

MERLE LEPPIK (Tallinn)

DISTRIBUTION OF SEGMENTAL PHONEMES IN THE FINNISH DIALECT SPOKEN ON THE KURGOLOVO PENINSULA

The present article deals with the Finnish dialect spoken in a number of villages of the Kurgolovo Peninsula (Finnish name — Kurkula) in the Leningrad Region. The material (including 16 hours of tape-recordings) was collected from 18 informants in the villages of Kirjamo, Hakaja and Konnu.

Isolated words have been chosen as the basis for our description of the phonological system of the dialect. The notion "word" has been employed in a comparatively loose sense. Equal attention has been paid to all the lexical and pronunciational variants, inflectional forms, invariable words¹ and derivatives occurring in the material. The only exceptions are the words containing the particles *-ki*, *-kaa*, *-kää*, *-han*, *-hän*, *-ko*, *-kö*, which may in theory be added to all word forms. Compound words have not as yet been systematically dealt with because possible junctural phenomena may entail additional complications in the treatment of the phonological system of the dialect.² Likewise no attempt has been made in the present paper to consider assimilatory phenomena occurring at word boundaries, e. g. *hä-nem mu-kkaa* 'according to him' (cf. *hä-nen* 'his'); *so-rsam po-jat* 'ducklings'; *si-ar ra-kko* 'pig bladder'.

Comparatively recent Russian loan-words constitute almost one half of the present vocabulary of the dialect. Such loan-words serve as independent carriers of word-meanings and also to express a number of meanings alongside so-called "own" words (including borrowings of earlier origin), e. g. *ro-vatti* ~ *ti-la* 'bed', *slä-äppi* ~ *ha-ttu* 'hat', *le-karsti* ~ *lä-äke* 'medicine', *pra-asnikka* ~ *pü-hä* ~ *ju-hla* 'holiday'. The borrowed variant is frequently even more widespread. Although most loan-words have been more or less adapted to the phonological system of the dialect, it has been considered expedient in this paper to mark recent Russian loan-words separately because some segmental phonemes occur only or mainly in these loan-words.

The phonological system of the dialect consists of 28 segmental phonemes which are traditionally divided into two principal classes: vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *ï*, *o*, *u*, *ä*, *ö*, *ü* and consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *š*, *z*, *ž*, *t*, *v*³, and three suprasegmental phonemes: the principal stress (in a word) (·), secondary stress (:), and palatalisation ('). In order to

¹ Onomatopoeic words have not been specially collected.

² Cf., e.g., I. Lehiste, *Juncture*. — Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, Münster 1964, p. 175 ff.

³ Such a classification is entirely justified in most investigations in view of the fundamental distributional differences between vowel and consonant phonemes; cf., e.g., J. D. O'CONNOR, J. L. M. TRIM, *Vowel, Consonant and Syllable*. — a Phonological Definition. — Word 1958, Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 103 ff.

facilitate the subsequent treatment of the distribution of segmental phonemes, the vowel phonemes have been classified into front vowels *e, i, ä, ö, ü* and back vowels *a, i, o, u*, and the consonants into stops *b, d, g, p, t, k*, nasals *m, n, v* and spirants *f, h, j, l, r, s, š, z, ž, v*.

The vowel phoneme *i* was recorded only in one word: *riinka* 'market'.

The voiced lenis stops *b, d, g* occur only in a word-initial position in loan-words, e. g. *benzina* 'petrol', *bu-kseri* 'tugboat', *garmoni* 'accordion', *ga-akovo* 'Gakovo (name of a village, the Finnish variant of which — *ha-kaja* is more usual)', *dra-tva* 'shoemaker's thread'. Frequently *b, g* ~ *p, k*, e. g. *bo-tška* ~ *po-tška* 'barrel', *blo-kki* ~ *plo-kki* 'block', *garmoni* ~ *karmoni* 'accordion'. The consonants *f, z, ž* also occur only in loan-words, e. g. *ja-milja* 'family name', *ko-ji* (*pa-vut*) 'coffee (beans)', *benzina* 'petrol', *tu-žurka* '(man's) double-breasted jacket', *pi-nžakka* 'coat, jacket'.⁴ The consonant *š* occurs in loan-words and in a couple of onomatopoeic words, e. g. *ma-šina* 'machine', *tše-snokka* 'garlic', *šo-lisoo* '(it) splashes'. It should be pointed out that frequently *š* ~ *s*, e. g. *ma-šti* ~ *ma-sti* 'mast', *tše-tverno* ~ *tse-tverno* 'measure of grain, quarter of a sack, pail, etc.', *ško-ulu* ~ *sko-ulu* (~ *ko-ulu*) 'school', and *f* ~ *hv*, e. g. *spra-fka* ~ *spra-hvka* 'certificate', *ko-fta* ~ *ko-hvta* ~ *ko-hta* 'woman's jacket'.

In accordance with the view generally accepted in Finnish studies⁵, we regard *j* as an independent phoneme. Proceeding from the actual pronunciation of the dialect under discussion, however, we have refrained from the theoreticized notation of *j* in front of or after the vowel *i*. In the following cases the notation of *j* is essential in distinguishing word-forms: *a-iat* 'gardens' — *a-ijaat* '(they) drive, chase', *ku-iut* 'flax fibres' — *u-ijuut* '(they) swim', *re-iän* 'hole (gen.)' — *he-ijamaa* 'swing', (*ve-nneen*) *la-iat* 'side boards (of a boat)' — *la-ija* 'wide' (the more usual word in this meaning is *le-voee*). The pair of words *si-at* — *si-jat* singled out by A. Penttilä⁶, does not occur in the dialect under discussion (*si-ja* = *si-ha* 'place, locality'). Neither was it possible to record the opposition *ha-lttia* — *ha-lttija*⁷, because the word *haltija* with the corresponding meaning is evidently not used in this dialect. On the whole, oppositions involving *j* are as a rule avoided in the Kurgolovo dialect: *su-ois* (*pa-ikkoi*) '(in) warm (places)' and also (*su-uris*) *su-ois* '(in big) swamps'. Actual pronunciation also suggests the transcription *i-än* 'age (gen.)', *i-ättää* 'break off sprouts', cf. *jä-ittää* 'to leave' (the more usual word in this meaning is *la-kata*), although Th. A. Sebeok finds the phonemic sequence *ijä* phonologically more expedient in words of this type.⁸

In our endeavour to apply the principle of fidelity to actual pronunciation in the phonological transcription of the Kurgolovo dialect, we have given up indicating *j* in a number of positions where this phoneme is generally designated both in Standard Finnish orthography⁹ as well as (and even more so) in texts drawn from the dialect under discussion.¹⁰

⁴ The consonant phonemes *d, z, ž* are met with only in the words listed above.

⁵ Cf., e. g., Th. A. Sebeok, Phonemics and Orthography in Finnish. — Acta Linguistica 1944 IV 3, p. 131; V. Skaličková, Zur Phonologie der finnischen Schriftsprache. — Archiv Orientální 1933, Vol. V, p. 93.

⁶ Cf. A. Penttilä, Suomen kielioppi, Porvoo-Helsinki 1957, p. 38.

⁷ Cf. A. Penttilä, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁸ Cf. Th. A. Sebeok, *op. cit.*, p. 131, where the word-pair *ijäinen* and *jäinen* has been given.

⁹ Cf. A. Penttilä, *op. cit.*, p. 38 (*menijä, ompelija, vartija*, etc.).

¹⁰ Cf. L. Kettunen, Suomen murteet I, Helsinki 1930, p. 286 ff. (*sijota, ottajille, aijan ~ aijjan*); P. Virtaranta, Näytteitä Inkerin murteista 2. — Virittäjä 1955, p. 56 ff. (*rü-sijp, me-iejj (jo-ess), ho-ijetti*).

In the Kurgolovo dialect the principal stress (·) usually falls on the first syllable. One is nevertheless justified in regarding the principal stress as an independent phonological factor due to the following considerations:

(1) There are words in the dialect which are always unstressed in context, e. g. *se, ja, et, jos, no*. The particles *-ki, -kaa, -kää, -han, -hän, -ko, -kö*, which can be added to any word-form, are also unstressed.

(2) In the following words the principal stress falls sometimes on the first, sometimes on the second syllable: *na-rätan ~ narä-tan* 'order (gen.)', *te-ssetina ~ tesse-tina* 'dessiatine'.¹¹ If one also considers compound words, then one finds that the principal stress falls on the second syllable in the following words: *para-ikaa* 'now', *saija-uhoi* 'white-bread flour (part. pl.)'.

(3) In the Kurgolovo dialect level word-stress may occur in certain conditions, viz.:

(a) When a word stands in stressed position in the sentence, the secondary stress may be reinforced to such an extent that it equals the principal stress and one is therefore justified in marking the stress as follows: *pi-kkara-iset* 'small (nom. pl.)', *ri-nnati-kkoo* 'side by side, abreast', *ka-rjotta-a* 'in herds'.

(b) If one takes compound words into account, then in those cases where the first element of a compound word has lost its original case inflection, level stressing can occur in the first and second syllables. E. g. *ra-uha-ika* 'time of peace', *he-ina-ikanna* 'at haymaking time', *va-nhi-hmin* 'old person', *ra-sva-inetta* 'cooking fat (part.)'.

Secondary stress (:) becomes phonological in the presence of the following oppositions where secondary stress is attended by a phonetical syllable boundary between two vowels: *pe-täi:lle* 'pines (all.)' — *hä-täillä* 'to lament, complain'; *sa-rai:st* 'sheds (el.)' — *vi-eraist* 'strangers (el.)', *ma-kai:st* 'sleepers (el.)' — (*kolt*) *si-kaist* '(three) haystacks'; *ka-alii:st* 'lickers (el.)' — *ka-aliist* 'cabbages (el. pl.)' (el. sing. is *ka:alist*).

The palatalisation (') of consonants occurs generally in the neighbourhood of a front vowel or in front of *j*, but it is not consistent in these positions, e. g. *ki-ven* — *ki-ven* 'stone (gen.)', *vä-kkee* — *vä-kkee* 'people (part. sing.)', *pa-ljo* — *pa-ljo* 'much'. Consistent palatalisation has been recorded only in the following words: *o-ikii* (*e-ttääl*) 'very (far)', *mi-ñja* 'daughter-in-law', *va-ñja* 'Vanya (a first name)', *ko-šjolai:set* 'suitors'. Cases of palatalisation occur also in a back-vowel environment: *ña-ukua* 'to mew', *rumka* '(small) wine-glass' (the more common word is *pi-kari*), *u-fukka* '(flat-)iron', *kula* 'measure of grain', *pu-lamotti* 'machine-gun', *ru-pla* 'rouble', *va-llaasse* 'bridle (ill. pl.)'. Hence the conditions in which palatalisation occurs are not determined by the phonological position and there exist moreover oppositions like *u-fukka* '(flat-)iron' — *u-tu* 'fog', *va-llaasse* 'bridle (ill. pl.)' — *vallaa* 'to pour', *ku-la* 'measure of grain' — *ku-lakka* 'fist'.

The examples given in the following treatment of syllable types and phoneme sequences include parallel forms of words as well as all registered morphological and pronunciational variants. E. g. *ka-ehhti* ~ *ka-jehti*

¹¹ Except the cases listed above, also in loan-words the principal stress falls regularly on the first syllable. E. g. *ko-lhosa* 'kolkhoz, collective farm', *se-metist* 'of cement', *ro-vatii* 'bed', *ko-lpassi* 'sausage', *ri-pakka* 'fisher (man)', *ka-para* 'wild boar', *pri-kata* 'brigade, (working) team', *o-hvotni:kka* 'hunter, huntsman', *vo-roka* 'curd(s)'.

~ *ka-tehti* '(he) envied', *rä-stiä:iset* ~ *rä-stjäiset* 'thrushes', *ra-ppaet* ~ *ra-ppajet* 'robbers', *ra-erikko* ~ *ra-jari:kko* 'ill with hernia', *o-enteli* ~ *o-jente:li* 'straightened', *ma-ttoinkaa* ~ *ma-ttoje:ηkaa* ~ *ma-ttoe:ηkaa* 'snakes (com.)', *pü-öränkää* ~ *pü-öränke:ra* 'bicycle (com.)', *li-sättii* ~ *li-sattii* 'was added', *so-uan* ~ *so-uvan* '(I) row', *kle-ηkki* ~ *le-ηkki* 'loop', *me-tsä* ~ *mets* 'forest', etc.

An asterisk placed after a word indicates that the material available contains only a very limited number of examples (actually only 1—2) of a particular type of syllable, syllabic or phonemic sequence in a given position. Two asterisks are used if such examples are at the same time among the rare word-forms of the dialect. Commentaries have been added in round brackets after some words because two asterisks may stand after a word with all its inflections as well as after certain inflections, compound forms or pronunciational variants. A recent loan-word is indicated by a preceding ⁰ sign. Round brackets have been used as follows:

(1) If the given phonemic sequence¹² occurs within the limits of one element of a compound word, the other component (of the example as well as of its translation) stands in round brackets. (Such examples are provided only in those cases where the relevant sequence does not occur in a given position within words consisting of a simple stem.) E. g. (*ra-mu*)*nä-pükät* 'pimples'.

(2) If the word-form under discussion has parallel forms (which are actually used more widely than the examples marked with two asterisks), then such parallel forms are given in round brackets after the translation of the example and they are preceded by the sign ~. The lexical variants of nouns and verbs are given in the nominative form or in the infinitive form. E. g. *ka-aun* '(I) fall' (~ *to-kkuu*, *la-ηkiissa*).

(3) Any explanatory words, grammatical notes or other commentaries added to the examples or translations are given in round brackets. E. g. *li-evä* (*tu-li*) 'weak (fire)'; *ru-ηnon* '(tree-)trunk (gen.)'.

1. The Syllable and Syllable Types

1.1. **The syllable and syllable boundary.** Numerous authors have deemed it necessary to introduce the idea of the syllable into phonological investigations so as to facilitate the treatment of phonemic distribution.¹³ The present paper makes use in broad outline of the following definition of the syllable given by H. Kučera in his work "The Phonology of Czech": "The smallest unit of recurrent phonemic sequences which makes it possible to describe the distribution of segmental phonemes and configurational phonemic entities most economically, is the syllable."¹⁴

Approximately the same standpoint has been expressed by other authors.¹⁵

¹² In the following discussion the notions *phoneme* and *phonemic sequence* are regarded as comprising only segmental phonemes and their sequences.

¹³ E. g. R. Jakobson, M. Halle, *Fundamentals of Language*, 's-Gravenhage 1956, p. 20 and footnote; B. Sigurd, *Rank Order of Consonants Established by Distributional Criteria*. — *Studia Linguistica* 1955, Année IX, No. 1, p. 10.

¹⁴ See H. Kučera, *The Phonology of Czech*, 's-Gravenhage 1961, p. 71.

¹⁵ "... the syllable is best regarded in phonology as a structural unit most economically expressing the combinatory latitudes of vowels and consonants within a given language." — See J. D. O'Connor, J. L. M. Trim, *op. cit.*, p. 105; "The natural unit for the study of phonemic distribution is the syllable... The restricting conditions which can form the basis of a functional classification are only found within the syllable." — See B. Sigurd, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

In the present paper the syllable is regarded concretely as a segment standing between two syllable boundaries; between the beginning of a word and a syllable boundary or between a syllable boundary and the end of a word, the syllable boundary¹⁶ being fixed in the following points:

(1) In front of a single intervocalic consonant: ... V-CV ... E. g. *la-ka-na* 'bed-sheet', *su-o-ma-la:i-set* 'Finns'.

(2) Before the last component of an intervocalic consonant cluster:¹⁷ ... VC-CV ..., ... VCC-CV ... E. g. *pa-l-kin* 'log (gen.)', *kä-rk-ki* '(pine or fir) cone', *hä-n-nä-ñ-kää* 'tail (com.)'.

(3) Between two vowels not belonging to the first vowel cluster of a word¹⁸ on condition that these vowels are not identical and the second of them is not *i*: ... CV₁-V₂(C) ..., when V₂ is not *i*. E. g. *re-tki-e:li* '(he) hikes', *ma-ka-u:kki* 'place where cows lie in the daytime', *a-sti-a* 'vessel, receptacle', *te-ki-ä* 'doer'.

(4) Between two vowels that do not belong to the first vowel cluster of a word when the vowels are identical or when the second of them is *i*, but only in such cases where a secondary stress falls on the second component of the vowel sequence: ... CV₁-V₁:C ... or ... CV₁-i:C ... E. g. *ka-ali-i:st* 'lickers (el.)', cf. *ka-a-liist* 'cabbages (el.)' (el. sing. is *ka-alist*); *pe-tä-i:lle* 'pines (all.)', cf. *hä-täil-lä* 'to lament, complain', *sa-ra-i:st* 'sheds (el.)', cf. *vi-eraist* 'strangers (el.)'.

¹⁶ From the viewpoint of this treatment the syllable boundary (-) is a non-phonological auxiliary symbol.

¹⁷ In designating an interconsonantal syllable boundary we have thus adhered to the general rule established in Standard Finnish: "Most problems of syllable division in Finnish can be handled with the rule: whenever possible, begin each syllable with one, and only one, consonant." — See M. Lehtinen, *Basic Course in Finnish*, The Hague 1963 (= Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 27), p. 17.

¹⁸ In Standard Finnish a syllable boundary occurs between vowels in words where a sequence of two vowels has resulted from the consonantal alternation of *k* (*k* - \emptyset). According to M. Lehtinen there is a syllable boundary in all two-vowel sequences that have arisen as a result of the alternation of *k*. — See M. Lehtinen, *op. cit.*, p. 17. A. Penttilä finds that only part of the words containing a vowel sequence resulting from the alternation *k* - \emptyset come under this rule: "... *kä-illä* (:käki), *vä-illä*, *hä-imme* ja erityisesti: *lu-in*, *ry-in*, *su-in hevosen* (cf. *suinpäin*), *tu-illa* (:tuki)." — See A. Penttilä, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

In the Kurgolovo dialect there is generally no syllable boundary in two-vowel sequences belonging to the first vowel cluster of a word. The following are pronunciation exceptions: *kä-et* (*jä-ättävät*) 'hands (are becoming covered with ice)'; (*pa-ni*) *kä-en* (*va-staa*) '(placed) a hand (against)'; (*hä-ä*) *ka-ehti* '(he) envied'; (*tü-ö vi-el*) *nä-että* '(you will yet) see'. As the usual pronunciations are *kä-et*, *kä-en*, *ka-ehti*, *nä-että*, then the deviations listed above have not been taken into account. We have likewise refrained from marking the syllable boundary in a word-initial *iä* sequence, e. g. *i-ättää* 'to break off sprouts, shoots', *i-äst* 'from the east'.

In some cases there is no syllable boundary between vowels in Standard Finnish in two-vowel sequences which do not belong to the first vowel cluster of a word, whereas a syllable boundary is consistently registered in the Kurgolovo dialect. Thus M. Lehtinen regards all two-vowel sequences that occur in the position characterized above and whose second component is *i* (or also *u*, *y*) as belonging to one syllable; hence: *va-rau-tui*, *käyt-täy-dy*' ... (see M. Lehtinen, *op. cit.*, p. 17). A. Penttilä on the other hand considers it possible for a syllable boundary to occur in the vowel sequences referred to: "Kauempana sanassa taas eritavuisuus on aina mahdollista, mutta milloin puheenalaista vokaalilyhtymää seuraa vielä tavu tai useita tavuja ja milloin *u:n* tai *y:n* jäljessä on vain yksinäiskonsonantti, diftongi on ääntämyksessä yleisin; esim. *kaune-us*, *korke-us*, *vapa-us*, *terve-ys*, *syssä-ys*, *hölö-ys*; *pala-uttaa*, *siha-utti*, *räiskä-yttää*; *pa-lau-tan*, *pa-lau-tetaan*, *hartau-teen*, *näyttäy-dyimme*, *vetäy-tyy*, *tervey-deksenne*." — See A. Penttilä, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

The existence of the parallel forms *hätä-ün* ~ *hä-tä-hүн*, *ri-itau:nneet* ~ *ri-itahu:nneet*, etc., helps to prove that in the Kurgolovo dialect a syllable boundary can also occur between vowels belonging to the vowel sequences Vu, Vü when these sequences do not form part of the first vowel cluster of a word.

(5) In front of the final vowel when three vowels stand in a word-initial position or follow a word-initial consonant:¹⁹ (C)V.V-VC... E. g. *a-i-an* 'garden (gen.)', *pa-i-an* 'shirt (gen.)', *pu-o-in* 'shop, store (gen.)', *ku-o-in* '(I) wove, knitted', *ra-a-ot* 'carcasses, carrions', (*ha-ravan*) *pi-i-in* 'teeth (of a rake) (gen.)', *pä-i-in* 'heads (gen.)'.

(6) The position of the syllable boundary in the vowel sequence *ioi* following a word-initial consonant is variable in pronunciation: the syllable boundary may occur either before the last vowel (as in the case of all other three-vowel sequences that follow a word-initial consonant) or after the first consonant:²⁰ *Cio-iC*... ~ *Ci-oiC*... E. g. *hi-o-in* ~ *hi-oin* '(I) honed (it sharp)', *si-o-imma* ~ *si-oimma* '(we) tied', *vi-o-in* ~ *vi-oin* '(I) scutched, swingled (flax)'.²¹

(7) In the case of three vowels that do not belong to the first vowel cluster of a word, the syllable boundary is located:

(a) after the first vowel if the two following vowels are identical or if the last vowel is *i*: ... CV₁-V₂V₂ (C...) or ... CV-Vi (C...) (in actual practice ... *Ci-Vi* (C...)). E. g. *e-lä-i:i* 'inhabitants (part.)', *mä-ni-i:i* 'goers (part.)', *ri-sti-ä:iset* 'baptism, christening', *ju-oni-a:iset* 'ceiling beams';

(b) in front of the last vowel if the two preceding vowels are identical (in actual practice *ii*): ... CV₁V₁-V₂. E. g. *o-lkii-e* 'straw (part.)', *va-rsii-e* 'foals (part.)', *he-vosi:i-e* 'horses (part.)'.

(8) After the second vowel in a sequence of four vowels following a word-initial consonant: CVV-VVC... E. g. *ka-a-uitta* '(you) fell down', *hü-ö-üin* '(I) profited'.

(9) After the first vowel and in front of the last vowel in a word-terminal sequence of four vowels: ... CV-VV-V. E. g. *ka-ta-i:i-e* 'junipers (part.)', *pe-tä-i:i-e* 'pines (part.)'.

1.2. List and classification of syllable structures. The notions *nucleus* and *margin* have been used to describe syllable structures. A syllabic nucleus is an element which exists in every syllable and without which the latter cannot exist. A margin is a section of the syllable that precedes or follows the nucleus and which may or may not be present in the syllable. The nucleus of a syllable is always a vowel. In the present article only one vowel, or more precisely, the first component of a vowel sequence,

¹⁹ The only three-vowel sequence following a word-initial consonant that does not contain a syllable boundary and which constitutes a triphthong is the sequence *iau* in the onomatopoeic word *miau*. A. Penttilä has drawn attention to this word in discussing Standard Finnish. — See A. Penttilä, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Generally speaking there is a tendency in the Kurgolovo dialect to avoid three-vowel sequences in a position that carries the principal stress. The three-vowel past tense forms *ta-oin*, *ku-oin*, *hi-oin*, etc. have parallel two-vowel forms *ta-on*, *ku-on*, *hi-on*, etc. Three consecutive vowels are likewise avoided in the following verbal and nominal forms: *li-vvun* '(I) slide, glide, slip' (< *li-ukuu*), Standard Finnish *liu'un*; *hä-vvun* '(I) mew, miaow' (< *hä-ukuu*); *ri-vvun* 'pole (gen.)' (< *ri-uku*); *ha-vvin* 'pike (gen.)' (< *ha-uki*); *lu-on* 'swath (gen.)' (< *lu-oko*); *ru-on* 'reed, cane (gen. sing.)' (< *ru-oko*).

²⁰ The position of the syllable boundary *Ci-oiC*... predominates in the pronunciation of the dialect. The reason for such a pronunciation may be that the vowel sequence *ioi* is the only sequence of three vowels belonging to the first vowel cluster of a word whose first component is a front vowel (except *iii* in the word *pi-i-in*). A front vowel, however, does not combine so easily in pronunciation with a following back vowel as back vowels combine with one another or as a back vowel combines with a following front vowel.

²¹ The imperfect tense forms *hi-on*, *si-on*, *vi-on* are also in use as stated above (see footnote 19).

is regarded as the nucleus of a phonological syllable. Syllables lacking vowels do not occur in the material discussed. A margin may hence consist of vowels as well as consonants.

The following regularities can be observed in the syllable structure of the Kurgolovo dialect:

(a) the syllable nucleus is a vowel;

(b) the syllable nucleus may or may not be preceded by a consonant or a combination of consonants;

(c) the syllable nucleus may or may not be followed by a margin consisting of V, VC, VCC, C or CC.

17 syllable types occur in the dialect. In classifying these one may ignore the consonant or consonant clusters that precede the nucleus.

Consequently we get the following three main groups of syllabic structures according to the margins that follow the nucleus:

A. The syllable nucleus is not followed by a margin:

(1)		V
(2)	C	V
(3)	CC	V

B. The syllable nucleus is followed by a marginal vowel or a combination of the latter with one or two consonants:

(4)		V	V
(5)	C	V	V
(6)	CC	V	V
(7)		V	VC
(8)	C	V	VC
(9)	CC	V	VC
(10)		V	VCC
(11)	C	V	VCC

C. The syllable nucleus is followed by a marginal consonant or consonant sequence:

(12)		V	C
(13)	C	V	C
(14)	CC	V	C
(15)		V	CC
(16)	C	V	CC
(17)	CC	V	CC

1.3. Description of syllable structures. The following regularities are valid with regard to the syllable structures of the Kurgolovo dialect:

(1) If the syllable nucleus is *a, o, u*, then the marginal vowel cannot be *ä, ö, ü*; if the syllable nucleus is *ä, ö, ü*, then the marginal vowel cannot be *a, o, u*;

(2) the consonants *b, d, g, j, z, ž* can occur only in a syllable-initial position.

The following syllable structures are met with in the dialect:

(1) V. Any single vowel except *ö* can form a syllable. E. g. *e-pä-e:-li* '(he) hesitated', *ü-tin* 'marrow (of bone)'

(2) CV. The syllable can consist of any sequence CV occurring in the dialect (see 2.2. Sequences of two phonemes. CV), except *ji, jö*. E. g. *la-ke-ti:-kon* 'open country, (treeless) plain (gen.)'

(3) CCV. The syllable nucleus cannot be preceded by a consonant sequence consisting of two consonants that are either identical (e. g. *kk*) or belong to the same class (e. g. *tk, mn*). The composition of the syllable

is consequently C_1C_2V , where C_1 is a stop or *s, š*, and C_2 — a stop, *l, r*, or *š*. More exactly: the consonant sequence C_1C_2 can be *kl, kr, bl, pl, pr, tr, ts, tš, sk, šk, sl, sp, st*. E. g. *kra-pu* 'crayfish', *tru-pa* 'chimney', *pla-kut-ti* '(he) clapped'.

(4) VV. This syllable type occurs in two variants: V_1V_1 (the syllable is formed by a sequence of two identical vowels) and V_1V_2 (the syllable consists of a sequence of two different vowels). The syllable structure V_1V_1 may be formed by the vowel sequences *aa, uu, ää*; the syllable structure V_1V_2 — by the vowel sequences *ai, au, ei, iä, oi, ui, uo, uu, äi, ää, öi, üö*. Hence in the syllable variant V_1V_2 the nucleus may be any vowel while the margin may be any vowel except *a, e, ü*. E. g. *i-ä-tet-tii* 'sprouts were broken off', *ju-o-ni-a:i-set* 'ceiling beams'.

(5) CVV. The syllable structure occurs in two variants: CV_1V_1 and CV_1V_2 . C may be any consonant. V_1V_1 may be every sequence of two vowels occurring in the dialect, V_1V_2 — every sequence of two different vowels in the dialect (see 2.2. Sequences of two phonemes. VV), except *eo, oe, äö*. E. g. *ka-a-li* 'cabbage', *ve-l-kaa* 'debt (part.)', *hu-o-ta-va* 'cheap', *na-u-loi* 'nails (part.)'.

(6) CCVV. The syllable structure takes the form of two variants: $C_1C_2V_1V_1$ and $C_1C_2V_1V_2$. V_1V_1 may be one of the following vowel sequences *aa, ii, uu, ää, üü*; V_1V_2 may be a sequence *ae, ou, uo*. For the consonant sequence CC see syllable type (3) CCV. This syllable type is comparatively unproductive (especially the variant $C_1C_2V_1V_2$). E. g. (*vi-lla*) *kra-a-pit* 'wool-cards', *pru-o-vittii* '(it) was tried'.

(7) VVC. This syllable type occurs so seldom that it is not possible to discern any regularities in its distribution. The variants V_1V_1C and V_1V_2C may be distinguished. E. g. (*jo-ulun*) *a-at-to* 'Christmas Eve', *i-es* 'in front of'.

(8) CVVC. The syllable structure occurs in the dialect in four variants: $C_1V_1V_1C_1$, $C_1V_1V_1C_2$, $C_1V_1V_2C_1$, $C_1V_1V_2C_2$. The syllable nucleus may be preceded by any consonant except *d, f, š, z, ž*. The syllable nucleus may be followed by any consonant except *b, d, f, g, j, š, z, ž*. V_1V_1 may be a sequence of any two identical vowels that can occur in the dialect. V_1V_2 may be any sequence of two different vowels that can occur in the dialect (see 2.2. Sequences of two phonemes. VV). E. g. *ta-at-ta* 'father', *li-ik-kuut* '(they) move', (*ko-to*)*ku-ok-ki* '(home-)spun', *sa-ek-kaat* (*i-lmat*) 'rainy (weather) (nom. pl.)'.

(9) CCVVC. There are four variants of this syllable type; $C_1C_2V_1V_1C_1$, $C_1C_2V_1V_2C_1$, $C_1C_2V_1V_1C_3$, $C_1C_2V_1V_2C_3$. For the consonant sequence C_1C_2 see syllable type (3) CCV. V_1V_1 may be *aa, ii, uu, ää*. V_1V_2 may be *ae, ai, ou*. The C_1 following the syllable nucleus is *k*; C_3 is *h, s* or a stop. E. g. (*va-ris*) *kra-ak-kaa* '(a crow) caws, croaks', (*ko-nna*) *kro-uk-kaa* '(a frog) croaks' (the syllable variants $C_1C_2V_1V_1C_1$ and $C_1C_2V_1V_2C_1$ are limited to these examples), *slä-äp-pi* 'hat', *pla-is-kas* '(he) hurled'.

(10) VVCC. The realizations of this syllable type are very limited in number. E. g. *ü-öks* 'for the night', *ta-kki-aist* 'burdock (part.)'.

(11) CVVCC. The syllable structure takes the form of six variants: $C_1V_1V_1C_1C_2$, $C_1V_1V_1C_2C_1$, $C_1V_1V_1C_2C_3$, $C_1V_1V_2C_1C_2$, $C_1V_1V_2C_2C_1$, $C_1V_1V_2C_2C_3$. V_1V_1 may be any sequence of two identical vowels that occurs in the dialect except *oo*. V_1V_2 may be any sequence of two different vowels that occurs in the dialect (see 2.2. Sequences of two phonemes. VV). The syllable nucleus may be preceded by any consonant except *b*,

d, f, g, š, z, ž. The first component of the consonant sequence that follows the syllable nucleus may be *k, l, n, r, s, t*; the second component is *s* or *t*. The consonant sequence may consist only of consonants belonging to different classes. More exactly: the consonant sequence that follows the syllable nucleus may be *lt, nt, rt, st, ks, ns, rs, ts*. E. g. *su-ust* 'mouth (el.)', *e-t-täält* 'from afar', *pä-äst* 'head (el.)', *la-elt* 'ceiling (abl.)', (*nä-iks*) *ku-iks* '(for these) months', (*ei*) *tu-ont* 'did not bring', (*e-mmä*) *ju-ost* 'we did not run'.

(12) VC. The syllable nucleus can be any vowel except *i*. C can be any consonant except *b, d, f, g, j, š, z, ž*. E. g. *i-h-me* 'wonder', *le-i-ma-u:k-sen* 'blaze (gen.)'.

(13) CVC. The syllable structure is realized in two variants: C_1VC_1 and C_1VC_2 . In the type C_1VC_1 , the syllable nucleus may be any vowel except *i*; in the type C_1VC_2 — any vowel (also *i*). In the variant C_1VC_1 , C_1 can be any consonant except *b, d, f, g, j, r, š, z, ž*. C_1 in the variant C_1VC_2 may be any consonant except *d, z*; C_2 — can be any consonant except *b, d, g, j, z, ž*. E. g. *hi-h-haa* 'sleeve (ill.)', *ka-t-to* 'roof', *le-i-kok-ki* '(surgical) operation', *pa-vut* 'beans'.

(14) CCVC. There are two variants of this syllable type: $C_1C_2VC_1$ and $C_1C_2VC_3$. In the variant $C_1C_2VC_3$ the nucleus can be any vowel except *i, ü*; in the variant $C_1C_2VC_1$ it may be *a, o, u*. Concerning the consonant sequence C_1C_2 see syllable type (3) CCV. C_1 may be only a stop. C_3 may be any consonant except *b, d, f, g, j, r, š, z, ž*. E. g. (*pu-ut*) *kra-k-si-vat* '(the trees) cracked', *kra-p-puu* 'crayfish, crabs (part.)'.

(15) VCC. The more exact form of the syllable pattern is VC_1C_2 . The syllable nucleus can consist of any vowel except *e, i, ö*. C_1C_2 may be *lt, st, ks*. E. g. *pa-i-alt* 'shirt (abl.)', *u-st* 'door (part.)', *ü-ks* 'one'.

(16) CVCC. The syllable type is realized in three variants: $C_1VC_1C_2$, $C_1VC_2C_1$, $C_1VC_2C_3$. The syllable nucleus can be any vowel except *i*. The nucleus can be preceded by any consonant except *d, g, f, š, z, ž*. The composition of the consonant sequence that follows the nucleus is determined by the second component of the sequence: (1) when the second component is a stop, the first component is *l, r* or a homorganic nasal (also *s* when the second component is *t*); (2) when the second component is *s, š*, the first component is a stop or *l, n, r*. E. g. *ka-ks* 'two', *si-l-lalt* 'bridge (abl.)', *kä-rk-ki* 'cone', (*ei*) *ke-rt-tant* '(did not) touch', (*pö-ütä*) *hu-rsti* '(table-)cloth', *ka-i-vost* 'well (el.)'.

(17) CCVCC. The syllable type has three variants: $C_1C_2VC_3C_2$, $C_1C_2VC_3C_1$ and $C_1C_2VC_3C_4$. Occurrence very limited. E. g. *sta-nt-sas* 'station, stop (in.)', *kle-ηk-ki* 'loop', *kra-mp-pi* 'door-handle'.

1.4. Sequences of two syllable types. The following sequences consisting of two syllable types have been recorded in the dialect under discussion:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---------|---|
| (1) | V | — CV | <i>ä-kü</i> 'heat' |
| | | — CVV | <i>la-a-i-taa</i> 'is being made, prepared' |
| | | — CVC | <i>o-lut</i> 'beer' |
| | | — CVCC | <i>a-jast</i> 'time (el.)' |
| (2) | CV | — V | <i>hä-tä-ü:-tät</i> 'you cause trouble' |
| | | — CV | <i>ka-ma-la</i> 'ugly' |
| | | — VV | <i>va-ap-si-a:i-set</i> 'horns' |
| | | — CVV | <i>pü-v-ve-tää</i> 'is being caught' |
| | | — CVVCC | <i>pi-k-ka-raist</i> 'small (part.)' |

- (2) CV — VVC *vi-oim-ma* '(we) sketched'
 — VVCC *rä-s-ti-äist* 'thrush (part.)'
 — VC *ko-r-ke-u:k-sen* 'height (gen.)'
 — CVC *ku-kat* 'flowers, blossoms'
 — VCC *te-r-vü-elt* 'as regards health'
 — CVCC *pa-kolt* 'block of wood (abl.)'
- (3) CCV — CV *kla-si* 'glass'
 — CVC *(pä-äsküsen)* *pri-kut* 'freckles'
 — CVCC *tru-past* 'chimney (el.)'
- (4) VV — CV *a-a-mu* 'morning'
 — CVV *a-i-kaa* 'time (part.)'
 — CVVC *o-i-kaan* '(I) shall correct (it)'
 — CVC *ä-ä-net* 'voices'
 — CVCC *u-u-punt* 'very tired, exhausted'
- (5) CVV — V *la-a-i-taa* 'is being made, prepared'
 — CV *ra-a-ka* 'flail'
 — VVC *ka-a-oin* '(I) upset'
 — CVV *ki-e-huu* '(it) boils'
 — CVVC *va-at-tee-seen* 'clothes (ill.)'
 — CVVCC *lö-ü-keeks* 'lukewarm (transl.)'
 — VC *pa-i-an* 'shirt (gen.)'
 — CVC *ku-i-vat* 'dry (nom. pl.)'
 — VCC *pu-o-ist* 'shop (el.)'
 — CVCC *ko-u-lust* 'school (el.)'
- (6) CCVV — CV *kli-i-ve-ri* 'jib'
 — CVV *pru-o-vii* 'to try, test'
 — CVVC *pru-o-viit* '(they) try'
 — CVC *plu-u-kat* 'harrows'
 — CVCC *tra-a-last* 'trawl-net (el.)'
- (7) VVC — CV *a-it-ta* 'barn, granary'
 — CVV *i-ät-tää* 'to break off shoots'
 — CVVC *u-it-taat* '(they) roam'
 — CVC *u-ot-tan* (sic) '(I) wait'
 — CVCC *(ei) u-it-tant* '(he) did not roam'
- (8) CVVC — CV *vu-ot-ta* 'year (part.)'
 — CVV *su-ut-tuu* '(he) gets angry'
 — CVVC *sü-öt-tää* '(they) feed'
 — CVVCC *li-uk-kaaks* 'slippery (transl.)'
 — CVC *(ko-rvan)ta-uk-set* 'parts of the head immediately behind the ears'
 — CVCC *lu-on-nolt* 'nature (abl.)'
- (9) CCVVC — CV *klu-uh-ho* 'deaf'
 — CVV *(so-rsa) prä-äk-küü* '(a duck) quacks'
 — CVVC *(va-rikset) kra-ak-kaat* '(the crows) croak'
 — CVC *pla-is-kas* '(he) threw, hurled'
 — CVCC *klu-uh-hoks* 'deaf (transl.)'
- (10) VVCC } No other syllable types follow.
 (11) CVVCC }
- (12) VC — CV *o-l-ki* 'straw'
 — CVV *i-s-tuu* '(he) sits'
 — CVVC *i-t-teet* 'germ, sprout (pl.)'
 — CVVCC *a-l-peeks* 'roundworm (transl.)'
 — CVC *i-l-veksii* 'lynxes (part.)'
 — CVCC *a-t-ralt* 'plow (abl.)'
- (13) CVC — CV *se-l-kä* 'back'
 — CVV *va-l-kee* 'white'
 — CVVC *te-m-paan* '(I) pull'
 — CVVCC *va-r-kaaks* 'thief (transl.)'
 — CVC *tu-r-kit* 'furcoats'
 — CVCC *pa-l-kast* 'salary, wages (el.)'
- (14) CCVC — CV *kro-n-ni* 'raven'
 — CVV *tre-η-kii* 'farm-hand (part.)'
 — CVVC *kro-p-paan (ki-i)* '(I) grip'
 — CVC *kre-s-lat* 'sledge seat'
 — CVCC *kra-m-pist* 'door-handle (el.)'

(15)	VCC	— CV	<i>a-ηk-kuri</i> 'anchor'
		— CVV	<i>o-rt-taa</i> 'perch (part.)'
		— CVVC	<i>ä-lp-pään</i> '(I) understand, grasp'
		— CVC	<i>ä-lp-päs</i> '(he) understood, grasped'
(16)	CVCC	— CV	<i>ka-rs-ta</i> 'scabies'
		— CVV	<i>to-rk-kuu</i> '(he) dozes'
		— CVVC	<i>hu-lk-kuut</i> '(they) tramp, roam about'
		— CVC	<i>pü-rs-tüt</i> 'fins of a fish'
		— CVCC	<i>(ei) ke-rt-tant</i> 'did not touch'
(17)	CCVCC	— CV	<i>kra-mp-pi</i> 'door-handle'
		— CVV	<i>kle-ηk-kii</i> 'loop, snare (el.)'
		— CVVC	<i>tra-mp-piit</i> '(they) trample, stamp'
		— CVC	<i>kri-nt-sot</i> 'glass verandah'
		— CVCC	<i>sta-nt-sast</i> 'station, stop (el.)'

Sequences of Two Syllable Types

→	V	CV	CCV	VV	CVV	CCVV	VVC	CVVC	CCVVC	VVCC	CVVCC	VC	CVC	CCVC	VCC	CVCC	CCVCC
V		+			+												
CV	+	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+		+	+	
CCV		+											+			+	
VV		+			+								+			+	
CVV	+	+			+		+	+				+	+		+	+	
CCVV		+			+		+	+					+			+	
VVC		+			+		+	+					+			+	
CVVC		+			+		+	+					+			+	
CCVVC		+			+		+	+					+			+	
VVCC																	
CVVCC																	
VC		+			+		+	+			+		+			+	
CVC		+			+		+	+			+		+			+	
CCVC		+			+		+	+			+		+			+	
VCC		+			+		+	+					+			+	
CVCC		+			+		+	+					+			+	
CCVCC		+			+		+	+					+			+	

1.5. Summary of sequences of two syllable types and some remarks about polysyllabic sequences (words).

- (1) All the syllable types may form the first syllable of a word.
- (2) The syllable structures CV and CVV are followed by the majority of syllable types (see Table, p. 175).
- (3) The syllable structure that follows other syllable types most frequently is CV (see Table, p. 175).
- (4) Consequently: The most widespread word-form consists of the syllable types CV and CVV.
- (5) The syllable structures VVCC and CVVCC are not followed by other syllable structures.
- (6) Syllable structures in which the nucleus is preceded by a consonant sequence do not stand after other syllable structures. Hence the structures CCV, CCVV, CCVVC, CCVC and CCVCC occur only as the first syllables of words.
- (7) The following sequences of two (or even more in the case of the type CV) identical syllable types are met with in the dialect: CV-CV-(CV) (*si-ku-ri* 'shepherd'), CVV-CVV (*ra-a-taa* 'to work hard'), CVVC-CVVC

(*ma-ok-kaat* 'wormy (nom.)'), CVC-CVC (*ko-r-tit* 'maps (nom.)'), CVCC-CVCC ((*ei*) *ti-lk-kunt* '(did not) drip').

(8) When the syllable types containing two segmental vowels follow other syllable types, then the vowels referred to are identical or the second of them is *i*.

(9) The syllable type VV cannot occur as the second syllable in a word. The syllable types VVCC, CCV, CCVV, CCVVC, CCVC, CCVCC cannot occur as non-initial (not even as second) syllables. The remaining syllable types may occur in any position within the word. E. g. V: *i-kä* 'age', *la-a-i-taa* 'is being made, prepared', *re-t-ki-e-lin* '(I) hiked', *he-vo-si:i-e* 'horses (part.)', VVC: *u-ot-te-li* '(he) waited', *si-oim-ma* '(we) tied', *va-ap-si-ain* 'hornet', VCC: *a-lt* 'from under', *pu-o-ist* 'shop (el.)', *te-r-vü-elt* 'as to health', etc.

(10) In the syllable patterns occurring as subsequent syllables the vowels and their sequences are subject to so-called vowel harmony, i. e. if the first syllable contains *a*, *o*, *u*, then in the following syllables one can find the same vowels + *e*, *i*, e. g. *ka-ton* 'roof (gen.)', *ku-mi-nat* 'caraway seeds', *hu-o-me-na* 'tomorrow'; if the first syllable contains *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, then the following syllables may have the same vowels + *e*, *i*, e. g. *pö-lä-hü:t-ti* '(he) frightened', *sä-ä-li* 'sorry, pitiful', *sü-ö-tet-tii* 'was fed'. The vowels *e*, *i* are neutral vowels which, when they occur in a first syllable, do not determine the vocalic composition of the following syllables, e. g. *ve-sa* 'brushwood', *pe-sä* 'nest'; *li-ka* 'mud', *li-sä* 'addition, supplement' and may occur in all following syllables regardless of the vocalic composition of the first syllable, e. g. *ku-ret* 'cranes', *pä-re* 'spill, fire-stick', *ta-kin* 'coat (gen.)', *sä-kin* 'sack (gen.)'. If the first syllable contains *e*, *i*, then the vowels of the following syllables may vary even in one and the same word-form, e. g. *e-t-taalt* ~ *e-t-täält* 'from afar', *li-sat-tii* ~ *li-sät-tii* 'was added'.²² By way of exception the vowel harmony of subsequent syllables may be absent in some nouns and compound forms, e. g. *sü-k-süs-sa:a* 'autumn (term.)', *ü-m-mär-ka:in* 'round', *tä-l-la-set* 'such'. The following are likewise examples of deviation from vowel harmony in regard to the first syllable: *pä-ä-tik-ko* 'in a huddle, with one's heads together', *püö-räη-ke:-ra* 'bicycle (com.)', *sü-sä-li:k-ko* 'lizard', *ü-hel-la:i-set* 'of the same kind, alike', etc. The back quality of the last vowel in these examples is probably rendered possible by the intervening neutral vowel *e* or *i*.²³

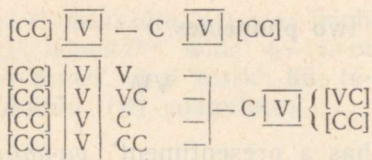
(11) The sequences of two syllable types that occur in the dialect can be briefly described as follows:

²² Analogical variations in Standard Finnish have been described by A. Penttilä (see A. Penttilä, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

²³ K. Wiik has pointed out that vowel harmony is declining as a restrictive distributional factor in Standard Finnish on account of two tendencies: (a) the restriction of the sphere of influence of vowel harmony from within the limits of a word to those of a stress unit; (b) the increase in the number of neutral vowels. — See K. Wiik, *Finnish and English Vowels*. — *Annales Universitatis Turkuensis*, ser. B. 94, Turku 1965, pp. 50, 51.

As can be seen from the examples listed above, deviations from vowel harmony which can be observed in the dialect under discussion, are due to the influence of the first tendency. The other tendency is not conspicuous in the Kurgolovo dialect and finds expression mainly in present-day Standard Finnish which is rich in foreign words.

In a few cases even monosyllabic words are subject to vowel harmony in an environment that directly involves a front or a back vowel, e. g. *ha-a o-no* 'he is'. A similar phenomenon has also been observed in Standard Finnish (see A. Penttilä, *op. cit.*, p. 17).



The syllable nuclei are enclosed in the rectangle. The square brackets enclose the margins whose presence (in the form of the phonemic sequences of maximum length described above or in any phonemic composition whatever) or absence (e. g. the syllable type $[CC] \boxed{V} V$ may occur as $[CC] \boxed{V} V$, $[C] \boxed{V} V$ or $\boxed{V} V$) does not affect the sequences of the syllable types as presented above.

2. Phonemic Sequences

2.1. Groups of phonemic sequences. Proceeding from the general principle of the classification of phonemes into vowels and consonants we obtain four main groups of di-phonemic sequences: VV, VC, CV, CC; and eight principal groups of tri-phonemic sequences: VVV, VVC, VCV, VCC, CVV, CVC, CCV, CCC. The following pages contain a list (together with word examples) of all the di-phonemic sequences registered in the linguistic material investigated and also of the groups VVV and CCC from among the tri-phonemic sequences. These are the most important groups from the point of view of phonemic distribution. Only a brief summary has been given in this paper of the other groups of tri-phonemic sequences. Some remarks have been added at the end of the paper on sequences consisting of more phonemes. To facilitate their treatment the separate phonemic sequences have been listed in alphabetic order within each of the groups.

Four examples have been given (whenever the material permits this) of each di-phonemic sequence. The first example illustrates the occurrence of the sequence at the beginning of a word. The second and third examples have been chosen depending on the general conditions in which a given group of phoneme sequences occurs: e. g. when the occurrence of a phoneme sequence in a word-initial position is in all cases equal in a given group to its occurrence in the first syllable (as in groups CV, CC), then the second and third examples illustrate occurrence in the subsequent syllables or at their boundary. If it is possible to adduce separate examples of the occurrence of a phonemic sequence in a word-initial position and in the first syllable (as in groups VV, VC), then the second example illustrates occurrence in the first syllable while the third example illustrates occurrence in a subsequent syllable or at the boundary of subsequent syllables. The fourth example refers to the phonemic sequence at the end of a word. The Table on p. 185 gives a survey of all the di-phonemic sequences that occur in the dialect.

The occurrence of tri-phonemic sequences in the groups VVV, CCC is illustrated whenever possible by means of two examples: the first example shows the phonemic sequence in the first syllable of a word, the second — the same phonemic sequence in a subsequent syllable or at the boundary of subsequent syllables.

2.2 Sequences of two phonemes.

VV

aV

aa: *a-avistaa* '(he) has a presentiment', *va-ahto* 'foam', *so-mmali:kkaaks* 'turbid' (transl.), *tu-hkaa* 'ashes (part. sing.)'; **ae:** *a-ettii** 'was driven', *sa-ekas* 'rainy', *ra-ppaet* 'robbers', *ma-e* 'burbot'; **ai:** *a-ivassan* '(I) sneeze', *ha-ikara* 'chatterbox', *ka-rkula:iset* 'fugitives', *vi-erai* 'strangers (part.)'; **ao:** *va-ot* 'furrows', *(ei) la-o* 'does not pile'; **au:** *a-uki** 'open', *va-uhti* 'impetus', *ta-pau:ksen* 'event (gen.)' (~ ⁰*slu-tši*), *(ei) ka-au*** 'does not fall' (~ *la-ŋkiissa*, *to-kkuu*).

eV

ea: *se-amma** '(we) mix bread', *va-ikeat*** (*e-lämää*) 'hard (life) (part.)' (~ *va-ikeet*), *i-nhea*** 'disgusting' (~ *i-nhee*); **ee:** *re-el* 'on a sledge', *hu-oneeseen* 'house, building (ill.)' (~ *ta-lo*, *ma-ja*), *ka-ree* 'bitter'; **ei:** *e-il** 'yesterday', *re-ikä* 'hole', *ka-tei:kko* 'envious' (~ *ka-e*), *vi-ikattei* 'scythes (part.)'; **eo:** *ke-on* 'haystack (gen.)' (~ *si-kane*); **eu:** *le-uka* 'jaw', *kor-keu:ksen* 'height (gen.)'; **eü:** *pi-meüs** 'darkness'.

iV

ia: *li-akas* 'muddy', *ta-kkia:iset* 'burdocks', *a-teria* 'light meal'; **ie:** *i-es** 'in front of', *vi-eno* 'slow', *re-tkie:lin* '(I) hiked', *sä-ie* 'strand of yarn'; **ii:** *i-ilimato** 'marine leech', *hi-ilet* 'coals', *va-lmiiks* 'ready (transl.)', *ko-ttii* 'home (ill.)'; **io:** *si-ottii* 'was tied', *va-lltio* 'state, country'; **iü:** *ki-uru* 'skylark'; **iä:** *i-äst* 'east (el.)', *ri-stiä:iset* 'baptism, christening', *ni-miä* 'names (part.)'.

oV

oe: *o-entaa*** 'to pull straight' (~ *o-jentaa*), *jo-es** 'river (in.)', *ma-ttoe:ŋkaa*** 'worms (com.)' (~ *ma-ttoje:ŋkaa*, *ma-ttoinŋkaa*); **oi:** *o-ikii** (*hüvä*) 'very (good)', *ko-ivu* 'birch', *(he-posit)* *pi-ehtaro:ittivat* '(horses) wallowed', *ve-rkkoi* 'nets (part.)'; **oo:** *jo-ovvuin (tänne)* '(I) arrived (here)', *tu-rpoossa* 'to swell, bloat', *ka-tsoo ki-eroo* 'to squint'; **ou:** *ko-ukku* '(stove) poker', *ru-kou:ksel** 'prayer (ad.)'.

uV

ua: *so-uan*** '(I) row' (~ *so-ovan*); **ue:** *lu-en* '(I) read', *ku-e* 'weft, woof'; **ui:** *u-iitaa** '(they) roam about', *mu-issan* '(I) remember', *ha-vahuin* '(I) woke up', *ki-rppui* 'fleas (part.)'; **uo:** *u-olamet* 'mouth straps', *hu-otava* 'cheap', *tu-o!* 'fetch (it)!' ; **uu:** *u-uvuksis* 'very tired, exhausted', *ku-unteloo* '(he) listens', *me-lluu* 'noise (part.)'.

äV

äe: *ä-estää** 'to harrow', *vä-en* 'people (gen.)', *e-päe:li* '(he) hesitated', *(ei) nä-e* '(does not) see'; **äi:** *ä-itelä** 'tasting bad', *hä-iritsi* '(he) disturbed, bothered', *e-tähä:ine* 'distant', *mä-ttäi* 'sods, tussocks (part.)'; **ää:** *ä-äni** 'voice', *pä-äsöö* 'escapes', *le-ppään* '(I) am lying down', *kä-ümää* 'to go'; **äö:** *nä-öst** 'face (el.)'; **äü:** (*ki-ukan*) *ä-üs** 'by the light (of a stove)', *rä-üstää* 'eaves', *hä-täü:tät* '(you) cause trouble', *(ei) kä-ü* 'does not go'.

öV

öi: *ö-itä** 'nights (part.)', *tö-is* 'works (in.)', *sö-i* '(he) ate'; **öö:** *mä-nnöö* '(they) go', *kü-psellöö* 'bakes, roasts'; **öü:** *pö-ütä* 'table'.

üV

üe: (*vi-ikatteen*) *lü-et* 'scythe handles', *te-rovuelt** 'as regards health';

üi: *pü-itä* 'partridges (part.)', *ä-llissüin* '(I) was frightened', *mü-llüi* 'mills (part.)'; **üä:** *sü-än** 'heart', *le-uvvüä*** 'wide' (~ *le-vee*); **üö:** *ü-öks** 'for the night', *rü-ömiit* '(they) crawl', *tü-ö* 'work'; **üü:** *tü-üni* 'calm, windless', *nä-kküüt* 'can be seen', *hü-ütüü* '(it) coagulates'.

VC

aC

af: *⁰la-fka** 'shop, store' (~ *pu-oti*); **ah:** *a-hkera* 'eager, keen', *ma-ho* (*le-hmä*) 'dry (cow)', *pi-lahunt* 'spoiled, rotten'; **aj:** *a-jamaa** 'drive', *ka-java* 'sea-gull', *ta-paja* '(it) suffices'; **ak:** *a-kana** 'chaff', *la-kana* 'bedsheet', *li-ivakas* 'sandy'; **al:** *a-lasin* 'anvil', *ka-lat* 'fishes', *ku-ontalo* 'bunch of tow (flax) on a distaff', *o-ksal* 'branch (ad.)'; **am:** *a-mpuu* 'to shoot a gun', *ra-mpa* 'lame', *si-eramet* 'nostrils'; **an:** *a-nnan** '(I) give', *ja-nottaa* 'to be thirsty', *e-tana* 'snail', *va-kan* 'basket (gen.)'; **aη:** *a-ηkria** 'eel', *ka-ηnas* 'woven cloth, roll of cloth', *nu-oranke:ra* 'string, cord (com.)'; **ap:** *a-pini:kka** 'helper', *ra-peloot* '(they) struggle helplessly', *sa-ap** '(he) gets'; **ar:** *a-rka* 'timid', *pa-rta* 'beard', *si-kkares* 'crooked, doubled up', *si-sar*** 'sister' (~ *si-sko*); **as:** *a-su* 'implement', *sa-sihu:nneet* 'rumped', *su-olaset* 'salty (nom. pl.)', *he-tas* 'generous'; **aš:** *⁰ma-šina** 'machine'; **at:** *a-tra** 'plow', *pa-ta* 'kettle', *la-kata* 'to leave, give up' (~ *jä-ttää*), *ro-tat* 'rats'; **av:** *a-vanto* 'hole in the ice for fishing', *sa-vest* 'of clay', *mu-kava* 'splendid, likeable'.

eC

eh: *pe-hko* 'bush', *tu-kehu:tti* '(it) suffocated', (*ei*) *märeh** 'does not chew the cud'; **ej:** *⁰sle-jat** 'breeching, breech-band'; **ek:** *re-ki* 'sledge', *to-rmekas* 'stormy'; **el:** *e-län* '(I) live', *he-lppo* 'light, easy', *kü-ünelet* 'tears', *he-posel* 'horse (ad.)'; **em:** *e-mikko** 'sow', *re-meli* 'belt', *i-kemää* 'to weep'; **en:** *e-ntin* 'former', *le-ntää* 'to fly', *ko-renta* 'yoke (for carrying pails)', *kü-n-nüksen* 'threshold (gen.)'; **eη:** *e-ηklannin** (*ki-eli*) 'the English language', *he-ηki* 'soul', *lu-menkkaa* 'snow (com.)'; **ep:** *e-päe:llä** 'to hesitate', *re-po* 'fox'; **er:** *e-ro** 'difference', *te-rävä* 'sharp', *ka-tersunt* (*ma-ito*) 'sourish milk'; **es:** *ke-sä* 'summer', *he-rnes* 'pea'; **et:** *e-tana* 'snail', *pe-tellä* 'to deceive', *o-petti* '(he) taught', *hö-ühenet* 'downy feathers'; **ev:** *e-väs** 'light meal', *ke-vät* 'spring', *o-leva* (*ta-lo*) 'prosperous (farm)'.

iC

if: *⁰sli-fka** 'sweet cream'; **ih:** *i-hme** 'wonder', *pi-hka* 'wood resin', *nä-rt-sihü* '(it) withers'; **ij:** *he-ijamaa* 'to swing'; **ik:** *i-kenet* 'gums', *ri-kas* 'rich', *pa-tikka* 'small piece of wood'; **il:** *i-lta* 'evening', *ti-la* 'bed' (~ *ro-vatti*), *su-kkilaa* 'immediately', *vo-kil* 'spinning-wheel (ad.)'; **im:** *i-mmöö** '(he) sucks', *ni-mi* 'name', *o-ηkimaa* 'to angle'; **in:** *i-nhee** 'disgusting', *li-ntu* 'bird', *tö-rinä* 'unpleasantness, trouble', *la-vasin* 'bathhouse platform'; **iη:** *ti-ηkii** '(he) bargains', *va-hiηko** 'misfortune, danger'; **ip:** *ri-putti* '(he) hung (it)', *vo-ip** '(he) may, can'; **ir:** *i-rtii** 'open', *ki-rkas* 'bright, transparent'; **is:** *i-skee* 'to hit', *ni-ska* 'occiput', *pi-kkara:iset* 'little (pl.)', *ka-apis* 'cupboard (in.)'; **it:** *i-tikka* 'insect', *pi-tkä* 'long', *pa-rittaa* 'by twos', *tu-nnit* 'clock'; **iv:** *ki-vi* 'stone', *te-kivät* '(they) made'.

iC

in: *⁰ri-nka** 'market'.

oC

of: *⁰ko-fi** (*pa-vut*) 'coffee beans'; **oh:** *o-hto* 'enough', *ko-hmes* 'numbed by cold', *u-nohin* '(I) forgot'; **oj:** *o-ja** 'brook', *po-jat* 'sons, boys', *ki-roja* '(he) curses'; **ok:** *o-ksente:lloo* '(he) vomits', *no-ki* 'soot', *e-lokas* 'animal'; **ol:**

o-let 'straw', *so-lmu* 'knot', *ka-ukolo* 'trough', *ka-tol* 'roof' (ad.); **om:** *o-mmella** 'to sew', *ho-me* 'mould', *ta-homma* '(we) want'; **on:** *o-nni** 'luck, fortune', *ko-nnikkain* 'tadpole', (*sä-rem*) *mu-otone* 'like a roach', *to-ukon* 'grub, worm (gen.)'; **oη:** *o-ηki** 'angling-tackle', *to-ηkiit* '(they) grub, rummage', *tu-ronkaa* 'fucus (com.)'; **op:** *o-ppii** 'to learn', *so-pu* 'agreeing, getting on', *ju-op* '(he) drinks'; **or:** *o-rava* 'squirrel', *ko-rvat* 'ears', *ku-kkor** 'purse'; **os:** *o-saja* '(he) knows (how to)', *po-sket* 'checks', *u-rosu:tti* '(he) consoled', *lu-kos* 'locked'; **oš:** *o-po-šti** 'post'; **ot:** *o-tava* 'the North Star', *no-tkee* 'supple', *le-kotti:met* '(cock's) wattles', *ka-ivot* 'wells', **ov:** (*hüö*) *o-vat** '(they) are', *lo-vet* 'cracks, crevices', *a-stova** 'harrow'.

uC

uh: *u-hersin** 'gimlet, auger', *tu-hma* 'stupid'; **uj:** *u-jukse:li** '(he) swam', *ku-jalle** 'courtyard (all.)', *papujen*** 'beans (gen.)' (~ *pa-ppuin*); **uk:** *u-ks* 'door', *su-kat* 'stockings', *va-apukka* 'raspberry'; **ul:** *u-lkoo** 'out', *pu-lmat* 'wedding', *sa-tula* 'saddle', *a-amul* 'in the morning'; **um:** *u-mmi-tu:kxis** 'gathered (to a head), blocked up', *hu-malas* 'drunk', *to-rumaa* 'to be cross'; **un:** *u-ni** 'sleep', *pu-nane* 'red', *va-rpune* 'sparrow', *ki-vun* 'pain (gen.)'; **uη:** *ru-ηko** 'tree-trunk', *na-punke:ra* 'button (com.)'; **up:** *u-ppoosa** 'to drown', *ku-po* 'bundle, faggot'; **ur:** *u-rut* 'organ', *nu-rkas* 'corner (in.)', *si-kuri* 'shepherd'; **us:** *u-skoo** 'to believe', *lu-sikka* 'spoon', *ke-ppusen* 'prank (gen.)', *ra-ntius* 'wrist'; **uš:** *o-po-tuška** 'pillow'; **už:** *o-tu-žurka** 'work jacket, short overcoat'; **ut:** *u-tu* 'fog', *ku-tsuu* 'to call', *he-rkute:lla* 'to pamper', *tra-put* 'staircase'; **uv:** *lu-vattii* 'was allowed'.

äC

äh: *ä-helä** 'nimble, alert', *tä-hät* 'ears of corn', *lä-kähte:lloo* '(he) chokes'; **äj:** *rä-jähti** '(it) exploded', *ve-räjä* 'gate'; **äk:** *ä-ksü** 'irascible', *mä-ki* 'hill', *hä-mähä:kin* 'spider (gen.)'; **äl:** *ä-llüü** 'wit, understanding (part.)', *jä-let* 'tracks', *rä-pälät* 'rags', *pü-öräl* 'bicycle (ad.)'; **äm:** *ä-mmä** 'old woman', *lä-mmittää* 'to heat', *ni-ittämää* 'to mow'; **än:** *lä-nikko* 'small (covered) tub', *he-rttäne* 'cardial', *pä-ivän* 'day (gen.)'; **äη:** *lä-ηnet** 'horse-collar', *hä-nnänke:ra* 'tail (com.)'; **äp:** *kä-pälä* 'paw'; **är:** *mä-rkä* 'wet', *sü-käret* 'part of a woman's cap', *pä-issär** 'flax boon (sing.)' (~ *pä-istär*); **äs:** *ä-skeen** 'recently', *lä-sivä* 'ill', *rä-täsi:kko* 'thicket', *pü-lväs* 'prop'; **ät:** *ä-tälä** 'aftermath', *mä-tin* '(I) picked', *klä-pätä* 'to snatch', *se-pät* 'smiths'; **äv:** *kä-vüttää* 'to weave a net', *i-kävä* 'dull, gloomy'.

öC

öh: *kö-hhii* 'to cough'; **ök:** *ö-ksüü** '(he) is mistaken', *tö-kräs* '(he) spoiled (it)', *tü-tökkäin* 'little girl'; **öl:** *ö-ljü** 'oil', *pö-lkäjä* '(he) is afraid, *tü-töl* 'girl (ad.)'; **öm:** *sü-ömää* 'to eat'; **ön:** (*ei*) *lü-önt* 'did not hit', *hö-säkön* 'idiot, dolt (gen.)'; **öη:** *tü-öηkää* 'work (com.)'; **öp:** *hö-pläst* 'slackly, loosely', *sü-öp* '(he) eats'; **ör:** *hö-röläin* 'wasp'; **ös:** *hö-säkkö* 'idiot, dolt', *mä-nösä** 'going, departure (in.)', *tü-ös* 'work (in.)'; **öt:** *rü-öt* 'ice-floes', *lö-rpöttää* 'to prattle', *tü-töt* 'girls'; **öv:** *lö-övän* '(I) find'.

üC

üh: *ü-htisest* 'in common, together', *lü-hüt* 'short'; **üj:** *hö-üläjä* '(he) planes'; **ük:** *ü-ksiin** 'alone', *mü-kkä* 'dumb', *mü-rkükäs* 'poisonous'; **ül:** *ü-lpee** 'arrogant', *kü-lpiä* '(he) whisks (himself) in the steambath', *hü-ttüläin* 'pigeon', *jä-rül* 'stool, bench (ad.)'; **üm:** *ü-mpärü:kkes** 'vicinity (in.)', *kü-mmen* 'ten', *sü-ühkümää* 'to itch'; **ün:** *kü-ntää* 'to plough', *kä-lün* 'sister-in-law (gen.)'; **üη:** *tü-ηkä** 'stub, stump', *mü-ssünke:ra* 'woman's cap (com.)'; **üp:** *lü-psää* 'to milk', *kä-üp** '(he) goes'; **ür:** *jü-räjä* '(it) thunders', *hä-tturi* 'unlucky fellow'; **üs:** *ü-stävä** 'friend', *kü-ssüü* 'to ask', *pä-älitü:stä*

'one on top of the other', *pü-tüs* 'firkin (in.)'; *üt:* *ü-tin** 'marrow', *kü-tü* 'brother-in-law', *kä-vütti* '(he) wove (a net)', *hä-rüt* 'clover'; *üv:* *jü-vät* 'grains (of corn)', *kä-iküves* 'cradle (in.)'.

CV

bV

ba: *⁰ba-rka** 'barge'; *be:* *⁰be-nzina** 'petrol'; *bo:* *⁰bo-tška** 'barrel'; *bu:* *⁰bu-kseri** 'tugboat'.

fV

fa: *⁰fa-nari** 'lantern', *⁰sa-rafa:na** 'sarafan'; *fe:* *⁰ka-nfetti** 'candy'; *fi:* *⁰ko-fi** (*pa-vut*) 'coffee-(beans)'; *fu:* *⁰fu-ntame:ntti** 'foundation'.

gV

ga: *⁰ga-rmoni** 'accordion'.

hV

ha: *ha-rava* 'rake', *ke-hata* 'feel like (doing smth.)', *ku-paha:ine** 'shadow', *pu-uha* 'bustle'; *he:* *he-lma* 'flap (of a coat)', (*ko-nnan*) *ku-herma* 'frog spawn', *mu-rehen** '(I) worry', *ka-ihe* 'cataract (of the eye)'; *hi:* *hi-ha* 'sleeve', *mü-himmä* (*na-uraa*) '(we) smiled smugly (to ourselves)', *ka-tehin* '(I) envied', *ki-ihä* 'shut, closed'; *ho:* *ho-mmata* 'procure, obtain', *ro-hoset* 'green (nom. pl.)', *te-rho* 'acorn'; *hu:* *hu-ntu* 'old-time headgear for women (white kerchief)', *ki-ehumaa* 'to boil', *tu-kehu:ttaa* 'to suffocate', *ka-rhu* 'bear'; *hä:* *hä-kä* 'charcoal fumes', *rä-häjä* '(it) crackles', *e-tähä:ine* 'distant', *te-hä* 'to do'; *hö:* *hö-üläsin* '(I) planed', *pö-lhöt* 'old half-withered trees', *tü-öhö* 'work (ill.)'; *hü:* *hü-le* 'seal', *lü-hüvet* 'short (nom. pl.)', *pö-lähü:tti* '(it) frightened', *nä-rtsihü* '(it) withers'.

jV

ja: *ja-kkaan* '(I) divide', *po-jan* 'son, boy (gen.)', *ha-utaja:iset* 'funeral' (~ *⁰po-mintkat*), *te-mpaja* '(he) pulls'; *je:* *⁰je-ksame:ntti** 'examination', *o-jensin* '(I) pulled (it) straight'; *jo:* (*ei*) *jo-hu* (*mi-eeee*) '(it) does not come to (one's) mind', *lo-join* '(I) idled (about)', *pa-ljo* 'much, many', (~ *paljo*); *ju:* *ju-hannus* 'St. John's Day', *ki-rjutti* '(he) wrote', *pa-ju* 'willow'; *jä:* *jä-kälä* 'rock moss', *rä-jähti* '(it) exploded', *hä-äräjä* '(he) potters about'; *jü:* *jü-rkkä* 'steep', *ö-ljüst** 'oil (el.)', *ö-ljü** 'oil'.

kV

ka: *ka-sse* 'dew', *pe-ukalo* 'thumb', *va-sikan* 'calf (gen.)', *lu-iska* 'hone'; *ke:* *ke-hno* 'poor', *mä-keli:kko* 'hilly', *vi-ilikkeet* 'handles for carrying a sack on one's back', *lä-äke*** 'medicine' (~ *⁰le-karsti*); *ki:* *ki-rves* 'axe', *ru-okin* (*ka-llaa*) '(I) clean (a fish)', *le-ikokin* 'surgical operation (gen.)', *la-ki* 'ceiling'; *ko:* *ko-ti* 'house', *li-komaa* 'to soak', *nu-orikon* 'newly married woman, wife', *pa-lko* 'pod'; *ku:* *ku-lo* 'dead grass', *i-tkuri* (*la-ps*) 'bawler (child)', *ka-iku* 'echo'; *kä:* *kä-mmen* 'flat (of the hand)', *hü-ökätä* 'to rush', (*ra-mu*)*nä-pükät* 'pimples', *hä-rkä* 'ox'; *kö:* *kö-hä** 'cough', *te-kkööot* '(they) do, make', *pä-thikön* 'witty, clever (gen.)', *kä-kö* 'cuckoo'; *kü:* *kü-lellä* 'on one's side', *nü-kün* (*e-lo*) 'present life', *ä-kü** 'heat'.

IV

la: *la-tikka* 'bream', *i-lata* 'clean up, clear', *ka-palat* 'swaddling-clothes', *ma-tala* 'low'; *le:* *le-kama* 'fontanelle', *sü-len* '(I) spit', *pa-nette:lemaa* 'to gossip', *ri-ehdale* 'pan without a handle'; *li:* *li-ha* 'meat', *va-litsen* '(I) choose', *se-kali:kko* 'confused', *ha-ili* 'dwarf herring'; *lo:* *lo-hata* 'to break', *si-lotte:li* '(he) pressed', *hi-emalo:ittaa* '(it) is green', *va-lo* 'dung'; *lu:* *lu-sti* 'beautiful, pretty', *o-lut* 'beer', *ha-lu* 'wish'; *lä:* *lä-he* 'spring', *pö-lätä* 'to fear', *ve-telä* 'liquid'; *lö:* *lö-ülü* 'hot vapour (in a bath-house)', *hö-löttä**

(*ka-svaa*) '(he) grows apace', (*ka-svaa ni-ku*) *hö-lö** '(he) grows apace';
lū: lū-si 'snath', (*nu-otan*) *se-lūs** 'part of a seine, drag-net', *kä-lū*
 'sister-in-law'.

mV

ma: *ma-kkaan* '(I) sleep', *ha-mara* 'axe-eye', *va-stuma:ine* 'strange
 unknown', *tu-ima* 'insipid'; **me:** *me-hiläin* 'bee', *re-metti* 'fuss, trouble',
sä-rpimen 'liquid food (gen.)', *ha-me* 'skirt'; **mi:** *mi-tata* 'to measure',
pa-mina 'noise', *ka-rjami:ttaa* 'in herds', *li-emi* 'broth, soup'; **mo:** *mo-rittaat*
 '(they) torment', *hi-moitsen* '(I) desire', *va-ltimo* 'artery'; **mu:** *mu-li*
 '(le-hmä) 'polled (cow)', *lu-omuksest* 'haul of fish (el.)', *ha-rppamu:kseen*
 'step (gen.)', *a-amu* 'morning'; **mä:** *mä-ni* '(he) went', *hä-märä* 'dim',
e-minti:mäks 'stepmother (transl.)', *si-lmä* 'eye'; **mö:** *mö-kki* 'hut', *i-mmööt*
 '(they) suck', *hö-lmö** 'stupid'; **mü:** *mü-ssü* 'woman's cap', *kä-ämüt** 'bob-
 bins', *kä-ämü** 'bobbin'.

nV

na: *na-hka* 'skin', *ka-nat* 'chickens', *la-kanat* 'bedsheets', *vu-ona* 'lamb';
ne: *ne-nä* 'nose', *pa-nette:li* '(he) gossiped', *va-rova:ine* 'careful'; **ni:**
ni-kostaa 'to hiccup', *si-nine* 'blue', *a-pini:kka* 'helper', *su-oni* 'vein'; **no:**
no-kka 'beak', *pu-nomaa* 'to weave', *ka-rtano* 'courtyard'; **nu:** *nu-kahtaa*
 'to dore off', *ku-hnuri* 'bungler', *ha-pannu:ttaa (ma-itoo)* 'sour milk
 (part.)', *ki-rnu* 'churn'; **nä:** *nä-hä* 'to see', *ve-näläin* 'Russian', *hä-mmennän*
 '(I) mix round', *ve-hnä* 'wheat'; **nö:** *nö-ürä** 'obedient, humble', *li-enöö**
 (*hü-öä i-lma*) 'there will be fine weather', (*pä-ivä*) *si-rkenöö* 'the weather
 is clearing'; **nü:** *nü-lkii* 'to skin, flay', *kü-nnüs* 'threshold'.

ŋV

ŋa: *ka-ŋgas* 'woven material, roll of cloth'; **ŋe:** *ha-ŋges* 'snowdrift
 (in.)'; **ŋi:** *tre-ŋŋit* 'farm-hands', *la-aiŋgis* 'loaded'; **ŋo:** *ru-ŋŋon** 'tree-trunk
 (gen.)'; **ŋu:** *la-ŋŋut** 'relatives of one's husband or wife'; **ŋä:** *ke-ŋŋät**
 'shoes'.

pV

pa: *pa-kotti* '(he) drove, compelled', *re-ipas* 'lively, (high-)spirited', *su-u-
 rempaa* 'bigger (part.)', *tu-pa* 'room'; **pe:** *pe-lto* 'field', *ku-perrun* 'to turn
 somersaults'; **pi:** *pi-lvi* 'cloud', *la-pikas* 'mitten', *ru-pi* 'scab'; **po:** *po-
 vi* 'bosom', *hu-oposet* 'felt boots', *ku-po* 'bundle, faggot'; **pu:** *pu-tisti* '(he)
 squeezed', *ri-putti* '(he) hung up', *ri-epu* 'kerchief'; **pä:** *pä-ssi* 'ram',
rü-üpätä 'to clothe', *ä-helä:mpää* 'more alert (part.)', *le-ipä* 'bread'; **pö:**
(ka-roat no-isoot) *pö-rhille* 'the fur bristles up', (*ä-lä*) *lö-rpötä** 'don't
 prattle'; **pü:** *pü-kälä* 'extension of a horn', *vä-rpüsi:llä* 'on tiptoe', *kä-pü*
 '(net-)float'.

rV

ra: (*o-luven*) *ra-pa* 'brewery refuse', *u-rajä* '(he) growls', *pu-serran* '(I)
 wring out', *ko-ura* 'palm of the hand'; **re:** *re-meli* 'belt', *ko-renta* 'yoke
 for carrying pails', *si-kkares* 'crooked, doubled up', *pä-re* 'spill, fire-stick';
ri: *ri-ka* '(fine) rubbish', *sä-rin* '(I) beat, hammered' (~ *i-skee, ta-kkoo,*
lū-üvöä), *tü-ntürist* '(large) barrel (el.)', *me-ri* 'sea'; **rj:** *riŋka** 'market';
ro: *ro-kka* 'soup of beans or peas', *po-rohu:tti* '(it) jolted', *a-hkero:ittaa* 'to
 bustle about' (~ *hä-ärätä*), *tu-ro* 'fucus'; **ru:** *ru-kkiin* 'rye (gen.)',
su-rulli:ne 'sad', *ku-perrun** '(I) turn somersaults', *ki-uru* 'skylark'; **rä:**
rä-kä 'snot', *ve-räjä* 'gate', *kä-märäst* 'forked stump (el.)', *nö-ürä** 'obedient,
 humble'; **rö:** (*si-ka*) *rö-hkää** '(the pig) grunts', *hö-röläin* 'wasp',

h: *h*ä-märö:ittää* '(it) grows dusky'; **r**: *r*ü-stükset 'knuckles', *k*ü-ürüsiin 'hunched, bent', (*l*u-mi)pü-rü 'blizzard'.

sV

sa: *sa*-hata 'to saw', *vi*-sattii '(was) thrown', *a*-ivassan '(I) sneeze', *va*-rsa 'foal'; **se**: *se*-tä 'uncle', *pe*-sen '(I) wash', *ta*-valli:sestaa 'usually', (*ei*) *pä*-äse 'cannot escape'; **si**: *si*-tkee 'stingy', *i*-sinti:mä 'stepfather', *va*-kosin (*pe*-runoi) '(I) earthed the potatoes', *ve*-si 'water'; **so**: *so*-lakka 'slender, slim', *u*-sottii '(was) believed', (*ku*-kat) *ka*-risoot '(the blossoms) fall', *ha*-iso 'smell'; **su**: *su*-ma 'bread bag', *vu*-sutin (*ko*-iraa) '(I) set on the dog', *u*-rosu:tti '(he) consoled', *pe*-su 'washing, linen'; **sä**: *sä*-rki 'roach', *sü*-säli:kko 'lizard', *rü*-sä 'creel, fishing-basket'; **sö**: *sö*-ivät* '(they) ate'; **sü**: *sü*-ti 'courageous, plucky', *kü*-sümää 'to ask', *ä*-llissüin* '(I was) frightened', *lä*-tsü (*maa*) 'watery land'.

šV

ša: ⁰*tša*-aju* 'tea', ⁰*ve*-rššali* 'doctor's assistant'; **še**: ⁰*tše*-snokka* 'garlic'; **ši**: (*pa*-ta) *tši*-haja* '(the kettle) hisses', ⁰*ma*-šina* 'machine'; **šo**: (*ve*-si) *šo*-lisoo* 'the water splashes'; **šu**: (*pa*-ta) *šu*-maja* '(the kettle) simmers'.

žV

ža: ⁰*pi*-nžakka* 'coat, jacket'; **žu**: ⁰*tu*-žurka* 'work jacket, short overcoat'.

zV

zi: ⁰*be*-nzina* 'petrol'.

tV

ta: *ta*-kut 'tow', *u*-tara 'udder', *a*-vitan '(I) help', *so*-ta 'war'; **te**: *te*-mpaan '(I) pull', *u*-teli:as 'inquisitive, curious', *ku*-ivate:ttii '(was) dried', *va*-ate 'cloth'; **ti**: *ti*-la 'bed', *hu*-tikos 'tipsy, drunk', *le*-kotti:met 'cock's wattles', *lo*-petti '(he) finished'; **to**: *to*-kutti (*ma*-aha) '(he) lost', *ko*-tona 'at home', *o*-nneton 'unfortunate', *ma*-ito 'milk'; **tu**: *tu*-hka 'ashes', *lo*-ituja '(he) casts spells', *ka*-hnettuu '(it) dries hard', *u*-tu 'fog'; **tä**: *tä*-hti 'star', *i*-tämää 'to germinate', *e*-mäntä 'housewife, mistress'; **tö**: *tö*-kräjä '(he) spoils, frustrates', *sü*-üttömä:sti 'innocently', *rü*-tö* 'ice-floe'; **tü**: *tü*-tär 'daughter', *hü*-ttüläin 'pigeon', *pe*-rätü:stä 'one after another', *ni*-ittü 'meadow'.

vV

va: *va*-rasti '(he) stole', *su*-vaja '(he) loves', *lu*-kivat '(they) read', *hi*-iva 'yeast'; **ve**: *ve*-ri 'blood', *kä*-veli '(he) went', *kä*-tküves 'cradle (in.)', *a*-lve* 'roundworm'; **vi**: *vi*-hana 'unripe, green', *a*-ivina:ine 'linen', *ha*-ravi:ηkaa 'rakes (com.)', *ki*-vi 'stone'; **vo**: *vo*-kki 'spinning-wheel', *to*-ivotti 'wished (smth. to smb.)', *ha*-ravo:imaa 'to rake', *ka*-ivo 'well'; **vu**: *vu*-raja '(it) whirred', *u*-uvuksis 'very tired, exhausted', *ha*-vu 'broom for cleaning a stove'; **vä**: *vä*-list 'sometimes', *e*-väs 'light meal', *pä*-äsivät '(they) escaped', *li*-evä (*tu*-li) 'weak (fire)'; **vö**: *vö*-itä* 'belts, girdles (part.)', *kü*-lvösi* 'sowing (el.)', *kü*-lvö* 'sowing'; **vü**: *vü*-ühti* 'skein of yarn', *vi*-ivüin '(I) was late', *vä*-vü* 'son-in-law'.

CC

bC

bl: ⁰*blo*-kki* 'block'.

dC

dr: ⁰*dra*-tva* 'shoemaker's thread'.

fC

fk: ⁰*sli*-fka 'sweet cream'; **ft**: ⁰*ko*-fta* 'jacket' (— *ko*-hvta, *ko*-hta).

hC

hh: *pa-hhaa* 'evil (part.)', *nu-kahhin** '(I) dozed off'; **hj:** *la-hja* 'gift'; **hk:** *ke-uhkot* 'lungs'; **hl:** (*ko-ivun*) *mahla* 'birch sap'; **hm:** *i-hmine* 'human being', *lehm** 'cow' (~ *le-hmä*); **hn:** *ka-hnettuu* 'dries hard'; **ht:** *le-hti* 'leaf', *mä-rehti* '(it) chewed the cud'; *ri-iht** 'threshing-barn (part.)' (~ *ri-ihtää*); **hv:** *o-hvokke* 'heifer'.

kC

kk: *pa-kkane* 'frost', *ma-nsikka* 'strawberry', *ka-ntosi:kko* 'cut-over area'; **kl:** ⁰*klu-uhho* 'deaf', *hä-klä** 'flax comb'; **kr:** *kro-nni* 'raven', *mü-krä** 'mole'; **ks:** *ho-ksas* '(he) noticed', *ha-rjakset* 'bristles', *pa-lvelu:kses* 'in service', *li-ukkaaks* 'slippery (transl.)'.

lC

lh: *to-lho** 'knob of a horn'; **lj:** *vi-lja* 'grain' (~ *vi-lja*); **lk:** *ve-lka* 'debt', *o-mmelkaal* 'sew!', (*ä-lkää*) *pa-nete:lka!* 'don't gossip!'; **ll:** *ha-lla* 'night frost', *ka-llalle* 'sloping, aslant', *ai-vaste:lloo* '(he) sneezes'; **lm:** *so-lmu* 'knot'; **ln:** ⁰*ka-pfelno** 'fish-smoking workshop'; **lp:** *ke-lpaja* 'it is good enough'; **ls:** *ki-ilsivat** '(they) shone, sparkled', *vi-hels** '(he) whistled'; **lt:** *po-ltin* '(I) burned', *u-oteltii* '(was) waited', *ku-mmite:ltii* '(was) wondered', *o-ksalt* 'branch (abl.)'; **lv:** *po-lvet* 'knees'.

mC

mj: *pi-mje*** 'dark' (~ *pi-mmee*); **mm:** *la-mmi* 'pool of water', *la-ulamma* '(we) sing', *ha-ppane:mmaa* 'to turn sour'; **mp:** *ha-mpaat* 'teeth', *ku-ivem-paa* 'drier (part.)', *o-levamp* (*ta-lo*) 'more prosperous (farm)'.

nC

nf: ⁰*ka-nfetti** 'candy'; **nh:** *ha-nhi* 'goose'; **nj:** *mi-nja** 'daughter-in-law'; **nk:** ⁰*ri-nka** 'market'; **nn:** *ko-nna* 'frog', *hä-mmennän* 'I mix round', (*la-psen*) *ho-itaja:nna* 'nursemaid (ess.)'; **ns:** *kü-nsin* '(I) plowed', *ki-rovens* '(it) smarted'; **nz:** ⁰*be-nzina** 'petrol'; **nž:** ⁰*pi-nžakka** 'coat, jacket'; **nt:** *ka-nto* 'stump', *pa-imentaa* '(he) pastures', *ka-tersunt* (*ma-ito*) 'sourish milk'; **nv:** ⁰*ka-nvertti** 'envelope'.

ŋC

ŋk: *la-ŋka* 'yarn', (*pe-su*) *lo-haŋka* 'wash-tub', *va-sika:ŋkaa* 'calf (com.)', *he-ŋk** 'soul' (~ *he-ŋki*); **ŋŋ:** *ka-ŋŋas* 'woven material, roll of cloth'.

pC

pj: *ka-pja* 'hoof'; **pk:** ⁰*pro-pka** 'cork'; **pl:** *pla-kutti* '(he) clapped', *ko-plin* '(I) groped'; **pp:** *le-ppä* 'alder'; **pr:** *pri-kukko* 'freckled', *ki-pruu** 'wrinkle'; **ps:** *ri-psit* 'eyelashes', *la-ps** 'child'; **pt:** ⁰*ka-pfelno** 'fish-smoking workshop'.

rC

rh: *ta-rha* 'fence'; **rj:** *ma-rjat* 'berries'; **rk:** *so-rkat* '(cloven) hoofs'; **rl:** *pä-rlüt** 'pearls'; **rm:** *so-rmi* 'finger', (*ko-nnan*) *ku-herma** 'frog spawn'; **rn:** (*he-pone*) *hi-rnuu* '(a) horse neighs'; **rp:** *va-rpaat* 'toes', ⁰*ko-rp** 'hump' (~ ⁰*ko-rpa*); **rr:** *va-rraa* 'in good time', *ü-mmärrän* '(I) understand'; **rs:** *so-rsa* 'duck', *u-hersin* 'auger, gimlet', *tu-hers* '(it) rustled'; **rš:** ⁰*ve-rššali** 'doctor's assistant'; **rt:** *ha-rteel* 'shoulder (ad.)', *vi-ŋŋerte:lloo* '(it) wriggles', (*pe-täjän*) *ku-ort* 'pine bark'; **rv:** *hi-rvi* 'elk', *ka-nerua** 'heather'.

sC

sj: *ko-šjola:iset** 'wooters'; **sk:** *le-ski* 'widow(er)', (*ä-lkää*) *ko-liska!* 'don't clatter!'; **sl:** ⁰*slä-äppi** 'hat' (~ *ha-ttu*), ⁰*kre-slat** 'sledge seat'; **sm:**

*pa-asma** 'skein'; *sn: mo-isnikko** 'big landowner'; *sp: ⁰spa-leri** 'wall-paper'; *ss: ha-assan* '(I) tell, relate', *pö-lässüin* '(I was) frightened'; *st: ⁰sto-kana* 'tea glass', *pa-istuksis* 'gathered (to a head)', *tu-hustaa (sa-ttaa)* '(it) drizzles', *sa-unast* 'bath-house (el.)'; *sv: ka-svaa* '(it) grows'.

šC

*šk: ⁰ško-ulu** 'school' (~ *ko-ulu*, *⁰sko-ulu*), *⁰po-tuška** 'pillow'; *šš: ⁰ja-ššik-ka** 'box'; *št: ⁰ma-šti** 'mast' (~ *ma-sti*).

tC

*tj: ⁰su-fjat** 'judges'; *tk: ki-tkemää* 'pluck', *hü-pätkää!* 'jump!'; *tl: ⁰pe-tlit** 'nooses, snares' (~ *lenkki*, *klenkki*); *tm: ⁰vu-tmia*** 'hit, beat' (~ *ta-kkoo*, *i-skee*, *sä-rkee*, *lü-üvvä*); *tr: tra-tti* 'funnel', *o-tra* 'barley'; *ts: (he-inä)tsi-rk-ka* 'grasshopper', *va-tsa* 'stomach', *ra-mmitsoo* '(he) limps', *me-ts** 'forest' (~ *me-tsä*); *tš: (pa-ta) tši-haja* '(the kettle) simmers, hisses'; *⁰ru-tška** 'handle'; *tt: ha-ttu* 'hat' (~ *⁰slä-äppi*), *re-metti* 'bother, trouble', *sa-la-mi:ttaa* 'secretly'; *tv: la-tva** '(tree-)top'.

vC

*vk: ⁰spra-hvka** 'certificate' (~ *⁰spra-fka*); *vt: ⁰ko-hvta** 'jacket' (~ *⁰ko-fta*, *⁰ko-hta*); *vv: sa-vvuu* 'smoke (part.)'.

Sequences of Two Phonemes

→	a	e	i	j	o	u	ä	ö	ü	f	h	j	k	l	m	n	ŋ	p	r	s	š	z	ž	t	v	
a	+	+	+		+	+				0+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	
e	+	+	+		+	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	
i	+	+	+		+	+	+			0+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	
j																	+									
o		+	+		+	+				0+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0+			+	+
u	+	+	+		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0+		0+	+	+
ä		+	+				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+
ö			+					+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+
ü		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+
b	0+	0+			0+	0+							0+													
d	0+																									
f	0+		0+			0+							0+												0+	
g	0+																									
h	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+								+	+
j	+	+			+	+	+	+	+																	
k	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+				+	+					+	+						
l	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	0+		+	+						+	+
m	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+		+		+								
n	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+				+			+				0+	0+	+	+
ŋ	+	+	+		+	+	+	+					+				+								+	+
p	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			+	0+	+				+	+	+					0+	
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	0+	+						+	+
š	0+	0+	+		+	+							0+												0+	
z			0+																							
ž	0+						0+																			
t	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			0+	+	0+				+	+	0+				+	+	+
	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+																	+

2.3. Summary of sequences of two phonemes.

(1) The group VV does not include: (a) combinations of the back vowels *a, o, u* with the corresponding front vowels *ä, ö, ü*, etc., i. e. *a, o, u + ä, ö, ü* or *ä, ö, ü + a, o, u* do not occur; (b) the groups *V_i* and *iV*; (c) and the following vowel sequences: *eä, eö, iö, iü, oa, öe, öä*.

(2) The group VC does not include (a) the sequences *Vb, Vd, Vg, Vz*, and *iC* (except ⁰*in**) and *Vž* (except ⁰*už**); (b) and the following sequences of VC: *ef, eš, iš, uf, äf, äš, öf, öj, öš, üf, üš*.

(3) The group CV does not include (a) the sequences *dV, gV* (except ⁰*ga**); (b) the sequence *C_i* (except ⁰*ri**); (c) the sequences *bi, bā, bō, bū, fo, fā, fō, fū, ji, jō, ηō, ηū, šā, šō, šū, že, ži, žo, žā, žō, žū*.

(4) The group CC does not include (a) the sequences *gC, jC, zC, žC, Cb, Cd, Cg; bC* (except ⁰*bl**); *dC* (except ⁰*dr**); *fC* (except ⁰*fk, ft**); *Cf* (except ⁰*nf**); *Cz* (except ⁰*nz**); *Cž* (except ⁰*nž**); *Cš* (except ⁰*rs*, tš*); *šC* (except ⁰*šk*, šš*, št**); *vC* (except ⁰*vk*, vt*, vv*); *Cη* (except *ηη*); *ηC* (except *ηk, ηη*); (b) the sequences *hp, hr, hs, kh, kj, km, kn, kp, kt, kv, lr, mh, mk, ml, mn, mr, ms, mt, mv, nl, nm, nr, ph, pm, pn, pv, sh, sr, th, tn, tp*.

The following sequences of two phonemes occur at the beginning of a word:

(1) VV: *aa, ae*, ai, au*, ei*, ie*, ii*, iä, oe**, oi*, ui*, uo*, uu, äe*, äi*, ää*, äü*, öi*, üö**;

(2) VC: *ah, aj, ak, al, am, an, aη*, ap, ar, as, at, av, el*, em*, en*, eη*, ep*, er*, et, ev*, ih, ik, il, im, in, ir*, is, it, oh, oj*, ok, ol, om*, on*, oη*, op*, or, os, ot, ov*, uh*, uj*, uk, ul*, um*, un*, up*, ur, us*, ut, äh*, äk*, äi*, äm*, äs*, ät*, ök*, öi*, üh, ük*, üi*, üm*, üs*, üt**;

(3) all sequences CV, except *ηV*;

(4) CC: ⁰*bl*, kl, kr, pl, pr, sl*, sp*, st, šk*, tr, ts, tš*.

It follows from the preceding that all vowels except *i* and all consonants except *η, z, ž*, can occur in a word-initial position.

The following sequences occur word-medially: (a) all sequences belonging to group VV; (b) all sequences of group VC; (c) all sequences of group CV, except *bV, dV, gV, fV, ri, sō, šo, šu*; (d) all sequences of group CC, except *bC, dC, gC, sp*.

It may be concluded from the above that all vowels and all consonants, except *b, d, g*, may occur in a word-medial position.

The following sequences may occur in a word-terminal position:

(1) all sequences of group VV except *eo, eu, eü, iu, oe, ou, ua, äö, öü, üe*;

(2) the following sequences of group VC: (a) *Vl, Vn, Vs, Vt*, when *V* is not *i*; (b) *ap*, ar*, eh*, ip*, op*, or*, är*, öp, üp**;

(3) all sequences of group CV, except: (a) *C_i*; (b) *bV, fV, gV, ηV, šV, zV, žV*; (c) *je, nō, nü, pe, pō, rō, sō*;

(4) the following sequences of group CC: *hm*, ht*, ks, ls*, lt, mp, ns, ηk*, nt, ps*, rp*, rs, rt, st, ts**.

The conclusion may be drawn from the foregoing that all vowels except *i*, and all consonants except *b, d, f, g, j, š, z, ž* can occur in a word-terminal position. (The consonants *h, k, m* are very rare at the end of a word.)

2.4. Sequences of three phonemes. In the sequence groups VVV, VVC, VCV, CVV the vowels may be any vowels except *i*, but the following regularity can be observed: if the first vowel of the sequence is *a*, *o*, *u*, then it may not be followed by the vowels *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, and vice versa: if the first vowel is *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, then it cannot be followed by *a*, *o*, *u*.

(1) VVV

aVV

aai: *ja-ain** 'stallion (gen.)'; **aa**o: *ra-aon** 'carrion, carcass (gen.)'; **aa**u: *ka-aut*** '(you) fall' (~ *la-ŋkiissa, to-kkuu*); **ai**a: *pa-iat* 'shirts'; **ai**i: *pi-hlai:i* 'rowan-trees (part.)'; **ai**o: *ma-ios** 'milk (el.)'; **ao**i: *la-oin* '(I) loaded' (~ *la-on*).

eVV

eie: *he-ien* 'their'; **ei**ä: *re-iät* 'holes'; **ei**i: *vi-eii** 'carriers (part.)'.

iVV

iaa: *ka-alia*a 'licker (part.)'; **ia**i: *ju-onia:iset* 'beams'; **iei**: *vi-eii** 'carriers (part.)'; **ii**a: *pi-iaks* 'maidservant (transl.)'; **ii**e: *ni-iet** 'heddles', *va-rsiie* 'stems (part.)' (~ *va-rsii*); **iii**: (*ha-ravan*) *pi-iin** 'sticks (of the rake) (gen.)', *mä-nii:i* 'goers (part.)'; **io**i: *vi-oin* '(I) sketched' (~ *vi-on*); **iä**ä: *kä-viä-ä* 'walker (part.)'.

oVV

oia: *vo-ian** '(I) salve, anoint'; **oi**e: *ho-iettii** 'was kept'; **oi**i: *so-iin** 'swamps (gen.)'; **oio**: *no-ion** '(I) use witchcraft'; **oou**: ⁰*ho-ous*** 'in operation' (~ *ho-ouvus*); **oua**: *so-uan*** '(I) row' (~ *so-vvan*); **oue**: *so-uet-tii*** 'to row' (~ *so-uvettii*); **oui**: *hu-ouin** '(I) barely breathed'.

uVV

uii: *lu-iin* 'bones (gen.)'; **uiu**: *ku-iut** 'flax fibres'; **uoi**: *pu-ois* 'shop, store (in.)'; **uou**: *hu-oun** '(I) barely breathe'.

äVV

äie: *sä-ie** 'strand of yarn, rope'; **äii**: *pä-iin** 'heads (gen.)', *pe-täi:i* 'pines (part.)' (~ *pe-täi:ie*); **ääü**: ⁰*rä-äüs** 'in order'.

öVV

öii: *vö-iin** 'belts (gen.)'; **ööü**: *hü-öüin** '(I) had luck'.

üVV

üü: *pü-iin** 'partridges (gen.)'; **üöü**: *sü-öüks** 'eaten (transl.)'.

(2) The following sequences do not occur in group VVC: (a) *eäC*, *eoC*, *iöC*, *iüC*, *oaC*, *öeC*, *öäC*; *VVb*, *VVd*, *VVf*, *VVg*, *VVš*, *VVz*, *VVž*; (b) *uaC* (except *uam**, *uan**, *uat**); *ueC* (except *uem**, *uen**, *uet**); *eüC* (except *eüs**); *ööC* (except *ööt*); *üäC* (except *üäm**, *üän**); (c) *aej*, *aep*, *aer*, *aoh*, *aoj*, *aop*, *aor*, *aov*, *auj*, *auv*, *eah*, *eaj*, *eal*, *eaŋ*, *ear*, *eas*, *eeh*, *eej*, *EEP*, *eer*, *eev*, *eih*, *eir*, *eoh*, *ej*, *eom*, *eoŋ*, *eop*, *eor*, *eov*, *euj*, *eum*, *eun*, *eunŋ*, *eup*, *eur*, *iah*, *iaj*, *iam*, *iaŋ*, *iap*, *iav*, *iej*, *ieŋ*, *ij*, *ioh*, *ioj*, *ioŋ*, *iop*, *ior*, *iov*, *iuj*, *ium*, *iup*, *iuv*, *iäh*, *iäj*, *iäm*, *iäŋ*, *iäp*, *iär*, *iäv*, *oeh*, *oej*, *oem*, *oep*, *oer*, *oer*, *oeh*, *oij*, *ooh*, *ooj*, *ook*, *ool*, *ooŋ*, *oop*, *oor*, *ouh*, *ouj*, *oum*, *ouŋ*, *oup*, *ouv*, *uih*, *uir*, *uij*, *üeh*, *üej*, *üep*, *üer*, *üev*, *üij*, *üip*, *üir*, *üör*, *üüj*, *üüm*.

(3) The following sequences do not occur in group VCV: (a) *VbV*, *VdV*, *VfV* (except ⁰*afa**, ⁰*ofi**), *VgV*, *VŋV*, *VšV* (except ⁰*aši**), *VzV*, *VžV*

(except ⁰užu*), Vji, Vjō, eJV (except ⁰eja*), ijV (except ⁰ija*, ⁰iju*); (b) apo, aro, aru, aso, avo, ehō, ekā, ekō, ekū, elō, emu, emō, emū, ena, enū, epa, epe, epō, epū, erō, erū, eso, esō, esū, etu, etō, etū, eve, evō, evū, ihā, ihō, ilā, ilō, ilū, imō, imū, inō, inū, ipe, ipō, irā, irō, irū, isū, itō, itū, ivō, ivū, oju, oke, omo, onu, oso, ovo, ujo, umo, umu, uvi, āhō, āhū, āje, ājō, ājū, ālō, āmō, ānū, āpō, ārō, āsō, ātō, āvō, ōhe, ōhū, ōje, ōjō, ōjū, ōke, ōkū, ōle, ōli, ōlū, ōme, ōmō, ōmū, ōni, ōnā, ōnō, ōnū, ōpi, ōpā, ōpō, ōpū, ōre, ōse, ōsi, ōsō, ōsū, ōte, ōti, ōtō, ōtū, ōve, ōvi, ōvō, ōvū, ūhō, ūje, ūjō, ūjū, ūke, ūkō, ūlō, ūme, ūmi, ūmō, ūmū, ūnō, ūnū, ūpe, ūpō, ūpū, ūre, ūrō, ūsō, ūvō, ūvū.

(4) Group VCC does not include: (a) VbV, VdC, VfC (except ⁰afk*, ⁰ifk*, ⁰oft*), VgC, VjC, iCC (except ⁰ink*); VCš (except ⁰ašš*, ⁰otš*, ⁰utš*), VCz (except ⁰enz*), VCž (except ⁰inž*); Vhp, Vhr, Vhs, Vkh, Vkj, Vkm, Vkn, Vkp, Vkt, Vkv, Vlr, Vmh, Vmk, Vml, Vmn, Vmr, Vms, Vml, Vmv, Vnl, Vnm, Vnr, Vph, Vpm, Vpn, Vpv, Vsh, Vsp, Vsr, Vth, Vtn, Vtp; (b) Vkl (except ⁰ākl*, ⁰ūkl*); Vkr (except ⁰ikr*, ⁰ōkr*, ⁰ūkr*); Vlh (except ⁰oh*, ⁰ōlh*); Vln (except ⁰eln*, ⁰oln*); Vls (except ⁰als*, ⁰els*, ⁰ils*); Vmj (except ⁰imj**), Vnj (except ⁰anj*), Vnh (except ⁰anh*, ⁰inh*), Vnj (except ⁰ānj*, ⁰īnj*), Vnv (except ⁰anv*); Vpk (except ⁰apk*, ⁰opk*); Vpr (except ⁰ep*, ⁰ipr*); Vpt (except ⁰apt*); Vrl (except ⁰ārl*); Vsj (except ⁰ās*, ⁰ōs*); Vsl (except ⁰esl*, ⁰isl*); Vsm (except ⁰asm*); Vsn (except ⁰isn*); Vsv (except ⁰asv*), Všk (except ⁰ušk*), Všt (except ⁰ašt*); Vtj (except ⁰utj*); Vtl (except ⁰etl*); Vtm (except ⁰utm*), Vtv (except ⁰atv*); (c) ehj, ehl, ehv, epj, epl, eps, ern, erp, ihj, ihn, ihv, ins, irh, irm, olj, orh, orn, upj, upl, ups, urn, āhj, āhl, āhm, āhv, ālj, ālm, āpj, āpl, āps, ārj, ātr, ōhj, ōhl, ōhm, ōhn, ōht, ōhv, ōlp, ōlv, ōmp, ōns, ōņņ, ōpj, ōpp, ōps, ōrj, ōrm, ōrn, ōrp, ōrr, ōrv, ōsk, ōss, ōtk, ōtr, ōts, ūhl, ūhm, ūhn, ūhv, ūlj, ūpj, ūpl, ūrn, ūrp, ūrr, ūrt, ūrv, ūsk, ūtr, ūts.

(5) Group CVV does not include (a) bVV (except ⁰baa*); dVV, fVV, gVV (except ⁰gaa*), ηVV, šVV (except ⁰šaa*), zVV, žVV, jeV, jiV, jōV, Ceā (except ⁰hea*, ⁰sea*), Ceā, Ceō, Ceū (except ⁰meū*), Ciō, Ciū, Coā, Coe (except ⁰joe*, ⁰noe*, ⁰toe*), Cua, Cāō (except ⁰kāō*, ⁰nāō*), Cōe, Cōā, Cūā (except ⁰sūā*, ⁰vūā**); (b) heo, heu, hia, hou, hue, hāe, hāū, hūe, jue, jāū, jūe, jūō, kao, kio, kiā, leo, liā, lāū, meo, meu, mia, mio, mou, mue, māū, mūe, nae, neo, nio, nue, nūe, nūō, nūū, pao, peo, pia, pio, piu, piā, pāū, pōi, pōō, pūe, pūā, reo, reu, ria, rio, riā, rue, rāe, rōū, rūe, rūi, seo, seū, sāe, sōū, teu, teū, tiā, tue, tāe, tōū, tūe, vae, veu, vou, vūe, vāū, vōū.

(6) Group CVC does not include (a) CiC (except ⁰rin*), bVC (except ⁰bar*, ⁰ben*, ⁰bol*, ⁰bot*, ⁰buk*), dVC, fVC (except ⁰jam*, ⁰jan*, ⁰jet*, ⁰jun*), gVC (except ⁰gar*), šVC (except ⁰šal*, ⁰šes*, ⁰ših*, ⁰šik*, ⁰šin*, ⁰šol*, ⁰šum*), zVC (except ⁰zin*), žVC (except ⁰žak*, ⁰žur*), rVr, vVv (except ⁰viv, ⁰vāv*), jiC, jōC, lōC (except ⁰lōr, ⁰lōt), nōC, ŋōC, rōC (except ⁰rōh*, ⁰rōl*), sōC; vōC (except ⁰vōk*, ⁰vōn*, ⁰vōs*); (b) CVb, CVd, CVf (except ⁰laf*, ⁰raf*, ⁰lif*, ⁰kof*), CVg, CVš (except ⁰jaš*, ⁰maš*, ⁰poš*), CVz, CVž (except ⁰tuž*), Cij, Cōj; (c) hah, heh, hej, hiv, hoh, hoj, hor, huh, huj, hup, hur, hāh, hās, hōh, hōj, hōm, hōv, hūh, hūj, hūm, hūņ, hūr, hūs, jap, jar, jeh, jej, jep, jer, jes, jev, joj, jop, jor, jov, juj, juk, jul, jup, juv, jāj, jām, jāp, jāv, jūh, jūj, jūm, jūp, jūv, kej, koj, kom, kōj, kōm, kōp, kōr, kūh, kūr, ler, lir, lor, luh, luj, lur, lār, lāv, lūj, lūm, lūr, map, mav, mem, mep, mev, mip, mir, miv, moh, moj, mom, mop, moņ, mov, muj, mup, muv, māj, māp, māv, mōh, mōj, mōm, mōp, mōv, mūj, mūm, mūp,

mür, müv, nej, nep, ner, nev, nih, nip, noj, nov, nuh, nuj, nup, nuv, näj, näv, nüh, nüj, nüm, nüñ, nüp, nüv, ñaj, ñam, ñap, ñar, ñav, ñeh, ñej, ñem, ñep, ñed, ñih, ñim, ñir, ñiv, ñoh, ñoj, ñom, ñop, ñor, ñov, ñuh, ñuj, ñum, ñup, ñur, ñuv, ñäh, ñäj, ñäm, ñäp, ñär, ñäv, pej, pek, pem, pep, pev, pip, piv, pok, pon, poñ, pup, päh, päp, päv, pöh, pøj, pöm, pön, pöñ, pöp, pös, püj, püm, pün, pün, püp, rej, rih, ruj, räm, räv, rüh, rüj, rüm, rūp, rūv, sap, seh, sej, ser, sev, soh, soj, suh, suj, säj, säp, säv, süh, süj, süp, tej, tep, tev, tip, tir, toh, top, töh, tøj, töp, töv, tuj, tüp, tüv, vep, voh, vom, vop, vor, vuj, vup, väj, vöp, vüh, vüj, vüp, vür.

(7) Group CCV does not comprise (a) CC_i, bCV (except ⁰blo*), dCV (except ⁰dra*), fCV (except ⁰fka*, ⁰fta*), gCV, jCV, šCV (except ⁰ška*, ⁰ško*, ⁰šši*, ⁰šti*); (b) CbV, CdV, CfV (except ⁰nfe*), CgV, CšV (except ⁰rša*, ⁰šši*, ⁰tša*, ⁰tše*, tši*); CzV (except ⁰nzi*), CžV (except ⁰nža*), Cji, Cjō, Cñō, Cñü; (c) hpV, hrV, hsV, khV, kjV, kmV, knV, kpV, ktV, kvV, lhV (except lho*, lhō*), lrV, lsV (except lsi*), mhV, mjV (except mje**), mkV, mlV, mnV, mrV, msV, mtV, mvV, njV (except ñja*), nlV, nmV, nrV, nsV (except nsi*), nvV (except ⁰nve*), phV, pmV, pnV, ptV (except ⁰pfe*), pvV, rlv (except rlū*), shV, sjV (except šja*, šjo*), smV (except sma*), snV (except sni*), spV (except ⁰spa*), srV, svV (except sva*, svi*, svo*), thV, tjV (except ⁰tja*), tlV (except ⁰tli*), tmV (except ⁰tmi*), tnV, tpV, tvV (except tva*, tvi*, tvo*), vkV (except ⁰vka*); vtV (except ⁰vta*); (d) hhō, hhü, hju, hjō, hjü, hle, hlu, hlä, hlō, hlü, hmä, hmō, hmü, hnō, hnü, hlō, hvi, hvu, hvä, hvō, hvü, klo, klō, klü, krō, krü, ljō, lmü, lpō, lpü, ltō, ltü, lvu, lvü, mmü, mpo, mpō, mpü, nhä, nhō, nhü, nnō, ñkō, ñkü, ññō, ññü, pju, pjä, pjō, pjü, plü, ppō, pre, prō, prü, pso, psu, psō, psü, rhō, rhü, rjo, rjō, rjü, rkō, rmu, rmō, rmü, rno, rnō, rnü, rrō, rrü, rsō, rsü, rtō, rtü, rvu, rvō, slo, slō, slü, stō, tkō, trō, trü, tsō.

(8) Group CCC comprises the following sequences:

hCC

hvc

hvk: ⁰spra-hvka* 'certificate' (~ ⁰spra-fka); **hvt:** ⁰ko-hvta* 'jacket' (~ ⁰ko-fta, ⁰ko-hta).

ICC

lkC

lkk: *ti-lkkuu* '(it) drops'.

lpC

lpp: *ä-lppään* '(I) comprehend'.

ltC

lts: *tü-ltsä** 'blunt' (~ *nü-rhi*); **ltt:** *ve-ltto* 'lazy-bones'.

mCC

mpC

mpp: *lu-mppas** (*ko-roat*) 'made one's ears ring'; **mpps:** *ki-mpsut-ka-mpsut** '(one's) belongings'.

nCC

ntC

ntk: ⁰u-hvantka* 'stove poker'; **nts:** (*ma-to*) *pu-ntsahiti** (*ha-mmeen a-lt*) '(the snake) flung itself from under the skirt'; **ntt:** *hu-ntti* 'wolf' (~ *su-si*).

ñCC

ñkC

ñkk: *le-ñkki* 'noose, snare' (~ ⁰pe-tli); **ñkr:** *a-ñkria* 'eel'.

rCC

rkC

rkk: *to-rkkuu* '(he) dozes'.

rpC

rpp: *ni-rppi* (*sü-öjä*) 'poor, choosy eater'.

rsC

rsk: *jü-rskään** '(I) pant' (~ *ä-hkü*); rss: *ka-rssan* 'scabies, itch (gen.)';rst: *hu-rsti* 'tablecloth'.

rtC

rtn: *°po-rtnot** 'tailors'; rts: *vi-rtsa** 'liquid dung'; rtt: *ko-rtti* 'map'.

sCC

spC

spr: *°spra-fka** 'certificate' (~ *°spra-hvka*).

tCC

tsC

tst: (*ko-lhosan*) *°pre-tstatel** 'collective farm chairman'.

МЕРЛЕ ЛЕППИК (Таллин)

ДИСТРИБУЦИЯ СЕГМЕНТАЛЬНЫХ ФОНЕМ В ФИНСКОМ ДИАЛЕКТЕ
КУРГОЛОВСКОГО ПОЛУОСТРОВА

Изучаемый диалект распространен в деревнях Курголовского (фин. Kurkula) полуострова Ленинградской области. Материал для статьи был собран во время семи экспедиций от 18 информаторов из деревень Кирьямо (фин. Kirjamo), Гаково (фин. Накаја) и Конново (фин. Коппу). Основой для описания фонслогической системы рассматриваемого диалекта служит изолированное слово, понятие которого истолковывается не особенно строго.

Фонологическую систему диалекта составляют 28 сегментальных фонем, которые согласно традиционной трактовке разделены на два основных класса: гласные *a, e, i, ī, o, u, ä, ö, ü* и согласные *b, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, η, p, r, s, š, z, ž, t, v*, и три супrasegmentальные фонемы: главное ударение слова (*·*), второстепенное ударение слова (*:*) и палатализация (*'*).

При рассмотрении дистрибуции сегментальных фонем автор исходила из фонологического слога. В данном языковом материале зарегистрировано 17 слоговых структур: V, CV, CCV, VV, CVV, CCVV, VVC, CVVC, CCVVC, VVCC, CVVCC, VC, CVC, CCVC, VCC, CVCC, CCVCC. В работе охарактеризован фонематический состав этих структур и приведены примеры соединений двух слоговых структур; статья снабжена примечаниями о соединениях нескольких слоговых структур (т. е. о слове).

Кроме того, автором рассматриваются соединения двух и трех (сегментальных) фонем. Соединения двух фонем распределяются на четыре основные группы: VV, VC, CV, CC. Приведены примеры всех соединений двух фонем в начале, середине и конце слова. Соединения трех фонем разделяются на восемь основных групп: VVV, VVC, VCV, VCC, CVV, CVC, CCV, CCC. Приведены примеры соединений, относящихся к группам VVV и CCC. Соединения двух и трех фонем, отсутствующие в рассматриваемом материале, перечисляются.