

## Slavica Helsingiensia 27

The Slavization of the Russian North. Mechanisms and Chronology. Ed. by Juhani Nuorluoto.  
Die Slavisierung Nordrusslands. Mechanismen und Chronologie. Hrsg. von Juhani Nuorluoto.  
Славянизация Русского Севера. Механизмы и хронология. Под ред. Юхани Нуорлуото.

Helsinki 2006

ISBN 952-10-2852-1, ISSN 0780-3281; ISBN 952-10-2928-5 (PDF)

---

**Margje Post**  
(Tromsø)

### The Dialect of Varzuga and its Neighbours

Comparisons between dialects tell us how a dialect relates to other dialects: how isolated it is, and which dialects it is most closely related to. Areal-linguistic studies also give information about the historical ties of the dialect and its speakers to other regions and about their cultural background. The present article discusses the relation of the Russian dialect of Varzuga, an old *Pomor* settlement on the coast of Kola Peninsula, to its Russian and Finno-Ugric neighbours.

The people of Varzuga and the other villages along the coasts of the White Sea (see Map on page 319) have been living relatively isolated from the rest of the Russian world. These people's closeness to the sea, their contact with different cultures and the poor conditions for agriculture led to the development of a distinct coastal, Pomor culture. Although the Pomors consider themselves to be Russians, they are hardly part of Russia: in the conception of the *Varzužans*, 'Rossija' is 'the land behind Karelia'. In this article I will try to answer the question of whether these conditions led to the development of a distinct dialect. This question will be addressed from two points of view. The first question is how the dialect of Varzuga relates to the other Russian dialects; the second is whether the proximity to the speakers of Finno-Ugric languages has left many traces in the dialect of the *Varzužans*.

In the first classification of the East Slavonic dialects (Durnovo et al. 1915), the dialects of the Kola Peninsula were classified under the Pomor group of the Northern Great-Russian macrodialect (*severno-velikorusskoe narečie*). This dialect group was alternatively called the Northern or Archangel group. Later dialect-geographical classifications, the *Dialect Atlas of the Russian Language* (DARJa) and the *All-Slavonic Linguistic Atlas* (OLA), do not cover the Kola Peninsula. The DARJa only covers the core Russian area, which was settled by Russians before the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the main Russian dialectal differences had emerged. Many regions settled in later centuries got a mixed population

with different dialectal backgrounds, and this would result in chaotic dialect maps.

This article presents the results of a limited dialect-geographical study of dialectal characteristics that were attested on recent recordings from Varzuga. In 2001 and 2004, Slavists from the University of Tromsø and colleagues from Moscow and Bochum, Germany, carried out dialectological field work on the Ter Coast of the Kola Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> Most of these recordings consist of free conversation of speakers born between 1912 and 1937 (see Post 2005). Since we did not work with questionnaires, some dialectal characteristics might not have been recorded. The geographical spread of grammatical and phonological characteristics has been determined mainly through data from DARJa, Avanesov (1949), Kasatkin et al. (1989), Požarickaja (1997) and Gecova (1997). However, the spread of these characteristics in Siberia has not been studied. The main sources for the study of the distribution of some fifty dialectal words have been Podvysotskij (1885), *Словарь русских народных говоров* (SRNG), *Словарь русских говоров Карелии и сопредельных областей* (SRGK), Merkur'ev (1997) and the DARJa. Furthermore, I had very limited access to the twelve published volumes of *Архангельский областной словарь* (AOS). Use of other sources will be mentioned specifically. The term 'dialectal word' is used here in its narrow sense to refer to words that are not common for all varieties of Russian, but are geographically restricted in form and/or meaning.

The dialect-geographical studies show that the dialect smoothly fits into the Russian language landscape: there is a clear positive correlation between geographical proximity to Varzuga and the chance that the characteristic is shared with the Varzuga dialect. Most traits are also found in the neighbouring regions, and only in exceptional cases is a phenomenon or word exclusively attested in an area far away from Varzuga. Examples of the attested dialectal characteristics are given below, ranging from those with a large distribution to a dialectal word that is used in the village of Varzuga only.

The dialect of Varzuga has typical northern Russian traits, such as the distinction of the phonemes /o/ and /a/ after hard consonants in unstressed position (*polnoe okan'e*), plosive [g] and personal pronouns in the genitive and accusative case in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person sg. and the reflexive form in <a> (*меня; тебя; себя*).<sup>2</sup> Other northern characteristics are the loss of <j> and vowel assi-

<sup>1</sup> A list of publications based on the recorded material, including a Master's thesis (Pétursdóttir 2003) and a doctoral dissertation (Post 2005) can be found at our project website <http://uit.no/humfak/2387>.

<sup>2</sup> The dialectal forms are given in Standard Russian orthography.

milation in certain nominal and verbal endings, such as *другу́* ‘other’ F.acc.sg. (cf. Standard Russian *другую*) and *зна́м* ‘we know’ (cf. Standard Russian *знаем*), and words like *кваши́ня* for ‘kneading trough’ and *ухва́т* for ‘oven fork’. These are all phenomena found throughout northern Russia.

The isoglosses of some characteristics are situated further to the north, crossing the Leningrad and Vologda oblasts, and sometimes the Novgorod oblast’. Examples are the final use of the connectives *да* and *дак*, such as in the utterances *Бы́ли ... Сиги́ да, щу́ка да о́куня да* ‘There were ... white fish, and pike and bass’ and *Я те́перь уж ста́ла и забыва́ть их всех. Давно́ не́ту дак* ‘I’ve started to forget them all [= various names for reindeer]. We haven’t had them for a long time, you know’ (examples from Varzuga; cf. map 8 in Kuz’mina 1993: 185, and map 10 in DARJa III/2). Others are the words *се́йгод* ‘this year’, *мох* in the meaning ‘marshland’ and the Finnic loanwords *ля́га* ‘pool, puddle’, *ня́ша* ‘mud’ and *ма́кса* ‘fish liver’.

We have to go even further northwards to find the isoglosses of the differentiation of dative and instrumental plural endings,<sup>3</sup> of the second person plural endings of the present tense (and simple future) in stressed <é>, as in *пойди́те* ‘you (pl.) will come’, and of *soft сокан’е*, as in the Varzuga examples *ко́льца* ‘rings’ and *ве́чно* ‘eternal’.

From an east-west perspective, Varzuga takes an intermediate position, having both western and eastern traits. The eastern characteristics are the use of the word *лопотина́* or *лопати́на* for ‘clothing’ and *зы́бка* for ‘cradle’. Both words are used in about half of European Russia. DARJa (III/1: map 22) shows that the word *зы́бка* ‘cradle’ is used in the north-eastern half of European Russia; the isogloss is drawn just east of Moscow. The other, western half mainly uses *лю́лька*.

Restricted to the north-east are the use of variants of the particle *-то*,<sup>4</sup> stressed endings for infinitives with a stem in a velar (*некчи́ / некци́*) and the absence of [a] in the stressed position between soft consonants, as in *оне́ть* (cf. Standard Russian *опять* ‘again’).

A characteristic placing Varzuga in an intermediate zone between east and west is the relatively widespread use of the preposition *с* ‘from’ where eastern

<sup>3</sup> The dative and instrumental plural have merged into a single ending (<am> for nouns; <im> for other nominals) in the northern Russian dialects further south (DARJa II: maps 41 and 51). The endings attested in Varzuga are discussed below.

<sup>4</sup> Examples of variants of the particle *-то* from Varzuga are *суха́я-та* ‘dry’ adj.F.nom. and *на́ зиму-ту* ‘for the winter’ F.acc.sg.

dialects use *из* (с *Умбы* ‘from Umba’). However, dialects further west do not use the preposition *из* at all (Kuz'mina 1973).

North-western characteristics are, for instance, the word *платьё* for ‘bed linen; laundry’<sup>5</sup> and *мякина* (*мекина*) for the leaves of root vegetables.<sup>6</sup> In Varzuga, we attested the frequent, predicative use of passive past participles and the use of *у*-phrases in these constructions to denote the agent of the action, such as in *у Насти привезён был* ‘Nastja had brought him’ (= a cat). This is also a characteristic of the north-western area (Trubinskij 1984). Its use is most extended in the west, where it is also attested with intransitive verbs (like *у меня уйдено* ‘I have (had) left’) and where there is usually no agreement between participle and grammatical subject. The consequent agreement of verb and subject and the absence of passive participles of intransitive verbs in our data from Varzuga show that the dialect is not situated far to the west.

Typical of the far north-west and north are words such as *ростить* in the meaning ‘to bring up children’, *нёшать* for digging a hole through the ice on a river or lake, and *скать* in the meaning ‘to roll out dough’ or ‘to bake pies’. The form *бруска* for ‘red whortleberry’ (cf. Standard Russian *брусника*; see Post 2005: 46) has – apart from on the Kola Peninsula – only been found in the Novgorod oblast’ and in the intermediate area, in Karelia and the former Olonec gubernija. This is a rare example of a word that has been attested at some distance from Varzuga, but not in the Archangel dialects: the form *бруска* is not mentioned in AOS, although this is a very large dictionary.

Many traits and words are only shared with the areas around the White Sea, i.e. with the northern Archangel dialects and the Russian dialects of northern Karelia. The Archangel dialects have been studied extensively. Most of the characteristics found in our corpus also occur frequently in the Archangel dialects (Gecova 1997; Kasatkina 1991). Gecova mentions traits differentiating the northern from the southern part of the Archangel dialects. Interestingly, in all but one of the mentioned features attested in our material, the Varzuga dialect joins the northern Archangel dialects (Gecova 1997: 156 ff., with unaltered spelling):

<sup>5</sup> The word *платье*; *платьё* in the meaning ‘bed linen’ (cf. Standard Russian *бельё*) is used in north-western and western Russia and in many Siberian dialects.

<sup>6</sup> The word *мякина* has been attested as far south as the Pskov, Smolensk and Tver’ oblasts, but not in the Vologda oblast’ in the north-east.

Feature	Northern Archangel	Southern Archangel
1 Comparatives	<i>белее; белей; белé</i>	<i>беляе; беляй; беля́</i>
2 Dat.sg. of II decl.	<i>к женьí</i>	<i>к жене́</i>
3 Loc.sg. of I decl.	<i>на столí; на дн́и</i>	<i>на столé; на днé</i>
4 Loc.sg. of III decl.	<i>в печíи</i>	<i>в печé</i>
5 'Pie with fish'	<i>кулеба́ка + ры́бник</i>	<i>ры́бник</i>
6 Instr. pl.	<m'i> in nouns; <ma> in other nominals only: <i>с мойма бéлыма</i>	<ma> in nouns only

As for the last characteristic, the dialect of Varzuga is different from all Archangel dialects. In the dialect of Varzuga, the instrumental plural endings in <ma> are recorded for all nominals, and the alternative ending for nouns in hard <ami> [ami̯] links the dialect not to the east, but to the south: apart from on the Kola Peninsula, this form is typical for the Russian dialects of Karelia only.<sup>7</sup>

The pronunciation of the former \*ě as [e] and not [i] in most positions, even in unstressed syllables, is only shared with part of the Archangel dialects, including the nearby Winter Coast (see Map below) and the far north of the area. It is important to note that the merger of \*ě, \*e and \*a into [e] in the first pre-tonic syllable between soft consonants, which the dialect of Varzuga shares with the northern Archangel dialects (Požarickaja 1997: 41 f.), is not found in any dialect covered by DARJa (cf. DARJa I: map 3).

Gecova also mentions some isoglosses that divide the eastern from the western Archangel dialects. The Varzuga dialect follows the western Archangel dialects in using the word *калитка* for open pies made without yeast and *шаньга* for pies with yeast; in the eastern part of the Archangel dialects, the word *шаньга* is used for both types (Gecova 1997: 165).

Words attested around the White Sea only are, for instance, *ка́рбас*, a type of boat that can be used on sea,<sup>8</sup> the word *норв́ег*,<sup>9</sup> the wind names *обéдник*, *поберéжник*, *полу́ночник* and *засíверка*,<sup>10</sup> *пролба́* for 'ice-hole'<sup>11</sup> and *кулеба́ка*

<sup>7</sup> This accounts for northern Russia; the ending <ami> has also been attested in a few places in southern Russia; cf. Požarickaja (2001); see also Pineda (2002).

<sup>8</sup> The word *ка́рбас* has also been attested in certain places in Siberia, and in the Vologda region, but apparently in one particular expression only.

<sup>9</sup> We attested *норв́ег* in the meaning 'a Norwegian'. Merkur'ev (1997) only contains *Норв́ега* for 'Norway'; SRNG gives for *норв́ег* the meanings 1. 'Norway' (Pomor. 1885; Murman.), and 2. 'Norwegian coast' (Pinega region, Arch. obl.). The meaning 'a Norwegian' is given only indirectly in the saying *Норв́ег его знает* 'кто его знает' ('goodness knows'; Pomor. 1885).

<sup>10</sup> *Обедник* is the word for 'south-east wind' (*обед* used to be eaten before noon); *поберéжник* means 'north-west wind'. The word *полуночник* 'north-east wind' has been attested in some more areas, but mainly with a different stress and/or meaning. The word for south-west

in the meaning ‘open pie filled with fish’. This last word deserves comment. It is used in the same meaning – pie filled with fish – in Pečora, another coastal settlement, situated further to the north-east. In this case, only the form and meaning are restricted to a small area: *кулебáка*, or *кулебя́ка*, occurs in many other dialects as well, but with different meanings. For instance, it can denote a pie with another filling than fish. Finally, *ка́лги* are skis with a fur coating in the western part of the White Sea region; in the Archangel oblast’, this word also denoted skis, but surprisingly, they were specifically mentioned to have no coating.

The words *жóмко* and *косты́ч* are rare examples of words that have not been attested in a continuous area. *Жóмко* ‘cold’ has previously only been attested in the Pinega region and in the Olonec gubernija. A *косты́ч* is a simple kind of long gown, a sarafan. Apart from in villages around the White Sea and Karelia, this word has been attested in the Tula and Vladimir oblasts, in areas far away from the White Sea. However, over there, the word denoted certain short clothes.

An even more restricted area of distribution is found for the different words for reindeer according to age and gender (see Pineda 2004: 35 f. or Post 2005: 46 for an overview). Most of these words are Sámi in origin (cf. Pineda 2004). In the data for the Karelian dictionary, most of them have only been attested in the Ter region of the Kola Peninsula; some, for instance *пыж* (a reindeer calf), are also attested in the neighbouring Kandalakša and Kem’ regions. The word *валчáк* appears to have the same restricted distribution. This is a Sámi loanword as well, according to Vasmer (1953–1958), and means ‘salmon that after spawning in autumn, loses weight and returns from the river to the sea’.

Our Varzuga corpus and Merkur’ev’s dictionary contain a number of words that have not been attested elsewhere (Merkur’ev 1997; Post 2005: 42). Myznikov has written an atlas of loanwords in the dialects of north-western Russia which contains data from the Ter region (Myznikov 2003b). His maps show that the Ter region has links with areas in different directions, both to the south (Karelia) and to the east (Archangel oblast’). They also indicate that some of the

wind is *шелóнник*, which shows that the dialect has ties with Novgorod; the Šelón’ is a river south-west of the town of Novgorod. Since *шелóнник* starts with a letter late in the alphabet, the geographical distribution of this word among the Russian dialects could not be checked. *Заси́верка* is a cold northern wind.

<sup>11</sup> The only other area where the form *пролба́* is attested anywhere other than on the Kola Peninsula is the Pinega region, north in the Archangel oblast’ (SRNG). The form *пролуба*, which was also attested in Varzuga in the accusative singular (*пролубу пéшатъ*), is found in a much larger area.

words of Finnic or Sámi origin that he recorded on the Ter Coast have a very restricted distribution, confined to villages on the White Sea Coasts or even the Ter Coast only. Myznikov (2003b: 72) remarks specifically about the White Sea dialects that their lexicon is archaic, which suggests a certain degree of isolation.

We accidentally learnt about a dialectal feature that is probably restricted to the village of Varzuga itself: the word *наку́ль* in the meaning ‘snowball’. There might be more of such very local traits, but in order to identify them, (negative) data from other villages are needed. The dictionary of the Kola dialects by Merkur’ev is of little help in this respect.<sup>12</sup>

Merkur’ev (1960: 15 f.) suggests that the dialect varieties spoken in the old Russian settlements on the Kola Peninsula form a single dialect.<sup>13</sup> Can the dialect varieties of the Kola Peninsula really be said to form a single dialect? Merkur’ev’s publications provide only a limited basis for evaluating his position, and our data are almost exclusively restricted to recordings from Varzuga. In the perception of dialectologist Elena Demidova, the people on both sides of the White Sea speak the same dialect (personal communication). However, there are indications that there are minor differences between the speech varieties of the different villages, at least in pronunciation and lexicon.<sup>14</sup> A good criterion for deciding whether we are dealing with a single norm or with several dialects is the judgement of the dialect speakers themselves: do they consider the inhabitants of the Ter Coast to speak the same dialect, or not? When asked, the speakers seem to disagree.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, lack of sufficient data on the other villages

<sup>12</sup> Merkur’ev does not provide geographical information in his dictionary (Merkur’ev 1997), except for the source village of his example sentences. This information does not tell us anything about the distribution of the word elsewhere. In his works on phonology and morphology (Merkur’ev 1960; 1962), Merkur’ev rarely identifies the villages where he attested the relevant characteristics (see below).

<sup>13</sup> «[Г]овор старинных русских поселений Мурманской области в основном однороден. При наличии некоторых своеобразий он относится к поморским говорам северновеликорусского наречия» (Merkur’ev 1997: 8; cf. Merkur’ev 1960: 15 f.).

<sup>14</sup> Merkur’ev mentions a few examples of minor differences between the villages, e.g. a difference in distribution of the pronunciation of the correspondence of Standard Russian stressed /a/ between soft consonants as [e] or [a] (Merkur’ev 1960: 15 f.). By coincidence, we learnt that the words *наку́ль* (see above) and *не́блюй* have a restricted distribution. This last word is given in Merkur’ev (1997) with the meaning ‘a reindeer up to a few months old’, with an example from Ponoj. In Varzuga, we were told that they did not use that word; reindeer in their first year were all called *пыж*.

<sup>15</sup> When I asked some inhabitants of Varzuga and Kuzomen’ whether people spoke differently along the Ter Coast, they gave diverging answers. Some considered that they all spoke the same dialect, while others indicated that differences could always be heard, especially in pro-

does not qualify us to decide on the matter.<sup>16</sup> In any case, the dialectal differences between the villages appear to be minor.

In the beginning of this article, the question was posed as to whether the special conditions for the Russians living around the White Sea, the Pomors, led to the development of a distinct dialect. My dialect-geographical study shows that this happened only to a limited extent. Indeed, the Pomor dialects developed distinct characteristics, as they both retained archaisms, such as *cokan'e*, old instrumental endings and archaic words, and developed new vocabulary in certain areas, like fishery. However, the distribution of dialectal characteristics shows that the dialect of Varzuga smoothly fits into the Russian dialect landscape and that the influence of the neighbouring languages was limited.

As for the influence of the Finnic and Sámi languages, I do not deny that the Finno-Ugric languages spoken in the north of Russia probably have had a significant influence on the Russian language, affecting all areas of the language (Seliščev 1933; Veenker 1967; Kiparsky 1969). However, the Russian dialects around the White Sea do not appear to have been substantially more affected by the Sámi and Finnic languages than other northern Russian dialects. In the area of the lexicon, the Kola dialects do contain loanwords from neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages, such as Sámi, Karelian, Finnish and Vepsian, but their number is comparatively low and restricted to a few semantic fields, whereas the original Russian vocabulary needed extension, such as reindeer herding, fishery and natural phenomena. In his study of loanwords in Merkur'ev's dictionary of the Kola dialects, Pineda (2004) has found that most words connected with reindeer have Sámi origin, but some are loans from Finnic languages and other Finno-Ugric languages, spoken further to the east, such as Nenets and Komi (e.g. *неблюй*; see note 13). The loanwords for natural phenomena, such as landmarks and words for specific kinds of snow and ice, stem from various Finno-Ugric languages, as do those for special clothing adapted to the northern climate. The loans connected to fishery originate from Sámi (*валчак*), Finnic (e.g. *карбас* from Vepsian *karbaz* or Finnish *karvas*) and from the Germanic languages (e.g. *ёла* for a small fishing boat; cf. Pineda 2004).

nunciation. One speaker told me that it was still possible to hear that one of her neighbours was from a different village along the coast, even though she had lived in Varzuga for the last forty years. Our small number of recordings from Kuzomen' and the old village of Umba show some minor differences, but it is unclear whether they are purely due to geographical distance, or that our few informants from these two villages happened to show more standard language influence.

<sup>16</sup> It also depends, of course, on your definition of a dialect.



The word *ма́кса* is a good example of how the meaning of a word can develop in different directions in different languages and dialects. In the Finnic languages, *maksa* had the general meaning ‘liver’. In most Russian dialects where this word is used, it has a more specific meaning, probably because they had no need for a new word for ‘liver’ in general. In most Russian dialects, it means ‘fish liver’, or even the liver of a specific kind of fish. Because of the high fat percentage of fish liver, the word *ма́кса* was used in some places for the beestings, the first milk of a cow after giving birth (Myznikov 2003a: 175 and 2003b: 66 ff.). In Varzuga, we recorded the form *ма́косок*, probably the genitive plural of the variant form *ма́коска*, in the meaning ‘salmon liver’, a variant form of *макса* earlier attested in Karelia by Myznikov (2003b: 66). We were told that *ма́кса* was also used (cf. Merkur’ev 1997). Myznikov attested the word *ма́кса* in the Ter region in the additional meaning ‘clot of blood’ (2003b: 66).

The dialect of Varzuga is hardly different from the neighbouring dialects in Karelia and the Archangel oblast’. Some of the dialectal characteristics are indeed unique for the dialects around the White Sea, but most dialectal characteristics are shared with larger areas, sometimes with areas further south, sometimes in an eastern direction. An archaism such as soft *cokan’e* is not restricted to the coastal villages, but spread over a continuous area in northern Russia. The increase in differences with dialects spoken at a larger distance is gradual. The data available suggest that if maps would be drawn of the discussed characteristics, they would show gradual transitions and large, continuous areas of dialectal phenomena, rather than small islands and randomly crossing isoglosses on chaotic maps, which would have been the case for many areas in Siberia.

These observations about the low degree of isolation of the Varzuga dialect seem to be explained by the cultural background of the people of Varzuga and the surrounding White Sea area. Unlike most areas in Siberia, the settlement of the White Sea area started early. The Ter Coast of the Kola Peninsula got its first permanent Russian population in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and in most other areas around the White Sea, Russian settlement had started even earlier. This district seems to have attracted people mostly from neighbouring regions, which in their turn had been settled mainly by people from the Novgorod lands in north-western Russia (Bernštam 1978; 1983). These people still consider themselves as descendants from the Novgorodians. For this reason, no mixing of dialects took place on any substantial scale. One of the reasons that the area north of 62° N was not covered in the DARJa is that the population in the far north is scarce

and not spread evenly over the area: the Russians there only live close to the sea and along the main rivers. Therefore, the principle used for the DARJa project of choosing a village every 18 to 20 kms, could not be maintained in this area (Zaxarova & Orlova 1970: 32). A final reason for not including these dialects in the atlas was that no important dialectal characteristics had been found that were not found in any other areas. This removed the urge to classify these dialects as a separate group (Zaxarova & Orlova 1970: 121 f.).

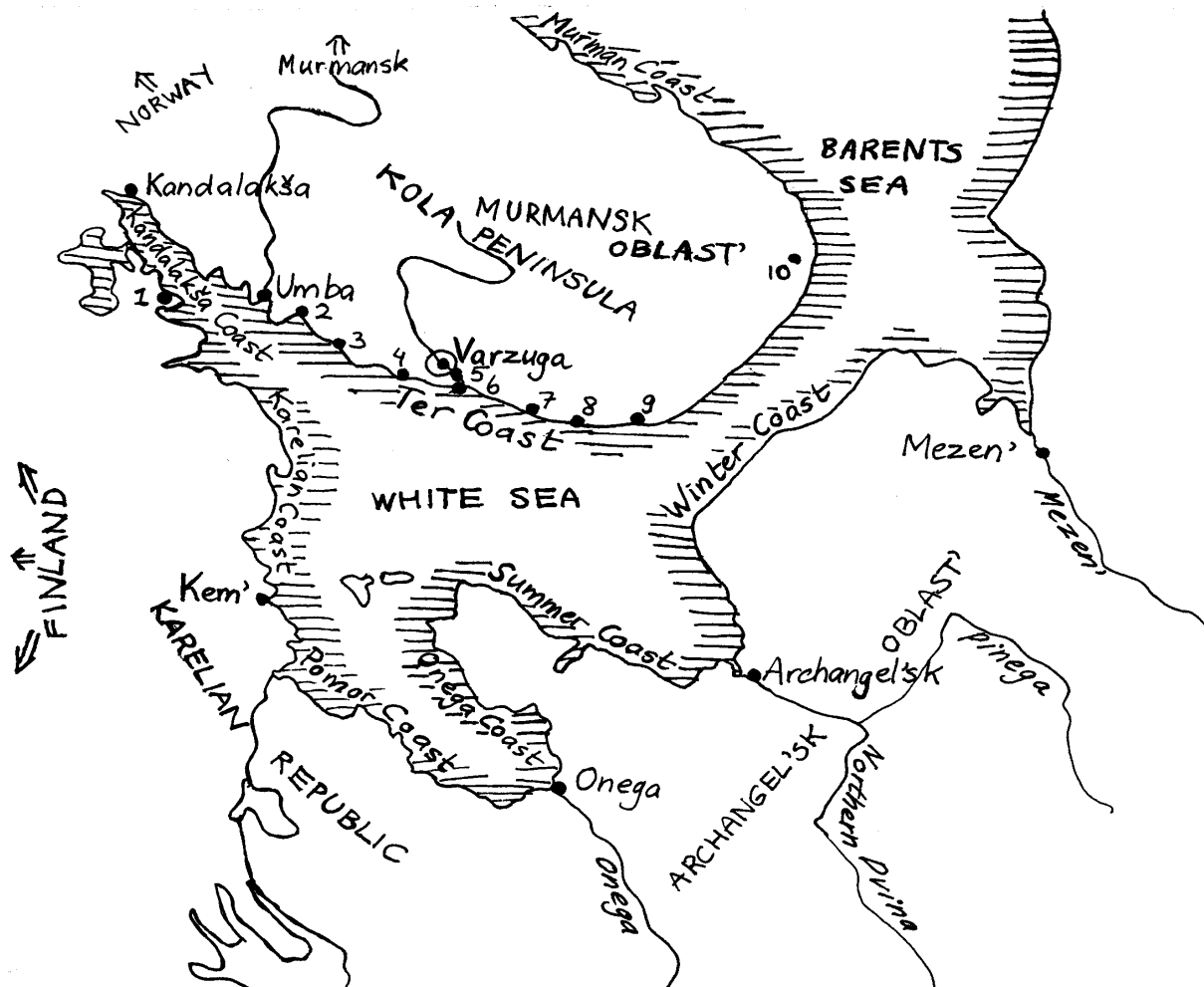
Although the Russian population in the area was scarce and not evenly spread over the area, it was not isolated from other Russian settlements. The Russians on the Ter Coast seem to have been in closer contact with other Russians than with people of a different cultural and linguistic background, such as the Sámi and Karelians.

Furthermore, the Pomor culture and identity was not homogeneous. Bernštam shows that the *Terčane* were not considered to be real Pomors by the people on the other coasts of the White Sea (Bernštam 1978: 76, map 3). One of the main cultural differences was that the people from the Ter Coast herded reindeer. Moreover, the inhabitants of the different coasts along the White Sea married almost exclusively with people from the same coast (Bernštam 1983: 119). For the Varzužans, Pomor identity was only one of several different identities. The Varzužans are called *русские, поморы, роканá* (nickname for Ter Russians)<sup>17</sup> and *фараóны*, which is the nickname for the villagers of Varzuga.<sup>18</sup> This means that they have a Russian identity, a Pomor identity, a Ter Coast identity and a village identity. The findings of the dialect-geographical study that linguistic distance increases with geographical distance parallels these multiple identities.

<sup>17</sup> A *рóкан* is a waterproof garment used by fishermen (Podvysotskij 1885); *вагáн* originally means ‘people from the river Vaga’ (south in the Archangel oblast’), but was extended to mean either ‘people from the Archangel oblast’ or visitors from other regions in general (Merkur’ev 1997; Lönngren 2001).

<sup>18</sup> The people from each village have their own nicknames. For instance, people from Kuzomen’ are called *песóчники*, because they live in the sand. Lönngren mentions some that had not been attested by Merkur’ev: people from Olenica were called *америкáнцы* ‘Americans’; Kuzreka was inhabited by *англичáна* ‘Englishmen’ and Čapoma by *собáки* ‘dogs’ (Lönngren 2001: 11). During our last expedition, we learned some more. People from Kaškarancy were called *мякíнники* ‘mjakina eaters’ and the nickname *мешóчники* (‘bag bearers’) seems to have been used both for the *варзужáна* and *кузомляна*, who both used to carry heavy bags with goods that were shipped between these villages and Umba and Archangel.

Map: The White Sea area



- 1 Kovda
- 2 Kuzreka
- 3 Olenica
- 4 Kaškarancy
- 5 Kuzomen'
- 6 Ust'-Varzuga
- 7 Čavan'ga
- 8 Tetrino
- 9 Čapoma
- 10 Ponoj

## References

- Avanesov 1949 = Р.И. Аванесов: *Русская диалектология*. Москва.
- AOS = *Архангельский областной словарь*. Вып. 1–11 (– дороботаться). Москва, 1980–.
- Bernštam 1978 = Т.А. Бернштам: *Поморы. Формирование группы и система хозяйства*. Ленинград.
- Bernštam 1983 = Т.А. Бернштам: *Русская народная культура Поморья в XIX – начале XX в.: Этнографические очерки*. Ленинград.
- DARJa = *Диалектологический атлас русского языка (Центр европейской части России). Карты*. Выпуск I. *Фонетика* (1986). Выпуск II. *Морфология* (1989). Выпуск III, часть 1. *Лексика* (1997). Выпуск III, часть 2. *Синтаксис, лексика* (2004). Выпуск III. *Комментарии к картам* (1987). Москва – Минск.
- Durnovo et al. 1915 = Н.Н. Дурново et al.: Опыт диалектологической карты русского языка в Европе. *Труды Московской диалектологической комиссии*, выпуск 5. Москва.
- Gecova 1997 = О.Г. Гецова: Диалектные различия русских Архангельских говоров и их лингвогеографическая характеристика. In: К.В. Горшкова & М.Л. Ремнева (ред.): *Вопросы языкознания*. Выпуск VII. *Русские диалекты: история и современность*. Москва, pp. 138–197.
- Kasatkin 1989 = Л.Л. Касаткин (ред.): *Русская диалектология*. Москва.
- Kasatkina 1991 = Р.Ф. Касаткина (отв. ред.): *Русские народные говоры. Звучащая хрестоматия. Севернорусские говоры. Приложение № 1 к Бюллетеню фонетического фонда русского языка*. Москва – Бохум.
- Kiparsky 1969 = V. Kiparsky: *Gibt es ein finnougriſches Substrat im Slavischen?* Helsinki. (*Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ; Ser. B, Tom. 153: 4*).
- Kuz'mina 1973 = И.Б. Кузьмина: Об употреблении по русским говорам предлогов *из, с, з* в конструкциях пространственного значения (по материалам диалектологического атласа). In: Ю.С. Азарх (отв. ред.): *Исследования по русской диалектологии*. Москва, pp. 186–196.
- Kuz'mina 1993 = И.Б. Кузьмина: *Синтаксис русских говоров в лингвогеографическом аспекте*. Москва.
- Lönngrén 2001 = Т. Лённгрен: Русские говоры Терского берега Белого моря: первые результаты и перспективы исследования. *Полярный вестник* 4, pp. 5–14.
- Merkur'ev 1960 = И.С. Меркурьев: *Мурманский говор (Фонетика. Вокализм)*. Мурманск.
- Merkur'ev 1962 = И.С. Меркурьев: *Мурманский говор. Консонантизм*. Мурманск.
- Merkur'ev 1997 = И.С. Меркурьев: *Живая речь кольских поморов*. 2-е изд., перераб. Мурманск.
- Muznikov 2003a = С.А. Мызников: *Русские говоры Обонежья*. Санкт-Петербург.
- Muznikov 2003b = С.А. Мызников: *Атлас субстратной и заимствованной лексики русских говоров Северо-Запада*. Санкт-Петербург.
- OLA = *Общеславянский лингвистический атлас*. Москва et al. 1965–.
- Pétursdóttir 2003 = М.Н. Pétursdóttir: *Snow-Words. A Lexical Study of the Russian Dialect on the Kola Peninsula*. Unpubl. Master's thesis, Universitetet i Tromsø.

- 
- Pineda 2002 = Д. Пинеда: Ну Бог с има! Несколько наблюдений над формами творительного падежа множественного числа в говоре д. Варзуги. *Полярный вестник* 5, pp. 33–41. [<http://uit.no/humfak/publikasjonar/2>].
- Pineda 2004 = Д. Пинеда: Некоторые наблюдения над заимствованиями в русском говоре Кольского полуострова. *Полярный Вестник* 7, pp. 25–40. [<http://uit.no/humfak/publikasjonar/2>].
- Podvysotskij 1885 = А. Подвысотский: *Словарь областного архангельскаго наречія въ его бытовомъ и этнографическомъ применении*. Санктпетербургъ.
- Post 2005 = М. Post: *The Northern Russian Pragmatic Particle dak in the Dialect of Varzuga (Kola Peninsula): An Information Structuring Device in Informal Spontaneous Speech*. Doctoral dissertation, Universitetet i Tromsø.
- Požarickaја 1997 = С.К. Пожарицкая: *Русская диалектология*. Москва.
- Požarickaја 2001 = С.К. Пожарицкая: К истории фонемного состава флексий творительного падежа множественного числа в русском языке. In: К.В. Горшкова & М.Л. Ремнева (ред.): *Вопросы языкознания*. Выпуск IX. *Диалектная фонетика русского языка в диахронном и синхронном аспектах*. Москва, pp. 231–247.
- Seliščev 1933 = А.М. Selishchev: Zum Studium der finnisch-ugrisch-russischen Beziehungen. *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* LXVII, pp. 369–376.
- SRGK = *Словарь русских говоров Карелии и сопредельных областей*. Вып. 1, 2, 4, 5 (*-свільнуть*). Санкт-Петербург 1994–.
- SRNG = *Словарь русских народных говоров*. Вып. 1–37 (*-скимяга*). Москва – Ленинград 1965–.
- Trubinskij 1984 = В.И. Трубинский: О распространителе у + род.п. в личных конструкциях с предикативным причастием. *Севернорусские говоры* 4, pp. 127–137.
- Vasmer 1953–1958 = М. Vasmer: *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. I–III. Heidelberg.
- Zacharova & Orlova 1970 = К.Ф. Захарова & В.Г. Орлова: *Диалектное членение русского языка*. Москва.