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

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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: unchecked ‘to get out’, siltš ‘grasshopper’ this is an example of preserving the archaic Baltic-Finnish meaning. In 1 example tainlekurk ‘heron’ we can see an innovation process in the Estonian language. And 7 lexemes: muštšas ‘stroke’, pesta ‘bathe’, kiflitata ‘poison’, liipik ‘flask’, kaplita ‘to weed’, tqrq ‘outer’ are important, because they weren’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 woite ‘yellow green, blue’, Nenets tassedenna ‘yellow, green, blue’, Enets tassráde ‘yellow, green, blue’, Nganasan toikúa ‘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 \textit{köök} 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 Podgornoy 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. Podgornye, 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 [Vanapärase 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)’


In Finnish and Vepsian, the reflexes of this word have the meaning ‘exit’, which is obviously related to the meaning of the word uţuta ‘exit’ in the dialect s. Podgornoe. In Estonian, its reflexes are used as part of the compound word uļgumeri, -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’

taapelkurk ‘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'

šières ‘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. tšir ‘cricket, grasshopper, frog, place to play’; 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. Podgornoje, 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. Podgornoje and lost in literary Estonian.

Ill group

“The meaning of the lexeme in the dialect with. Podgornoje differs from other Estonian dialects and the Baltic-Finnish languages”

‘starling vs. thrush’


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’


According to the catalog of semantic transitions, such a ratio of meanings is quite frequent, cf. Selkup ýrgu, 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 Podgornoje. Thus, it is obvious that this transition in the Estonian dialect of the inhabitants of the village Podgornoje occurred under the influence of the Russian language.

‘poison vs. be sick, hurt’
kiftitata'ra '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. kibištäädä, -štada 'to be sick'; vep. kibištada, kibištada 'to be sick'; est. kivistada 'get sick', kibestada 'embittered'; Liv. kibžä '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’

jæplik 'flask' — Est. lännik(a) 'big meal plate' Räp 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’

kaplita 'weed' — kabl '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, skabli 'iron cleaning, hose'; lud. skabl, skobel 'iron cleaning, hose'; vep. skobel 'cleaning iron, hose'; est. kabl, 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. kabl, kõbli, kõblas 'small hand hoe, rake' used for weeding and verb in v. Podgornoye kaplita 'weed' becomes evident.

‘noise vs. dispute, turmoil’

tar'in '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’
According to the dictionary [Ushakov 2008], one of the meanings of the word about is ‘around, at the closest distance from something, close, next to someone’, which is close to the meaning of the word external ‘outside, outside, outside of something’. Obviously, this transfer of meanings also arose under the influence of the Russian language.

Conclusion

So, as a result of the analysis, it was revealed that the vast majority of words (more than 1800) in the Estonian dialect with. Podgornoye have the same meaning as in the literary language. It was found that in cases where the cognates of the lexeme presented in p. Podgornoye is not preserved in the literary Estonian language, but is represented in Estonian dialects and other Baltic-Finnish languages, only in 2 cases üluta ‘to get out’, šīrtš ‘grasshopper’ we are talking about the preservation of the archaic Baltic-Finnish meaning, in 1 example taq’ekurk ‘heron’ ‘About the inside of the Estonian innovation process, and 7 lexemes: muštaraš ‘starling’, pëštš ‘bath’, kšitštataer ‘poison’, læñik ‘flask’, kápštita ‘weed’, omprüš ‘outer’ is not important, not represented in other Estonian dialects and Baltic-Finnish languages. Our analysis showed that these meanings probably appeared 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 settlers with. Podgornoye, on the one hand, is an example of the "conservation" of the language, but, on the other hand, innovative processes are taking place in it, which are characteristic of living languages: Estonian words are not just replaced by Russian borrowings, but change their meaning.

List of abbreviations
- 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
  lis - Iisaku (idamurre)
  IisK - Iisaku (keskmurre)
  IisR - Iisaku (rannikumurre)
  Jaa - Jaani
  JJn - Järva-Jaani
  JMd - Järva-Madise
  Juu - Juuru
  Jöe - Jõelähtme (rannikumurre)
  JöeK - Jõelähtme (keskmurre)
  Jõh - Jõhvi
  Jä - Jõrvamaa
  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  Mär - Märjamaa
Ksi - Kursi  Nai - Naissaare
Kui - Kullamaa  Nis - Nissi
Kuu - Kuusalu (rannikumurre)  Noa - Noarootsi
KuuK - Kuusalu (keskmurre)  Nõo - Nõo
Kõp - Kõpu  Ote - Otepää
Käi - Käina  Pai - Paide
Kär - Kärla  Pal - Palamuse
Lai - Laiuse  Pee - Peetri
Lei - Leivu  Pha - Püha
Lih - Lihula  Phl - Pühalepa
LNg - Lääne-Nigula  Pii - Pilistvere
Lut - Lutsi  PJg - Pärnu-Jaagupi
Lä - Läänenmaa  Plt - Pöltsamaa
LäEd - Edela-Läänenmaa  Plv - Pölva
LäLo - Loode Läänemaa  Pst - Paistu
LäLõ - Louna Läänemaa  Puh - Puhja
LäPõ - Põhja-Läänemaa  Pä - Pärnumaa
Lüg - Lüganuse  PäLo - Loode-Pärnumaa
Mar - Martna  PäPõ - Põhja-Pärnumaa
Mih - Mihkli  Pär - Pärnu
MMg - Maarja-Magdaleena (idamurre)  Pöi - Pöide
MMgT - Maarja-Magdaleena (Tartu murre)  Rak - Rakvere (keskmurre)
Muh - Muhu  RakR - Rakvere (rannikumurre)
Mus - Mustjala  Ran - Rannu
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