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Areal distribution as a criterion for new internal borrowing

The use of areal distribution as a criterion for internal borrowing between closely related Finnic languages is at the focus of this presentation. Two case studies are presented to describe the use of this criterion. The first contact situation analysed in this presentation is that of the contact between the western subgroup of the Estonian northeastern coastal dialect and Finnish dialects; the second is the contact among Vote, Ingrian, Estonian, and Finnish dialects, which took place in Western Ingria and northeastern Estonia. The Finnic languages are so close to each other linguistically and have such a great amount of shared vocabulary that, traditionally, many of the shared words in these closely related languages have been considered as having been inherited by these languages from their common proto-language. In etymological dictionaries, this question has often been settled through word comparison rather than by presenting information concerning the origin of these words (the numerous Finnish loans in the Estonian Kuusalu dialect are an exception). Even the distribution of a word in a single parish has been sufficient to consider the word in question equally old in all varieties. In dictionaries focusing on a specific variety, internal borrowing in Finnic has been marked to a certain extent (the best example of this is Laakso ed. 1995, *Vatjan kielen Joenperän murteen sanasto* [Vocabulary of the Joenperä dialect of Vote]). However, defining borrowing relations and the direction of diffusion demands detailed study of vocabulary and the data concerning its areal distribution. When identifying newer borrowings, areal distribution is almost the only criterion with which relationships can be established, as outside of Vote, there are relatively few phonetic correspondences in the Finnic languages with which borrowings can be recognised. When identifying older substrate layers some support can at times be gained from phonetic shape for which the second case study serves as an example.