



What Had Happened to an Estonian Dialect Surrounded by Russian Language for over 200 Years

Denis Dogadushkin

EasyChair preprints are intended for rapid dissemination of research results and are integrated with the rest of EasyChair.

September 6, 2022

What had happened to an Estonian dialect surrounded by Russian language for over 200 years

As far as we knew earlier, semantic changes in the dialects of frontiersmen, speakers of the Finno-Ugric languages were not the subject of a special study. This article will analyze such processes in the Estonian dialect of v. Podgornoye, located in the Andropovsky district of the Stavropol region. Podgornoye was established in 1815, and 70 descendants of Estonian frontiersmen still live there, and speak their language in everyday life. For the purpose of a comprehensive description of the dialect, several expeditions were carried out to the village. In Podgornoye we have recorded fairy tales, songs, stories and most importantly a dictionary containing 1869 lexemes from five native speakers. This dictionary is publicly available on the Lingvodoc platform. This article analyzes the reflexes of the Baltic-Finnish words, preserved in the dialect of the settlers from the village Podgornoye and lost in the modern literary Estonian language from the point of view of semantics. As a result of the analysis, it was revealed that the vast majority of words (more than 1800) in the Estonian dialect of v. Podgornoye have the same meaning as in the literary language. 2 cases where the cognates of the lexeme presented in v. Podgornoye were not preserved in Estonian, but are represented in Estonian dialects and other Baltic-Finnish languages were recorded: *u^htuta* 'to get out', *š^hirts^h* 'grasshopper' this is an example of preserving the archaic Baltic-Finnish meaning. In 1 example *t^ha^hn^hiekurk* 'heron' we can see an innovation process in the Estonian language. And 7 lexemes: *muštrašas* 'stroke', *p^hešta* 'bathe', *ki^hft^hitatae^h* "poison", *l^ha^hn^hik* 'flask', *kap^hlita* 'to weed', *to^hri^hn* "outer" are important, because they aren't presented in other other Estonian dialects and Baltic-Finnish languages. Our analysis showed that, probably, these changes in meaning arose under the influence of the Russian language. This is a fairly expected result, since, as was shown at the beginning of the article, semantic transitions in most cases are of an areal nature. Rather, it is surprising that such changes affected only 7 words out of 1869 lexemes used by native speakers of the Estonian language. Thus, the dialect of frontiersmen of v. Podgornoye, on one hand, is an example of the "conservation" of the language, but, on the other hand, there are innovative processes taking place in it, showing the characteristic of living languages: Estonian words are not just replaced by Russian borrowings, but change their meaning as well.

A comprehensive study of the causes of semantic changes is the task of the future. A number of works have noted some triggers for potential semantic changes. For example, in the monograph [Normanskaya 2005], it was shown that color designations that have a significant number of connotative uses, for example, the name of white color is used in the meaning of 'good' when describing a character, it will most likely cease to be used to describe color in a few hundred years. The articles [Dubrovskaya, Normanskaya 2021] demonstrate that in Eurasia in the 18th century. there were a significant number of languages in which three colors were denoted by one word at once, for example, the Khanty word *wofte* 'yellow green, blue', Nenets *tassedenna* 'yellow, green, blue', Enets *tassäráde* 'yellow, green, blue', Nganasan *toiakúa* 'yellow, green, blue'. It turned out

-

that if the range of such languages is large enough, then the color naming system in them will be relatively stable, but if the language is surrounded by dialects or languages with a different system, in which, for example, as in some Turkic languages, the color naming *kök* describes 'blue and green' colors, and for yellow there is a separate word, then the semantics of color designation in the language will become narrower. The article [Dubrovskaya, Normanskaya 2021] shows how a rather large area of “yellow-green-blue” systems is gradually shrinking and the terms “yellow-green” or “blue-green” appear depending on the contact environment.

The article [Fedotova 2020] found that changes in basic vocabulary according to M. Swadesh's hundred-word list often have an areal nature. Of the 100 items in the list of the basic vocabulary of the Proto-Samoyed language, 15 cases were identified when semantic changes capture not only the Samoyedic languages, but areally close Turkic and Tungus-Manchu:

5 Samoyed-Turkic parallels ('meat, body', 'earth, soil', 'earth' > 'ash', 'earth' > 'sand', 'earth' > 'clay'), mostly in the thematic group 'soils'; 7 Samoyedic-Turkic-Tungusic parallels ('sun, day', 'sand, pebbles', 'skin, fur', 'skin, fur' > 'bark', 'hair / wool, feather', 'feather, wing', 'human, man'), mainly in vocabulary related to the animal and plant world; 3 Samoyedic-Tunguska parallels ('neck, throat', characteristics 'good, beautiful' and 'soft' - 'warm').

But in all the cases described earlier, we are talking about native speakers who have lived for many centuries in approximately the same geographical area, and have long linguistic contacts with speakers of other languages.

In recent years, a number of works have appeared on frontiersmen, speakers of the Finno-Ugric languages, ex. articles about the Siberian Setos [Agranat 2021], Atlas of sounding folklore texts which includes songs of the peoples of the Volga region resettled in Siberia, see more [Shakhov 2020] and others.

However, we are not aware of works that would analyze what semantic transitions occur in the dialects of immigrants, with what speed the meaning of words changes or they are simply replaced by borrowings from the language of the substrate. As shown above, semantic transitions often have an areal character, it is interesting how quickly the dialects of immigrants are built into these areas? In this article we will try to answer these questions for the dialect of Estonian settlers who have been living for more than 200 years in the North Caucasus in the village Podgornoye, Andropovskiy district, Stavropol region.

The decree on the creation of this village was signed in 1815, since then, for more than 200 years, Estonians living in Podgornoye are surrounded by Russians, Chechens and other Caucasian peoples, and have practically no connection with Estonia. Residents of v. Podgornoye are trying to preserve Estonian culture and traditions. In the 19th century they built a Lutheran church and opened an Estonian school, in which, until 1924, all lessons were only in Estonian. But, of course, the period of 200 years of isolation did not pass without a trace, and the original Estonian culture is being forgotten. Estonian holidays are no longer celebrated, nowadays children in the local school are taught exclusively in Russian, out of 380 people living in Podgornoye, only 70 use the Estonian language in everyday life.

As far as we know, the dialect of the Estonian language used in Podgornoye has not been previously described, therefore, in order to comprehensively describe the dialect, G.V. Polyakov, as part of the work under the Russian Science Foundation grant No. 20-18-00403 visited Podgornoye. Estonian songs, stories, fairy tales from 5 native speakers were recorded on a digital voice recorder, as well as

-

a dictionary. The interrogated native speaker remembered about 1869 lexemes, she isolated each of the words 3 times.

Further, the audio recording of the survey was segmented in the Audacity program into separate words with Russian translation. From the segmented words, a dictionary was created, in which parallels from the modern literary Estonian language were also added. This dictionary is publicly available on the Lingvodoc platform, see [Dictionary of the Estonian dialect v. Podgornoye 2022].

The article [Dogadushkin in print] analyzed the semantic differences of words from the dialect of v. Podgornoye in comparison with the literary Estonian language and Estonian dialects. The vast majority of words (1787) in the dialect of s. Podgornoe coincide with the literary Estonian language. But there are certain differences, in 12 lexemes, which practically coincide in sound with the literary language, but have a different meaning. We have analyzed the semantics of these words from v. Podgornoye dialect in comparison to more than 250 Estonian dialects collected in the dialect dictionary of the Estonian language [Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994]. As a result of the comparison, two groups were distinguished: the first group: 8 words that have a unique meaning in the dialect of v. Podgornoye, the meaning of the second group, consisting of 4 words of the dialect of v. Podgornoe, is also represented in several dialects of the northern and southern dialects of the Estonian language. It was established that these dialects do not form a compact area, and the described meanings of the words of the second group are apparently archaic and simply lost in modern literary Estonian. Thus, due to the very small number of differences in the dialect with. Podgornoye from the literary Estonian, a hypothesis was put forward about a kind of “conservation” of the language of the settlers.

However, the analysis of [Dictionary of the Estonian dialect p. Podgornoye 2022] showed that it contains 11 more lexemes, the reflexes of which according to [SSA] are in some Estonian dialects and in other Baltic-Finnish languages, but are absent in the modern literary language. These lexemes were also analyzed using Estonian dialect dictionaries [Vanapärased Võru Murde Sõnaraamat 1986; Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994]. The list does not include compound words and lexemes, the meanings of which are in literary Estonian and s. Podgornoye are connected by obvious metonymic transitions, cf. ‘turn away vs. turn; heel vs. heeled shoes’.

As a result of the comparison, three groups of words were identified:

- I group: the meaning of the word dialect with. Podgornoye is not represented in other Estonian dialects, but has parallels in the Baltic-Finnish languages;
- II group: the cognates of the words of this group have the same meaning in other Estonian dialects;
- III group: these lexemes in the dialect with. Podgornoe have a meaning not represented by their cognates either in the Baltic-Finnish languages according to [SSA], nor in 250 Estonian dialects according to [Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994].

The lexemes of these groups are presented below. The description of the word has the following order: transcription and meaning of the word in the dialect with. Podgornoe, parallels from other Baltic-Finnish languages according to [SSA] and from 250 Estonian dialects according to [Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994]. When analyzing the lexemes of the third group, in which there was a change in the meaning in the dialect of settlers, data from the catalogs of semantic transitions by A.A. Zaliznyak [Datsemshift 2002] and from the Dictionary of Russian Folk Dialects [DRFD] will be used in order to identify areas of similar semantic changes or polysemy.

I group

"Retention of the Baltic-Finnish meaning lost in other Estonian dialects"

'go out, walk vs. the open (sea)'

uḷuta 'go out', *uḷkuta* 'walk' - Fin. *ulko* (Agr) 'outside, freedom'; Kar. *ulko-*: *ulkona, ulkuo, ulos* 'outer'; Lud. *ulgoze* 'exit', *ulkopōlīn* 'stranger'; vep. *ulgostada* 'to defecate'; vod. *uloz* 'exit', *ulkopōlīn* 'stranger'; est. *ulgu-*: *ulgumeri, -vesi* 'open sea'; Liv. *ullā* 'outside', *uldā, uldāst* 'outside', *uldzā* 'exit' [SSA, 3: 350].

In Finnish and Vepsian, the reflexes of this word have the meaning 'exit', which is obviously related to the meaning of the word *uḷuta* 'exit' in the dialect s. Podgornoe. In Estonian, its reflexes are used as part of the compound word *ulgumeri, -vesi* 'open sea'. Thus, it can be assumed that this change in value occurred relatively recently, after the resettlement of the inhabitants of the village Podgornoye to the North Caucasus, although it cannot be ruled out that it is still preserved in some Estonian dialects even now. In any case, this is an example of the preservation of the archaic meaning in the dialect of v. Podgornoye, which, as far as we know, has not yet been recorded in Estonian dialects.

II group

"The meaning of the lexeme in the dialect with. Podgornoe coincides with some Estonian dialects"

'heron'

təḅḅ'ekuṛk 'heron' – est. Vas Pus, Vas Pul *tooni/kurg* 'heron' [Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994: 752], Fin. *tuoni* 'death, location of the dead'; in the compound word *tuonenkurki* 'white heron'; Kar., *tuoni* 'death; lower world'; est. *tooni* 'god of the underworld' also *toone-kurg, toonkurg* 'heron', *toonesepp* 'death knell' [SSA 3: 309].

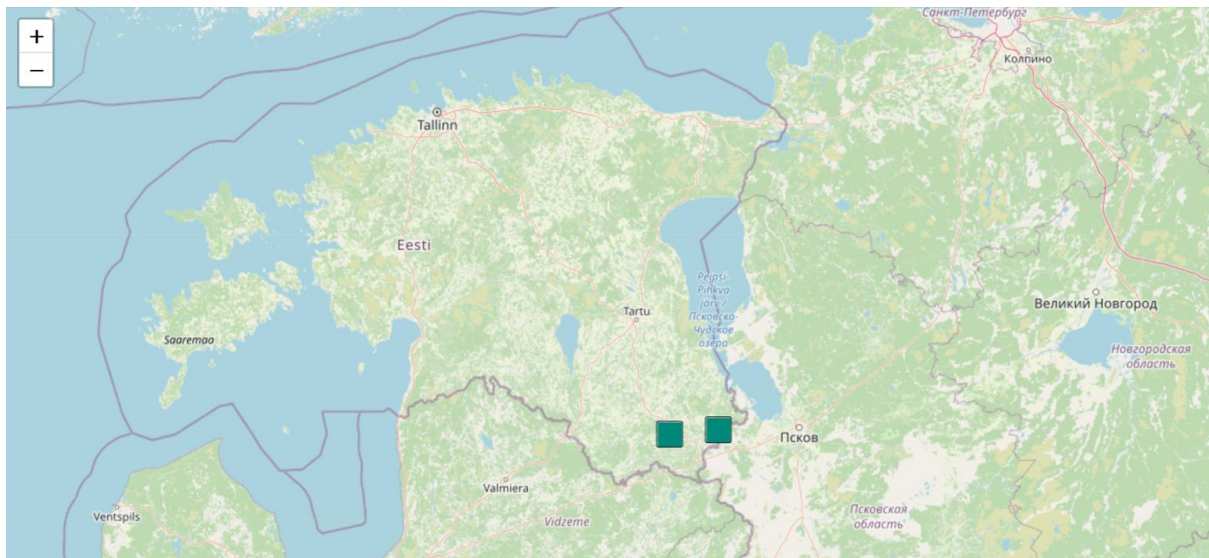


Fig. 1. Places in Estonia where *toonkurg* means 'heron'

It can be seen that only such a meaning as in v. Podgornoye in the word *toonkurg* is present only in the southern Estonian dialects: Vas Pus, Vas Pul, it is obvious that it is a common innovation.

'grasshopper'

šīrtš 'grasshopper' - Fin. *sirkka* 'cricket, grasshopper'; Kar., *tširkka* 'cricket, grasshopper; one swallow; frog; mosquito larva; place to play; a stone hammer used to sharpen a whetstone'; lud. *tširkku* 'grasshopper'; vep. *tširk* 'cricket, grasshopper, frog, place to play'; vod. *širk, tširk* 'grasshopper'; est. *sirk* 'grasshopper' [SSA 3: 160].

It is obvious that the Baltic-Finnish lexeme *sirk* 'grasshopper', lost in literary Estonian, has been preserved as in the dialect s. Podgornoye, as well as in other Estonian dialects. Unfortunately, this word is not yet in [Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994], so its exact areal localization is unclear. But, given that many cognates of this word in other Baltic-Finnish languages have the same meaning 'grasshopper', it is obviously an archaism preserved in the dialect of v. Podgornoye and lost in literary Estonian.

III group

"The meaning of the lexeme in the dialect with. Podgornoye differs from other Estonian dialects and the Baltic-Finnish languages"

'starling vs. thrush'

muštraštāš 'starling' - Fin. *rastas* 'thrush'; as part of a compound word: *lailu-, musta-, räkättirastas, rästä-häin* 'thrush, starling'; Kar. *rassas, rasta-hai-ne* 'thrush'; lud. *ratšuoī, riätšöi* 'thrush'; vod. *rassa (Kett), ra-sas (Ahlav)* 'thrush'; est. *räs-tas, also räästas, raastas* 'thrush', *musträstas* 'blackbird'; Liv. *rastā: liegā-rastā* 'song thrush, nightingale' [SSA 3: 23]

Such a transition or polysemy is not described in the catalog of semantic transitions by A.A. Zaliznyak. But it is obvious that the physical similarity of these birds, and the fact that both names in Russian dialects according to [DRFD] are associated with the meaning 'one who loves to sing', served as a trigger for the transition.

'to bathe vs. wash'

p'ešta 'to bathe' – Est. *pesema* 'purified by water' S L Ha Jä Rak Sim TaPõ, Plt Pil Jõe VNg Jõh IisR ViK Iis Var Trv HIs Vig Tõs Khn Juu Kod KJn Kuu Lüg Vai Pst Ran Nõo Puh KodT Võn Saa Kõp Vil [Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994: 373], .

- fin. *pestä* (Agr; yl.) 'wash'; Kar., *pešä* 'wash, wash, clean, beat'; lud. *pestä* 'wash'; vep. *pešta* 'wash'; vod. *pešä* 'wash'; est. *pešta* 'wash', *pesu* 'wash'; Liv. *pie'zza* 'to wash' [SSA 2: 318].

According to the catalog of semantic transitions, such a ratio of meanings is quite frequent, cf. Selkup *yr̄gu*, Zulu *hlamba*, English bathe, Dagurian *humpaaagu* 'to bathe, wash'. It can be noted that in the modern Russian language bathe according to the dictionary [Ozhegov, Shvedova 1994] means 'immerse in water for washing, refreshment'. According to [DRFD 16: 99], the first meaning of the word bathe is 'wash in a bath', which is recorded in the Kuban and Rostov regions, which are located relatively close to the village Podgornoye. Thus, it is obvious that this transition in the Estonian dialect of the inhabitants of the village Podgornoye occurred under the influence of the Russian language.

'poison vs. be sick, hurt'

-
ķiftitataεra 'poison' – est. *kivistama* 'to hurt' lis Kad Jõh Vai Hel Jõh Vai Kad Hel Vai [Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994: 297],

- fin. *kivistää* (Agr; yl.) 'to hurt, hurt'; Kar. *kivisteä* 'crush, petrify, force, touch'; lud. *kibištädä*, -štada 'to be sick'; vep. *ķibištada*, *kibištada* 'to be sick'; est. *kivistada* 'get sick', *kibestada* 'embittered'; Liv. *ki'bžb* 'to crush, petrify' [SSA 1: 754].

Such a combination of meanings is not described in the database of semantic transitions, but if we turn to [DRFD], it is clear that in Russian dialects poison is often used instead of the word hound, and according to [DRFD 44: 337] it has the meaning 'damage, spoil something; sorcery to cause illness, to inflict damage', which is very close to the Estonian *kivistama* 'to hurt'.

'flask vs. big plate, dish, pot'

l'æŋŋ'ik 'flask' – Est. *lännik(as)* 'big meal plate' Röp Se Tor Kod Pal Hls Hel Nõo Urv Lut [Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994: 701],

- fin. *lännikkö* 'low wooden milk container'; vod. *lännikko* 'cup of butter'; est. *lännik* 'dish, pot' [SSA 2: 97].

In the base of semantic transitions, such a semantic transition or combination of values is not described. But according to [DRFD 7: 78] the word pot also has the meaning 'reservoir for storing milk; *korchaga* (that is, a vessel) for brewing beer. Therefore, given the closeness of the meanings of the words pot according to [DRFD 7: 78] 'a container for milk, beer' and a flask, a flask according to [Ozhegov, Shvedova 1994] 'a flat bottle for wearing on a belt, braid; a large vessel for transporting liquids', it becomes obvious that the change in meaning also occurred under the influence of Russian dialects.

'weed vs. hoe, forked hook, rake'

kapl'ita 'weed' – *kabli* 'a forked hook for collecting potatoes or pulling out a load of manure' Muh L K Kod M Puh San Lei Lut Mär Vig Kse Khn Pjg Ris Kei Juu Sim Pst Hel [Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994: 446],

- fin. (Mechelin 1842; itämurt.) 'soap'; Kar., *kapli*, *skabl'i* 'iron cleaning, hose'; lud. *skabl*, *skobel'* 'iron cleaning, hose'; vep. *skobel'* 'cleaning iron, hose'; est. *kabli*, *kõbli*, *kõblas* 'small hand hoe, rake', *kablida* 'with a rake, loosen the ground with a hand rake' [SSA 1: 590].

According to the explanatory dictionary [Ushakov 2008], a hoe is a 'primitive agricultural tool for cultivating the soil for sowing; agricultural tool for weeding and loosening row spacing, hilling plants'. Thus, the connection est. *kabli*, *kõbli*, *kõblas* 'small hand hoe, rake' used for weeding and verb in v. Podgornoye *kapl'ita* 'weed' becomes evident.

'noise vs. dispute, turmoil'

tor'jin 'noise' — Fin. *tora* 'quarrel, dispute'; Kar. *tora* 'quarrel, fight, battle, war'; lud. *tora* 'fight'; vep. *tora* 'struggle, dispute'; vod. *torrua* 'to reproach'; est. *tõra* 'argument, turmoil', *tõre* 'irritable', *tore* 'beautiful; hard', *tõrelda* 'to reproach, fight' [SSA 3: 208].

According to the dictionary [Ushakov 2008], the second meaning of the word noise is 'shouts, loud conversation, scolding', which is very close to the meaning of the Estonian word *tõra* 'dispute, turmoil'. Thus, the change in meaning is connected with the ambiguity of the Russian word noise.

'external vs. around'

-

Amb - Ambla

Ann - Anna

Ans - Anseküla

Aud - Audru

Emm - Emmaste

Ha - Harjumaa

Hag - Hageri

Haid - Ida Harjumaa

HaLo - Loode-Harj umaa

HaLä - Lääne-Harj umaa

Han - Hanila

Har - Hargla

Hei - Helme

Hi - Hiiumaa

HJn - Harju Jaani

Hlj - Haljala (rannikumurre)

HljK - Haljala (keskmurre)

Hls - Halliste

HMd - Harju-Madise

Hää - Häädemeeste

Iis - Iisaku (idamurre)

IisK - Iisaku (keskmurre)

IisR - Iisaku (rannikumurre)

Jaa - Jaani

JJn - Järva-Jaani

JMd - Järva-Madise

Juu - Juuru

Jõe - Jõelähtme (rannikumurre)

JõeK - Jõelähtme (keskmurre)

Jõh - Jõhvi

Jä - Järvamaa

Jäm - Jämaja

Jür - Jüri

Kaa - Kaarma

Kad - Kadrina

Kam - Kambja

Kan - Kanepi

Kei - Keila

Khk - Kihelkonna

Khn - Kihnu

Kir - Kirbla

KJn - Kolga-jaani

Kod - Kodavere (idamurre)

KodT - Kodavere (Tartu murre)

Koe - Koeru

Kos - Kose

Kra - Kraasna

Krj - Karja

Krk - Karksi

Krl - Karula

-

Kse - Karuse

Ksi - Kursi

Kui - Kullamaa

Kuu - Kuusalu (rannikumurre)

KuuK - Kuusalu (keskmurre)

Kõp - Kõpu

Käi - Käina

Kär - Kärla

Lai - Laiuse

Lei - Leivu

Lih - Lihula

LNg - Lääne-Nigula

Lut - Lutsi

Lä - Läänemaa

LäEd - Edela-Läänemaa

LäLo - Loode Läänemaa

LäLõ - Lõuna Läänemaa

LäPõ - Põhja-Läänemaa

Lüg - Lüganuse

Mar - Martna

Mih - Mihkli

MMg - Maarja-Magdaleena (idamurre)

MMgT - Maarja-Magdaleena (Tartu murre)

Muh - Muhu

Mus - Mustjala

Mär - Märjamaa

Nai - Naissaare

Nis - Nissi

Noa - Noarootsi

Nõo - Nõo

Ote - Otepää

Pai - Paide

Pal - Palamuse

Pee - Peetri

Pha - Püha

Phl - Pühalepa

Pii - Pilstvere

PJg - Pärnu-Jaagupi

Plt - Põltsamaa

Plv - Põlva

Pst - Paistu

Puh - Puhja

Pä - Pärnumaa

PäLo - Loode-Pärnumaa

PäPõ - Põhja-Pärnumaa

Pär - Pärnu

Põi - Põide

Rak - Rakvere (keskmurre)

RakR - Rakvere (rannikumurre)

Ran - Rannu

-

Rap - Rapla	Vas — Vastseliina
Rei - Reigi	Vas Pul
Rid - Ridala	Vas Pus
Ris - Risti	Vig - Vigala
Rõn - Rõngu	ViK - Virumaa (keskmurre)
Rõu - Rõuge	Vil - Viljandi
Räp - Rāpina	VJg - Viru-Jaagupi
Sa - Saaremaa	VII - Valjala
Saa - Saarde	VIPõ - Põhja-Viljandimaa
Said - Ida-Saaremaa	VMr - Väike-Maarja
SaLä - Lääne Saaremaa	VNg - Viru-Nigula
San - Sangaste	Võn - Võnnu
Se - Setu	Vän - Väandra
Sim - Simuna	Äks - Äksi
SJn - Suure-Jaani	Fin – Finnish
TaPõ - Põhja-Tartumaa	Kar – Karelian
TMr - Tartu-Maarja	Lud – Ludian
Tor - Tori	Vep – Vepsian
Trm - Torma	Vod – Vodian
Trv - Tarvastu	Est – Estonian
Tõs - Tõstamaa	Liv – Livian
Tür - Türi	
Urv - Urvaste	
Vai - Vaivara	
Var – Varbla	

Bibliography

[Agranat 2021 Peculiarities of (non)transmission of language among the Siberian Setos // Tomsk Journal of Linguistic and Anthropological Research No. 3 (2021), p. 9-18.]

[Dubrovskaya N.V., Normanskaya Yu.V. “Yellow-green-blue” languages in Eurasia: how they appear and disappear // Linguistica Uralica, 2021, no. 2 (57), p. 113-135.]

[Normanskaya Yu.V. Genesis and development of color naming systems in ancient Indo-European languages. M. : C & K, 2005 (OOO Interprint). - 379 p.]

[Toponyms of Estonian origin in the territory of modern Russia 2019]

[Fedotova I.V. Polysemy in the lists of Samoyedic basic vocabulary and language contacts // Ural-Altai studies, 1 (20), pp. 78-114]

[Eesti murrete sõnaraamat 1994]

[Dictionary of the Estonian dialect p. Podgornoe 2022 - <http://lingvodoc.ispras.ru/dictionary/5053/229/perspective/5053/230/view> - electronic resource, accessed: 21.7.22]

[Russian-Estonian dictionary: [Approx. 70,000 words] / In-t yaz. or T. AN ESSR, 1984]

[Glosbe 2012 - <https://ru.glosbe.com/et/ru> - electronic resource, accessed 21.7.22]

[Eesti Keele Instituut 2004 - <http://www.eki.ee/> - electronic resource, accessed 21.7.22]

[Dogadushkin D.M. How the meanings of Estonian words have changed among native speakers who moved to the Stavropol Territory more than 200 years ago. 2022]

[Datsemshift 2002 - datsemshift.ru - electronic resource, accessed 27.8.22]

[CLICS³ 2019 - clics.clld.org/ - electronic resource, accessed 27.8.22]

[Vanapärased Võru Murde Sõnaraamat 1986]

[Shakhov P.S. To the study of local folklore traditions of the peoples of the Volga region of autochthonous and Siberian existence (on the project to create an interactive atlas of sounding texts)” // Bulletin of Musical Science 2020, No. 2 (8), p. 87-101.]

[Explanatory dictionary of the Russian language: 72,500 words and 7,500 phraseological expressions / S. I. Ozhegov, N. Yu. Shvedova; Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Rus. lang., Russian Cultural Foundation. - 2nd ed., corrected. and additional - Moscow: Az, 1994.]

[DRFD- Dictionary of Russian Folk Dialects / Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of the Russian Language, Vocabulary Sector. Moscow: Nauka; Leningrad: Nauka, Leningrad branch, 1965-.]

[Large explanatory dictionary of the Russian language: modern edition / D. N. Ushakov. Moscow: House of the Slavic Book, 2008.]