnic *-en-*, for example, in *Вя́да* (originally presumably a river name) < *vęda < cf. Fi *Vento*. The word *Вя́да* reflects the East Slavonic change of nasal vowels into oral vowels, which is generally put in the early 10th c. After the denasalisation of nasals, Finnic phones in the sequence *-en-* were treated separately in Russian.

1.1.2. Dialect variation in Russian

Firstly, Russian dialects exhibit differences in the number and composition of phonemes. The number of vowel phonemes can vary from five, viz. /*a-o-e-i-u*/, in the majority of dialects to seven, viz. /*a-o-ô-e-ê-i-u*/, in some dialects, while the consonant inventories can have from 29 to 37 phonemes (see Пожарицкая 1997 : 55). Secondly, the same phoneme can be realized by different allophones in different dialects. Both factors have contributed to the increase in the number of realizations of Finnic phones in Russian. For example, in some dialects the soft realization of /*k*/ and /*t*/ in Russian dialects can be represented by palatal phones, viz. [*t'*] and [*ǩ*] or [*k^{t'}*], which are very close from both the acoustic and the articulatory point of view. This phenomenon has probably caused the occurrence of *t'* corresponding to Finnic *k* and *k'* corresponding to Finnic *t*. Compare:

кéгора, тéгора 'pasture for reindeers' < cf. Fi Ka *kiekerö* id.

тютижи Pl. 'burning down bushes for fertilization' < cf. Es *kütis* id.

кигачú, тигачú Pl. 'midge' < Ka KaA *t'ihi*, Ve *t'ih'i* id.

Among other phenomena restricted to certain dialects is cokan'e (цоканье) which refers to the non-distiction of affricates. Cokan'e is entirely respon-

sible for the realization Finnic *č* — Russian *c* (or possibly *ć*); the more frequently encountered realization of Finnic *č* is also an alveolar affricate. The following are some examples:

цы́гмар, ци́гмар 'charcoal fumes' < Ve *čihmer* 'mist; steam';
цюнжи, чу́нжи Pl. 'earthworm' < Ve *čonžud* 'bait';
рёцейдать, рейчейдать 'to crack' < Ka *räčk̆eä, räčätä* id.;
чи́байдать 'to drizzle' < Ve *čibaidotta* id.

1.1.3. No exact phonetic equivalent in Russian

The most striking example is Finnic laryngeal *h*, which does not belong to the repertoire of Russian consonant phonemes. In the north of the Russian language area, the closest phones to Finnic *h* are the velar voiced stop [*g*] and velar voiceless fricative [*χ*] along with their palatalized counterparts, as well as the velar voiced fricative [*γ*] (allophones of /*g*/). In Finnic loanwords, we usually find both *g* and *χ* in place of *h*, but also, though much more rarely, ø or *j* (the latter probably only initially). A few examples are:

Finnic *h*- — Russian *g*-: *га́бук* 'hawk' < KaLu Ve *habuk̆* 'falcon';
Finnic -*h*- — Russian -*g*-: *ги́гна* 'rein' < Ka *hiihna*, Ve *h'ihn*, cf. Fi *hihna* 'leather strap';
Finnic *h*- — Russian *x*: *хай* 'experience' < cf. Ka *haju* 'mind, intellect';
Finnic -*h*- — Russian *x*: *ла́хта, ло́хта* 'bay, bight' < KaA Fi *lahti*, Ve *лаht* id.;
Finnic *h*- — Russian ø: *у́паки* Pl. 'type of high boots' < cf. Fi *huopik̆as* 'felt boot';
Finnic -*h*- — Russian -ø-: *ки́лоса* 'stacking of sheaves in a field' < KaA Fi *kyhläs* id.;
Finnic *h*- — Russian *j*-: *я́рмега* 'hoar-frost' < cf. Ka *härmä*, KaS *härme*, KaLu *härm* id.;
Finnic -*h*- — Russian ? -*j*-: *ле́йма* 'cow' < ? Fi Ka Vo *lehmä*, Ve *l'ehm*, Es *lehm* id.

However, the realization of Finnic *h* in Russian does not seem to be sporadic, though. V. Kiparsky (1958 : 172—173) has noticed, absolutely correctly, that usually *g* in loanwords corresponds to *h* in a voiced environment, while *χ* represents *h* adjacent to voiceless consonants. V. Kiparsky (1958 : 172—173) also pointed out the fact that the initial Finnish *h* occurs more often in a voiced environment; the number of loanwords with the initial voiced *g* is indeed larger than the number of words with the initial *χ*, but the preponderance is very insignificant. The realization ø in between voiced phones can simply represent the change *γ* > ø.

The history of the literary language shows that Germanic *h* could be realized in Russian as *g*, *χ*, or ø, similar to Finnic *h*; however, the type of realization seems to be related to a tradition existing at a particular time. V. Kiparsky has shown (1959—1960) that initially Germanic *h* was represented by ø (e.g. *Олегъ* < Old Swedish *Helgi*); that from approximately 1200, *g* appeared on the scene alternating with ø for several centuries (e.g. *Геньци* < Mid Low German *Henze*), and that from the 1910s the realization *χ* begins to predominate (e.g. *хулиган* < English *hooligan*). In Contemporary Standard Russian the laryngeal pronunciation is accepted, however, in some foreign words, for example, in *габитус* [*hábitus*].

In a few Finnic loanwords we also find *v* and *l* in place of *h* in the source-words, though both can be a result of a number of changes which occurred later and not the realization of *h*:

гáвка (also *гáгка*) 'eider-duck' < Ka Fi *haahka* id.;

пúвка (also *пúхка*) 'fir-tree (Abies)' < Ka Fi *pihka*, KaA *pihka-*, KaLu *pihk* 'rezin', Vo *pihku* 'pine';

лóвьяшка '(salmon-)trout' < ? cf. Fi Ka KaA *lohi*, Ve *лоh'и* 'salmon';

кóлма (also *кóгма*) 'water above ice' < cf. Fi *kohma* descr., *kohva* id., 'ice crust'.

1.1.4. Features uncharacteristic of Russian

Finnic features uncharacteristic of the Russian language are usually avoided in the process of adaptation, but in rare instances have been accepted, which has inevitably multiplied the number of realizations. One such atypical feature is the existence of geminates in Finnic languages. The data show that the consonants *tt*, *t′t′*, *d′d′*, *čč*, *l′l′*, *ńń*, and *ŋŋ*, occurring among source-words, are realized as short consonants only, while *pp*, *ll*, and especially *kk* can be realized as double consonants as well. Compare the following examples:

кýппышка 'bowl' < In *kuppi* id.;

аллéйка (also *алéйка*) 'duck Claugula hyemalis' < Fi Ka *alli* or Lapp *аллокe* id.;

кóкка 'hoe' < Vo *kokka*, InVo *kōkka* id.;

пáккула, паккýла (also *пáкула, пакýла*) 'outgrowth on a tree' < Ka *pakkul′i*, Ve *раккал*, cf. Fi *pakkula* id.;

рóкка 'soup, broth' < Vo Ka Fi *rokka*, KaA *rokka-*, Es *rokk* id.

Another example of a feature uncharacteristic of Russian is the diphthong, a large variety of which is found in all Finnic languages. It is not surprising, therefore, that the diphthongs in *u*, *ü*, *i* are realized in Russian most frequently as a VC sequence:

Finnic -V*u*- — Russian -V*v*-: *товкáч* 'maggot living under bark' < cf. Fi *toukka* 'maggot';

Finnic -V*u*- — Russian -V*l*-: *кýлгача* Pl. 'type of gates' < Ve *kuụgač* id.;

Finnic -V*ü*- — Russian -V*v*-: *кúвжа* 'bast rope' < Ka *keyši* 'rope';

Finnic -V*i*- — Russian -V*j*-: *гýйка* 'diver (bird)' < KaLu *guikk*, Gen.Sg. *guikan* id.;

Finnic -V*i*- — Russian -V*l*-: *áлмиштать* (also *áймиштать*) 'to shudder from crying' < cf. Fi *äimistää* 'to writhe in pain'.

However, apart from the VC sequence in place of Finnic diphthongs in *u*, *ü*, *i*, we also find virtually all other possibilities, i.e. V, VCV, and even VV, though the latter could reflect the weakening of the consonantal articulation of *j* or *v* which occurred in Russian later (see Русская диалектология 1973 : 82—84, 94—96). The following are some examples:

Finnic -V*u*- — Russian -V-: *кóглина, куглинá* 'husk of flax' < cf. Fi *kouhlo* 'flax head';

Finnic -V*i*- — Russian -V-: *мы́за* 'farmstead (in Estonia et al.)' < Es *mõiz*, Vo *mõiza* id.;

Finnic -V*u*- — Russian -V*ju*-: *киюра, киюр* 'type of hammer' < cf. Fi *kiura* id.;

Finnic -V*u*- — Russian -V*vu*-: *ра́вушка* (also *ра́ушка*) ’carcass of a sea animal’ < Ka *rauška* id.;

Finnic -V*u*- — Russian -V*u*-: *каура* (also *кавра*) ’bird Colymbus’ < cf. Es *kaur'* id.

1.1.5. A number of options in Russian

The existence of a phone similar in phonation is often the basis of the occurrence of an alternative realization. For example, Finnic mid back rounded *o* is usually realized in Russian as *o*, but it is also realized as high back rounded *u* in quite a few words disregarding the position in the word. We find a similar picture with realizations of Finnic *u*: most frequently *u* but also *o* in stressed or unstressed position. Compare some of rather numerous examples:

ко́кач, кока́ч ’type of pie’ < Ve *kokat'* id.;

ку́рпист ’woodcock’ < Es *korpits, korbits* id.;

ку́ба, кува́, ко́ва ’(shoemaker’s) last; trace’ < KaA Ve *kuva* ’last’, Ka *kuva* ’last; picture’;

ту́рба, то́рба ’snout, face’ < cf. Ka *turba*, KaA *turbu*, KaLu *turb* ’snout’.

Similarly we find, for instance, high front *i* corresponding to Finnic mid front *e* and vice versa, the only reason for which in stressed position is the fact that these phones share some features.

1.2. Phonetic processes

The process of phonetic adaptation is not limited to realization of Finnic phones only. In spite of the fact that phones in a new word are all characteristic of the phonetic system of this or that Russian dialect, the sequence of phones may still contradict it. This will require an adjustment of phones within a word, which can manifest itself in various assimilatory and dissimilatory changes, epenthesis, and other phonetic processes. For instance, in the word *пи́хта* ’fir-tree (Abies)’ < *пи́хка* < Ka *pihka*, KaA *pihka-*, KaLu *pihk*, Ve *p̌ihk*, *t* occurred not as a realization of Finnic *k*, but as a result of dissimilation of two velars, viz. *χ* and *k*, the combination of which is unusual for the Russian language. Most interestingly, such phonetic processes are optional, i.e. almost any loanword which exhibits some alternation in one (sub-)dialect can show no alternation in another (compare the treatment of some Finnic geminates and diphthongs). Thus, the adjustment of phones within a word occuring on a later stage of phonetic adaptation is another sphere of variation which manifests itself in numerous loanwords. The following are examples of loanwords found in both alternated and non-alternated forms:

d i s s i m i l a t i o n (distant vowel dissimilation)

Finnic -*a-a-a* — Russian -*a-i -a'*: *каниб́ра* (also *кана́бра*) ’heather; wild rosemary’ < KaA *kanabra-*, cf. Fi *kanarva* ’heather’;

a s s i m i l a t i o n (distant assimilation of palatalization)

Finnic C*ä*C- — Russian C'-C'-: *ка́ряйдать* (also *ка́рандать*) ’to speak hoarsely’ < Ve *kärai̯dan* 1Sg. ’to be angry’;

e p e n t h e s i s

Finnic/S *t*V- — Russian *tr*V-: *тру́ндра* (also *ту́ндра*) ’tundra’ < Fi *tunturi* ’high treeless mountain’ or Lapp *tūndar* ’mountain’;

p r o t h e s i s

Finnic V- — Russian *v*V-: *вóрга* 'marshland; treeless boggy place' < KaLu *org* 'low-lying place', Ve *org* 'low-lying place overgrown by trees';

d e l e t i o n

Finnic -V*rb*- — Russian -V*b*-: *тýба* (also *тýрба*) 'snout' < Ka *turba*, KaA *turbu*, KaLu *turb* id.;

m e t a t h e s i s

Finnic -*rv*(-) — Russian -*vr*-: *гáвра* (also *гáрва*) 'net for catching salmon' < Ka KaA *harva-*, Ve *harv* id.

The same processes can, of course, be revealed through etymologizing of non-Finnic vocabulary as well (e.g. epenthesis in *встрéтить* 'to meet' < Old Russian срѣтати or metathesis in *мрáмор* 'marble' < Latin *marmor*); they are active processes in non-standard speech, namely dialects, popular or children's speech (e.g. assimilation in *чичáс* < *сейчáс* 'now' or epenthesis in *какáво* < *какáо* 'cacao') and are partly characteristic of standard language (e.g. deletion in three- or four-element consonant clusters).

1.3. Alternations

The analysis of the phonetic adaptation of Finnic loanwords reveals a number of alternations which do not result from the adjustment of phones within a loanword. Most distinctive among these are the alternations of sonorants and quasi-obstruent v which are involved in a whole circuit of mutual substitutions:

$$l \leftarrow r \qquad m$$
$$\updownarrow \searrow \qquad \updownarrow$$
$$v \leftarrow j \leftrightarrow n \ (\eta, \acute{n})$$
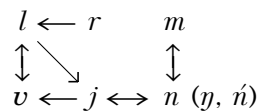
Most probably such alternations have developed in Russian later on the basis of sharing certain phonetic features; however, in some instances one cannot exclude the possibility of the initial realization of one Finnic sonorant by another sonorant in Russian. The following are examples:

Finnic -*r*- — Russian -*r*-/-*l*-: *юрáйдать, юлéйдать* 'to rumble' < cf. Ve *ģuraida*, Ka *jyrissä* id.

Finnic -*l*- — Russian -*l*-/-*v*-: *мáймакала, мáймакава* 'sheat-fish' < cf. Fi *maima* 'fry', *kala* 'fish'

Finnic -*l*- — Russian -*l*-/-*j*-: *мáлтать, мáйтать* 'to understand, know' < Ka *malttoa*, KaLu *малттада* 'to understand, be able'

Finnic *v*- — Russian *v*-/*l*-: *вáгмас, лагмас* 'bog, swamped forest' < cf. Es *võhmas* 'island on a bog'

Finnic -*j*- — Russian -*j*-/-*ń*-: *мýега, мýнега* 'inert, sickly person' < cf. Fi *muju* id.

Finnic -*j*- — Russian -*j*-/-*v*-: *хáрьюз, хáврюс* 'grayling' < Ve Fi *harjus*, Ka *harjuš* id.

Finnic -*n*- — Russian -*n*-/-*m*-: *кýрна, кýрма* 'fishing tackle' < cf. Ka Fi *kuurna* 'gutter', Es *kurn* 'filter', Vo *kurnaan* 'filtering'

Finnic -*ŋ*- — Russian -*n*-/-*ń*-/-*j*-: *кóнга, коньга, кóйга* 'good dry pine; steady pine forest' < Ve *hoŋg*, KaA *hoŋgu*, Es *hoŋгарии*, KaLu *hong*, Fi *honka* 'pine'

Finnic -*m*- — Russian -*m*-/-*n*-: *гóрма, гóрна* 'rose-bay' < Ka Fi *horma* id.

J. Kalima (1919) sometimes questions the connection of Finnic loan-words with words which exhibit alternations of sonorants. For example, analyzing the words *мáлтать, мáйтать* and *мýега, мýнега*, J. Kalima claims the Finnic origin of *мáлтать* and *мýега* and doubts their connection with the synonymous *мáйтать* and *мýнега* respectively (Kalima 1919 : 161—162, 167). However, taking into account all the other alternations of sonorants, one can presuppose the same phenomenon in the words *мáйтать* and *мýнега* as well.

The alternations indicated above are certainly not frequent in words of Finnic origin, and are rarely encountered elsewhere in Russian (compare though the popular personal names *Миколай* instead of *Николай* and *Нефёд* instead of *Мефодий*, or the loanword *барабáн* 'drum' which according to one hypothesis comes from Crimean Tatar *balaban* 'big drum').

1.4. Influence of folk etymology

Another phenomenon which has contributed to variation in the adaptation of Finnic loanwords is folk etymology which alters a foreign or unfamiliar word by relating it to other words on a sound and often semantic basis. The following are some examples of a long list of Finnic loanwords affected by folk etymology:

гýстега (also *гýдега*) 'frost; thick layer of frost on trees' < Ka *huuveh, huutehen* Gen.Sg., *huueh, huudehen* Gen.Sg. 'frost'; cf. *густóй* 'thick';

калайдáчить (also *калайдáть*) 'to engage in idle talk; to gossip' < Ve *kalaidab* 3Sg. 'to roar'; cf. *судáчить* 'to gossip';

куёк (also *кýйка*) 'diver (bird)' < Ka Fi *kuikka*, Es *kuik*; cf *куёт* 3Sg. 'to forge' and the expression *куёк к дождю куёт*;

пáкля (also *пáкула, пáккула*) 'tree-fungus on a birch' < Ka *pakkul'i*, Ve *pakkaл* , cf. Fi *pakkula*; cf. *пáкля* 'tow';

сузём, сюзём 'dense forest' < cf. Fi *sysmä*; cf. *сузём* 'chernozem with a bit of sand'.

1.5. Stress

Potential variation in the process of accentual adaptation of loanwords already lies in the very structural type of the Russian stress:
Russian has f r e e s t r e s s which can occur on different syllables. In spite of the fact that scholars note a strongly pronounced tendency to retain the stress of the source language in both common and proper nouns, this is still a tendency and not a rule (see Суперанская 1968 : 23—24). Since Finnic languages have f i x e d s t r e s s on the first syllable, it should be expected that the majority of Finnic loanwords exhibit stress on the first syllable as well. The data collected indeed show that 63% of lexemes are known to have the stress on the first syllable only, that 21% of lexemes have been attested in various accentual forms, including forms with the stress on the first syllable, while 16% of lexemes were found with stress on the non-first syllable. Interestingly, even four-syllable words may conform to the tendency outlined above. A. V. Superanskaja (Суперанская 1968 : 42), who investigated over 5,000 loan- and foreign words, notes that foreign vocabulary allows stress on only one of the three final syllables in

nouns in the nominative, while genuine Russian words can have stress within seven final or seven initial syllables. The Finnic data offers a few exceptions to this rule:

вянейдукса 'cry-baby' < cf. Fi *vänätä* 'to whimper';

ма́ймакала, ма́ймакава 'sheat-fish' < cf. Fi *maima* 'fry', *kala* 'fish';

ки́веручи (also *киверу́чи*) Pl. 'goby' < KaA *kiviručči*, Ka *kiviruča* id.

More examples can be gleaned from the Lapp data: *áростега, óрос-тяга* 'rope, switch' (also *оростя́га*); *ка́растига* 'rope'; *ма́неливый* 'shy (deer)'; *пóргапостель* 'fur from the autumn deer'; *чи́вастега, ки́вастева* 'lasso'; *чу́румбала* 'back part of a deer' (see Vasmer 1996).

However, some of the Finnic vocabulary deviates from this tendency towards preserving the original stress. One of the main reasons which could cause the stress shift is the adjustment of loanwords to Russian accentual patterns. Thus, the shift often occurs in nouns ending in -*ak*, -*an*, -*as*, -*ač*, -*uj*, -*un*, and -*Čak*. This perfectly matches data from the Russian reverse dictionary (Зализняк 1977): all nouns ending in -*Čak*, almost all nouns in -*ak*, -*ač*, -*uj*, -*un*, and the majority in -*as*, -*an* have a stress on the last syllable. Compare some examples of Finnic origin:

гангáс 'trap' < Fi *hangas* id.;

опáс (also *óпас*) 'guide in tundra' < Fi *opas* id.;

ропáк 'pock-marks' < Ve *ropak* id.;

кокýй 'Midsummer's Day' < In *kokkoi*, Ka Fi *kokko* 'fire on Midsummer's Day';

гунгáч (also *гýнгач*) 'eagle owl' < Ve *h'üńgẹi* 'owl'.

The same pattern is traced in the accentuation of loanwords from other, i.e. not Finnic, languages as well. For instance, many loanwords ending in -*uk*, irrespective of their origin, acquire a fixed stress on the last syllable in Russian: e.g. *акведýк* < German *Aquäduct* or Latin *aquaeductus*, *бурун-дýк* < Mari *uromdok*, *гайдýк* < Hungarian *hajdúk*, *мундштýк* < German *Mundstück* et al. This is explained by the fact that rather numerous Turkic loanwords ending in -*uk*, which retained the original stress, have formed the accentual pattern in accordance with which loanwords from other languages fix their stress in Russian.

Among other Finnic loanwords, the stress shift is found in a large number of disyllabic words ending in -*a*/-*Ća* (e.g. *бугрá* 'hunter's or fisherman's cabin' (also *бýгра*); *кинжá* 'iron wedge' (also *ки́нжа*); *конгá* 'pine' (also *кóнга*); *коргá* 'stony shoal, cape' (also *кóрга*); *кунжá* 'fish of the salmon family' (also *кýнжа*); *нодья́* 'camp-fire' (also *нóдья*); *тохтá* 'rotten wood' (also *тóхта*); *чупá* 'type of bay, creek' (also *чýпа*) etc.). This goes against the statement of A. V. Superanskaja (Суперанская 1968 : 222), who claims that in loan- and foreign words in -*a*, -*я* stress predominates on the penultimate syllable, no matter how many syllables there are in a word.

2. Variation in treatment of Baltic Finnic stems

2.1. Nominal stems

An analysis of the treatment of Finnic noun stems shows that almost all stems are treated in more than one way. Among the exceptional cases we find only the Vepsian stem -*eg* which is always realized as -V*ga* in Russian

and a few stems represented by one loanword each in the collected data. The following is a list of Finnic final elements of the nominative singular form treated variably in Russian, as well as a few examples:

Finnic *-a/-u/ø* (*-a-*) — Russian *-a*, *-C′a*, (C)ø, *-o*

себрá, себря́ 'community' < Ve *śebr* id.;

вáхка, вехк 'trefoil' < Ka *vehka*, Ve *vehk* id.;

мáкса, максó 'liver of fish' < KaA *maksu*, Ve *maks*, Fi *maksa* 'liver';

Finnic *-ä/-ü/ø* (*-ä-*) — Russian *-a*, *-C′a*, (C)ø, (C′)ø

кéчкара, кéчкаря, кéчкар, кéчкарь (masc.) 'even, low sea shore' < Ka *ketškerä* 'islet on a bog';

Finnic *-o/ø* (*-o-*) — Russian *-a*, *-o*, *-(j)o*, (C)ø

кýла 'dry grass of the last year' < Ka KaA KaLu *kulo* id.;

пулó, пульё 'float on a seine' < Ka KaA Fi *pullo*, Ve *pulo* id.;

ля́ник 'bowl, bucket' < Es *länńik*, Vo *l′änńikko* id.;

Finnic *-u/ø* (*-u-*) — Russian *-a*, (C)ø

шуп 'first ice on a river' < cf. Fi *suppu*, Es *supp*, Gen.Sg. *supa* 'ice medley on a river';

вúпа 'trap for hazel-grouse' < KaA Vo Fi *vipu*, KaA Ve Es *vibu* id.;

Finnic *-e* (*-ee*) — Russian *-a*, (C)ø

вóйда 'grease for skis' < cf. Fi *voide*, Gen.Sg. *voiteen* 'grease';

чит 'drizzle' < KaA *tšiite*, cf. Fi *siide*, Gen, *siiteen* id.;

Finnic *-i/ø* (*-i-*, *-e-*) — Russian *-a*, *-C′a*, (C)ø, (C′)ø

сáлма, солóмя 'strait, sound' < KaA Fi *salmi*, KaLu *sal′m*, N.Pl. *salmed* 'sea sound', Es *sal′m*, Gen.Sg. *sal′mi* 'small sound';

пýтка, пýток 'sorrel' < Ka *putki*, Gen.Sg. *puten*, KaA *butki*, Gen.Sg. *butken*, Ve *butk*, Ve KaLu *but′k*, cf. Fi *putki* id.;

кýкля, кýкель (masc.) 'mosquito net' < Ka *kukkel′i*, Ve *kukkel′* id.;

Finnic *-oi*, *-ęi*, *-o* — Russian *-a*, *-Vj*

лéмбой, лéмба 'the Evil Spirit' < KaA *lemboi*, KaLu *l′emboi*, Ve *l′embęi*, but also Ka *lembo* id.;

Finnic *-eh*, *-s* (*-kse-*), *-r*, *-k*, *-č* — Russian C, C*a*

кóрех, кóреха 'smelt (fish)' < Ka KaA *kuoreh*, Ve *kor′eh* id.;

Finnic *-s* (*-VV-/-VhV-/-V-*) — Russian C, C′, (*a*)ø

пáлтус, пáлтась 'halibut' < Fi *pallas*, Gen.Sg. *paltaan* or Lapp *pāˊldes*, *paḽdes* id.;

вáрда 'lath, lathing' < cf. KaLu *vardaz*, Fi *varras*, Gen.Sg. *vartaan*, Es *varras*, Gen.Sg. *varda* 'pole, peg';

Finnic *-l* (*-le-*) — Russian C, C*a*, C*o*

тáйбол, тайбóла, тайбóло 'thicket' < cf. Ka *taival*, *taibale-* 'isthmus';

Finnic *-n* (*-ne-*) — Russian C, C′

тáймен, таймень 'traut' < KaA *taimen*, Fi *taimen*, Gen.Sg. *taimenen* id.

The correlative pairs listed above show, first of all, that variation in the treatment of Finnic noun stems is connected to the distinct tendency for Finnic loanwords to join the Russian class of nouns in *-a* regardless of the original stem-type. Since this is a tendency and not a rule, we can find, for example, loanwords in both *-o* and *-a* corresponding to Finnic *-o-* stem, or loanwords in both C′*a* and *-a* corresponding to the *-ä-* stem. Various factors have contributed to this phenomenon. First and foremost, the Finnic *-a-* stem is the most frequently encountered stem in the source words of the loanwords examined. Secondly, Russian feminine nouns in *-a* (*-C′a*)

constitute a much more numerous class of words than do the neuter nouns in *-o, -e, -(j)o*. Thirdly, the basic stem for loanwords in Russian is often represented by the stem (not by the nominative singular form), which means that for Finnic nouns ending in a consonant, the basic stem would end in a vowel. However, in the majority of cases it is difficult to determine the basic stem with certainty. Does the word *вехк* 'trefoil' < Ka *vehka*, Ve *vehk* (also *вáхка*) reflect the omission of the final vowel of the stem or it is based on the Veps nominative singular form? Areal linguistics cannot help us in this particular case. For another example, compare *кáрбус* (also *кóрбукс, кóрбуск, кóрбук*) 'Squalius leuciscus, dace' < cf. Fi *korpus*, Gen.Sg. *korpuksen*. The final *-s* in *кáрбус* does not necessarily reflect the nominative singular form since *-s* can result from the simplification of the sequence *-ks* which is undesirable in this position; in fact, the word *кóрбукс* is the only loanword in *-ks* found so far.

Apart from the tendency to conform to the Russian class of nouns in *-a*, the force of analogy can also stimulate variation in the treatment of Finnic noun stems. The appearance of some loanwords ending in a consonant can be influenced by analogy with Russian suffixed nouns. For example:

  кагáч 'cover over a stack' < Ve *kahač*, Ka *kahattšu* (-*u*- stem) id.;
  кýрик 'stick, cudgel' < Ka KaA *kurikka*-, KaLu *kurikk* (-*a*- stem) id.;
  лýзик 'spoon' < Ka *luźikka*, KaLu *luzikku*, Ve *лužik* (-*a*- stem) id.;
  рипáк 'rag, shred' < KaLu *ripakk*, Ve *ripak*, Ka *ripakko* (-*o*- stem) id.

The words *кагáч, лýзик* and *рипáк* could arise by analogy with words which contain suffixes *-ач-, -ик-*, and *-ак-*.

One should also bear in mind the fact that some forms could appear in Russian at a later stage. For instance, the word *сигá* 'whitefish' < Ka *siiga, siigu*, Ve *sīg*, Fi Ka *siika*, Es Ka *siig* has been found only in Yakutia, while in northern Russia only the form *сиг* id. is known and widely spread. This fact allows us to conclude that the word *сигá* could be a secondary form which appeared as a variant of *сиг* later and had no connection with Finnic lexemes. Multiple borrowing from one Russian dialect to another accompanied by analogy can result in quite a few variants of the same loanword exhibiting substitution of final elements. Compare some examples:

  кóрех, кóрюх, кóрях 'smelt (fish)' < Ka KaA *kuoreh*, Ve *koŕeh* id.;
  лóвдус, лóвдас, лóвдес, лóвгас, лóвтус 'float (of a fishing tackle)' < cf. Fi *laudus*, Gen.Sg. *lauduksen* id.;
  кáрбаз, кáрбас, кáрбус 'boat' < Ve *karbaz*, cf. Fi *karvas* id.;
  кáлика, кáлига, кáлица, кáлива 'swede' < Es *kaalik* id.;
  гáрьюс, хорус, гáрвиз, харез 'grayling (fish)' < cf. Ve *harďuz*, Ka *harjuš*, Fi Ve *harjus* id.

The alternations which occur in Russian at a later stage can also be influenced by the analogy with word-forming processes characteristic of the Russian language. Thus, we find, for instance, the words *рюжа, рюха, рюшка* 'fishing tackle' which are considered to be connected to the Karelian *rüžä* id. An analysis of the phonetic realizations of Finnic *ž* allows us to conclude that only the form *рюжа* is likely to be a primary loanword, while the others could occur later in the following order: *рюжа > рюшка > рюха* (cf. *рубáха > рубáшка* 'shirt').

One of the characteristic features of Finnic vocabulary in Russian is the existence of a rather large number of nouns found only in the suffixed

form. This is yet another type of variation in the treatment of Finnic noun stems related to a wide range of stem-types. Another aspect of it is that the same Finnic noun can be adapted using various suffix forms. The following are some examples:

-*ач/-ыш*: *кубáч, кýбыш* 'sheaf' < Ka *kubo*, cf. Fi *kupo* id.;

-*ич/-ач*: *кóмбич, кóмбач* 'type of sinker' < cf. Fi *kumpunen* (-*se*-) 'net float';

-*уй/-ун*: *ёлуй, ёлун* 'device for drying fish' < Fi *jolu* 'long pole';

-*о-ха*: *кáржоха* 'fumes' < Ka *koaržu*, cf. KaA *kaarsu*, Ka *koaršu* id.;

-*ышк-а*: *кýппышка* 'bowl' < In *kuppi* id.;

-*ниц-а*: *лóкконица* 'turnip soup' < cf. KaLu *lohkoi*, Ve *lohkẹi*, Fi *lohko* id.

The appearance of the suffix in these and many other loanwords is probably caused by analogy with semantically similar Russian words. For instance, -*ач*- occurs in many names of birds, viz. *гýнгач* 'eagle owl', *нергáч* 'jay', *пáскач* 'sparrow; jay', *тикáч* 'woodpecker'; we find the same suffix in such words of non-Finnic origin as *пугáч* 'eagle owl' or *дергáч* 'landrail'. The diminative suffix -*к*- appears in *тябялка* 'hare's foot for greasing boots' < Ka KaA *käbälä*-, Ve *käbäl'* as in *лáпка* 'foot (of hare)'. One more example: the suffix -*няк* which occurs in the word *пайнáк* 'thickets of small bushes' < Ka KaA Ve *paju* can also be found in *березнáк* 'birch thicket', *вербнáк* 'pussy-willow thicket', *дубнáк* 'oak thicket', *ивнáк* 'willow thicket', or *ольшнáк* 'alder thicket'.

2.2. Verbal stems

As for verbs, variation is restricted to the treatment of those stem-types which are rarely encountered among the source-words of Finnic loanwords, i.e. verbs in -*i*-, -*u*-, and -*o*-. As data show, the vast majority of Finnic verbs borrowed by Russian speakers have an -*a*-/-*ä*- stem, and these verbs always join the class of -*ать* verbs in Russian (usually with an -*aj*- stem). This has set the pattern, which is automatically applied to other stems as well. Thus, Finnic verbs with the stem -*i*-, -*u*-, and -*o*- conform not only to -*ить* and -*овать* verbs (which in fact constitute rather numerous classes of verbs in the Russian language) but also, and more frequently, to -*ать* verbs. For example:

рыбить, рибать 'to comb out flax' < KaLu *rībi-dä*, Ve *rībi-* (-*i*-) id.;

кáрзать 'to lop off boughs' < Ve *kaŕźi-*, KaA *karzi-* (-*i*-) id.;

кукковáть 'to grieve' < Ka *kukku*-, Ve *kukku*-, cf. Fi *kukku-a* (-*u*-) id.;

вúньгать 'to squeak' < Ka *viŋgu-o*, KaA *viŋgu*- (-*u*-) id.;

кáйковать 'to grieve; regret; doubt' < cf. Fi *kaikko-a* (-*o*-) 'to grieve; cry out'.

Another instance of variation related to the treatment of Baltic Finnic verbs in Russian concerns Veps onomatopoeic verbs with the suffix -*Vida-/-Vidä-*. Such Veps verbs become -*Vйдать* verbs in Russian as often as they become -*Vндать* verbs. The following are some of rather numerous examples:

бýлейдать, бýлендать 'to gurgle, speak indistinctly' < Ve *buľaida*- id.;

бýрайдать, бýрандать 'to grumble, swear' < Ve *buraida*- id.;

курáйдать, кýрандать 'to croak' < Ve *koraida*- id.;

ловáйдать, лóвандать 'to bang, make noise, shout' < Ve *ᴫovaida*- id.;

рибáйдать, рибáндать 'to jog, drag' < Ve *ŕibaida*-, *ŕibeida*- 'to fray';

ýлайдать, ýландать 'to weep, howl (of wolf)' < Ve *ulaida*- id.

The element -V*нда*- has probably appeared in Russian as an alternation of the suffix -V*йда*- under the influence of speech of Vepsian and Karelian speakers (cf. Veps *parata, parandan* 1Sg. 'to set a trap'). The uniqueness of the -V*йда*- and -V*нда*- elements lies in the fact that both were perceived as suffixes and adopted by the word-formation system of northern Russian dialects; however, their functioning seems to be restricted to onomatopoeic verbs only. Both suffixes are found, for instance, in place of Finnic suffix -*ise*-(-*ize*-), also perceived as such (e.g. *куря́ндать* 'to splash, purl (of water)' < cf. Ka *kurista* : *kurise*-) or with roots of non-Finnic origin (e.g. *бле́яндать* 'to bleat', cf. *бле́ять* id.).

In conclusion, we shall point out another phenomenon which is closely related to variation in the phonetic and morphological adaptation of Finnic loanwords. The alternative solutions existing within the adaptation of loanwords create a possibility for the rise of variants of the same loanword. Such variants can occur through the parallel borrowing into different Russian (sub)dialects or, later, through "migrating" of a loanword from one (sub)dialect into another. As a result we can come across a long chain of variants similar to the following: *хо́нга, хоньга, хонька, хомга, хонда, хонжа, ко́нга, конга́, ко́нда, коньга, ко́йда, ко́йга, конжа, коньжа, коньгя* (cf. KaA *hoŋgu*, Es *hongapuu*, KaLu *hong*, Ve *hoŋg*, Fi *honka*). Following the pattern of standard Russian, we should also assume the possibility of a period of fluctuation in the same subdialect before the language "settles" on one of the variants (compare such examples of standard language as *визи́т* 'visit', *колле́гия* 'collegium', *манто́* '(lady's) coat', *гера́нь* 'geranium', which initially competed with *визита, коллегиум, мантон, гераний* and *герациум* respectively). However, the existing dialect data rarely allow us to trace the history of this or that word in a particular subdialect.

Abbreviations

Es — Estonian; **Fi** — Finnish; **In** — Ingrian; **Ka** — Karelian, **KaA** — Aunus Karelian, **KaLu** — Lude Karelian, **KaS** — South Karelian; **Ve** — Veps; **Vo** — Votic.

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ВАРИАТИВНОСТЬ В АДАПТАЦИИ ПРИБАЛТИЙСКО-ФИНСКИХ ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЙ В РУССКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Вариативность — это наиболее примечательная особенность адаптации прибалтийско-финских заимствований в русском языке. Она прослеживается в любом аспекте и на всех стадиях трансформации прибалтийско-финского слова в русское. В статье описывается варьирование при фонетической и при морфологической адаптации прибалтийско-финских заимствований. Рассматриваются разные направления, в которых проявляет себя вариативность в заимствованиях, анализируется мотивационный фактор этого феномена. Автор стремится при этом показать сложность и многообразие процесса адаптации прибалтийско-финских заимствований в диалектах русского языка.