

## DIALECTAL VARIATION IN VOTIC: JÖGÖPERÄ VS. LUUDITSA

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**Abstract.** This paper provides a comparison of two varieties of the Votic language. Based on field materials collected between 2001 and 2012 from the last speakers of Votic, we compiled a list of the most important phonetic and grammatical features that distinguish between Jögöperä and Luuditsa varieties. The ten features are: the degree of apocope, the initial *h*, merging of allative and adessive cases, secondary geminates, illative singular forms, genitive and partitive plural markers, imperfect forms, the active participle marker, conditional markers, and negative pronominal forms. The analysis has shown that many differences can be explained by the influence of the neighbouring Ingrian language. There are more contact induced changes in the Luuditsa variety, which is probably the result of more intensive contacts with the Ingrian population in this village. The contemporary Luuditsa variety is a vivid example demonstrating that language change in the Lower Luga area was driven by convergent developments in no lesser degree than by divergent processes.

**Keywords:** Votic, dialectal variation, language contacts, phonetics, morphology

**DOI:** <http://dx.doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2015.6.1.02>

### 1. Introduction

Although the Votic language can hardly be characterised as poorly described, there is rather little data on Votic dialectology. Traditionally, Votic was divided into four dialects: Krevin, Eastern Votic, Western Votic and Kukkuzi Votic (Adler and Leppik 1990: 60), however, this classification was questioned by contemporary researchers. Muslimov (2005: 15) does not consider Kukkuzi as a Votic dialect because it is a mixed Votic-Ingrian variety (cf. Suhonen 1985, Markus and Rozhanskiy 2012). A number of researchers acknowledged the need to subdivide the Western dialect into central and western sub-dialectal groups, which in fact can be considered separate dialects (Ernits 2005, Muslimov 2005, Markus and Rožanskiy 2011a).

The variation within the Votic dialects was not studied at all, and probably this task is no longer feasible because there is insufficient data from different varieties.

The last speakers of Votic represent the western sub-dialectal group (also referred to as Vaipooli (Viitso 1982 and Ernits 2005)) that is currently spoken in two villages, Luuditsa and Jõgõperä. The two villages are only 4 kilometres apart, and their sub-dialects are very similar. Yet they are not completely identical, and the aim of this paper is a systematic comparison of the two varieties.

## 2. Data and methods

The study is based on the field materials collected between 2001 and 2012. The data were recorded from 4 speakers of Jõgõperä Votic and 6 speakers of Luuditsa Votic (see more detail in Markus and Rožanskiy 2011a: 19–20). In fact this covers all Votic speakers who were still fluent in their language and whose speech was not abundant in code switching.

Our field corpus of Votic audio recordings comprises ca. 2 hours of narratives and ca. 200 hours of elicitations on various grammatical and phonetic topics. Below we discuss only those features that occurred systematically both in elicitations and spontaneous speech.

The transcription conventions used in the paper are described in detail in the book *Sovremennyj vodskij jazyk* (Markus and Rožanskiy 2011a: 27–28); the only difference being the use of two separate symbols for front and back-vocalic variants of the final reduced vowel originating from *a* and *ä*. Phonetic differences between the varieties were verified using the PRAAT phonetic software (Boersma and Weenink 2015).

Based on our field materials we compiled a list of the most important phonological and grammatical features that distinguish between contemporary Jõgõperä (J) and Luuditsa (L)<sup>1</sup>.

In general, our data on Jõgõperä Votic do not contradict those presented in Tsvetkov (2008) and Ariste (1968), although a few innovations were observed.

Luuditsa Votic was not analysed at all in the grammars by Ahlqvist (1856), Ariste (1968)<sup>2</sup> and Tsvetkov (2008). In Agranat (2007) the data

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1 Most of our Luuditsa Votic consultants were born in the village of Liivtšulä, which was later administratively merged with Luuditsa.

2 Only occasional examples from Luuditsa are included in Ariste (1968).

from Luuditsa and Jõgõperä Votic are not differentiated. Therefore, the analysis of Luuditsa Votic is based solely on our own data.

### 3. Analysis

#### 3.1. Apocope

On the phonetic and phonological levels, the main difference between the varieties concerns the apocope. In general, Votic demonstrates a tendency to transform a quantitative length opposition into a qualitative one: in non-first syllables, originally long vowels become short, and originally short vowels are involved in reduction processes. This principle has worked most consistently with the final *a* and *ä* vowels. We have observed two types of idiolects that differ by the degree of apocope (cf. Table 1).

**Table 1.** Apocope in Votic varieties

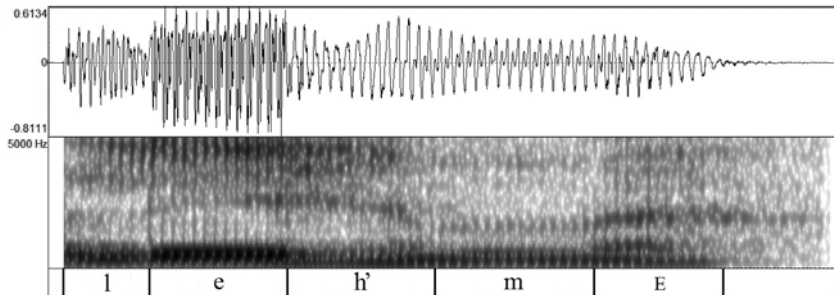
Original form (Central Votic varieties)	Idiolect type 1		Idiolect type 2	Gloss
	Luuditsa	Jõgõperä		
<i>poika</i> (Ariste 1968: 44)	<i>poikɛ</i>		<i>poik</i>	boy.NOM
<i>jutɛlla</i> (Ariste 1968: 96)	<i>jutɛllɛ</i>		<i>jutɛll</i>	to tell.INF
<i>einä</i> (Ariste 1968: 43)	<i>einɛ</i>		<i>ein</i>	hay.NOM
<i>poigā</i> (Ariste 1968: 44)	<i>poiga</i>		<i>poiga</i>	boy.GEN
<i>ɛssā</i> (Ariste 1968: 90)	<i>ɛssa</i>		<i>ɛssa</i>	to buy.INF
<i>einā</i> (Ariste 1968: 43)	<i>einā</i>		<i>einā</i>	hay.GEN

In both types of idiolects, originally long final vowels became short, but the reflexes of the originally short vowels are different: Type 1 has a reduced final *ɛ*/*E* while Type 2 has lost the vowel completely.

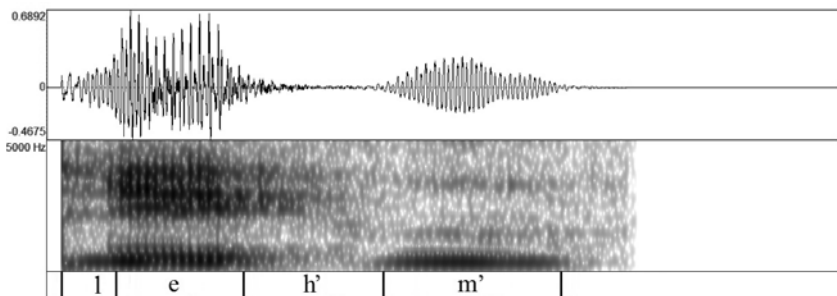
All the Luuditsa Votic speakers that we interviewed had the Type 1 reduced final vowel. Among Jõgõperä speakers we observed both types of idiolects. It should be mentioned that the material presented in Tsvetkov (1995, 2008) reflects a Type 2 idiolect.

A total loss of the final vowel is not unexpected in Votic, as the same process is observed in the neighbouring languages. The final vowel was consistently apocopated in Estonian (Viitso 2003: 183) and the same

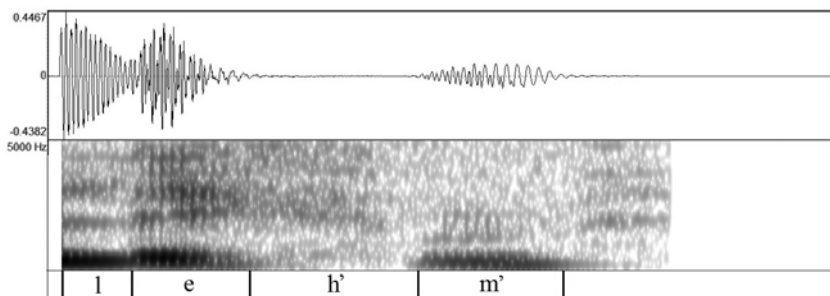
tendency can be seen in some varieties of Lower Luga Ingrian (compare the nominative forms of the words ‘cow’ and ‘bread’ in Luuditsa Votic, Jõgõperä Votic and Lower Luga Ingrian<sup>3</sup> in figures 1–6).



**Figure 1.** *leh'mE* ‘cow’, Luuditsa Votic.



**Figure 2.** *leh'm'* ‘cow’, Jõgõperä Votic.



**Figure 3.** *leh'm'* ‘cow’, Lower Luga Ingrian.

<sup>3</sup> The Lower Luga Ingrian examples were recorded from a speaker born and living in the village of Polana (a southern variety of Lower Luga Ingrian).

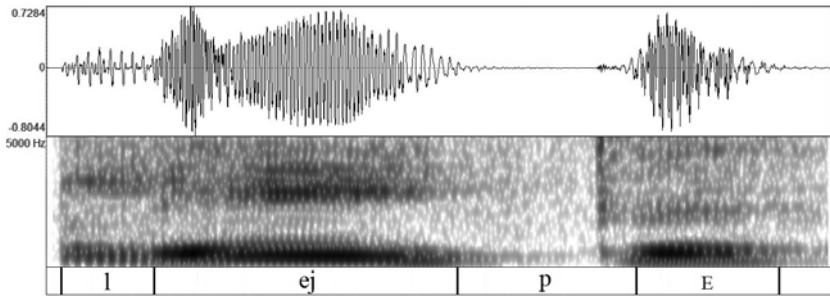


Figure 4. *lejpE* ‘bread’, Luuditsa Votic.

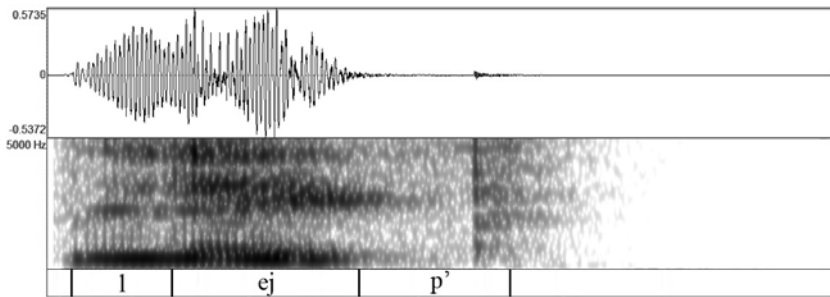


Figure 5. *lejp'* ‘bread’, Jõgõperä Votic.

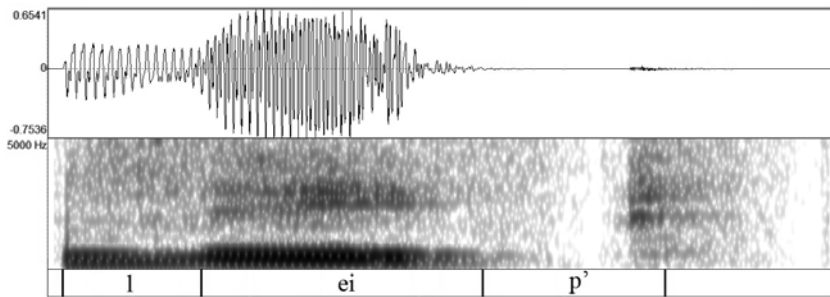


Figure 6. *leip'* ‘bread’, Lower Luga Ingrian.

The reduction processes do not only change the phonetic and phonological system of Votic, but also trigger some grammatical changes, in particular the merging of the allative and adessive cases described in section 3.3. of this paper.

Our research has shown that final vowels other than *-a* and *-ä* are not reduced in Jõgõperä. The same results were received in the experimental phonetic research (Kuznetsova and Fedotov 2013). Instead we observe

a free variation of many forms with and without the final vowel, for example *parepi* ~ *parep*<sup>(?)</sup> ‘better’, *üvässi* ~ *üväss*<sup>(?)</sup> ‘well’.

In Luuditsa Votic the situation is more complicated. The nominative singular form often has a final vowel which is slightly shorter<sup>4</sup> (and sometimes less intense) than the final vowel in other case forms, for example *pöllü* ‘dust.NOM’ – *pöllü* ‘dust.GEN/ILL’, *pikari* ‘small drinking glass.NOM’ – *pikari* ‘small drinking glass.GEN/ILL’. This type of apocope is not consistent: it depends significantly on the structure of a form, on the native speaker and even a particular pronunciation<sup>5</sup>. It is possible that the reduction of final vowels other than *a/ä* is a quite recent phenomenon. Further research is needed to check whether the same type of apocope is present in verbal forms.

Since the degree of apocope is different in Votic and Ingrian varieties, we cannot be sure whether it developed in each language independently or was contact induced. However it should be noted that the transformation of quantitative contrasts into qualitative is common for most Finnic varieties in the Lower Luga area.

### 3.2. The initial [h]

The two varieties demonstrate variation in the use of initial *h*. In general Votic has lost this initial consonant (cf. Vot. *irsi* ‘log, pole’ vs. Soik. *herž* ‘log’, Est. *hirs* ‘pole’, Fin. *hirsi* ‘log’), though it exists in some loan words (Kettunen 1930: 83). Both Jõgõperä and Luuditsa had a mixed Votic-Ingrian population and probably under the Ingrian influence the initial *h* was restored in some words.

Due to the small number of contemporary Votic speakers we cannot make definite conclusions on whether the presence or absence of the initial *h* is a feature specific to the whole variety or just for a group of idiolects. Table 2 lists the words that differ in Luuditsa and Jõgõperä and compares them to the data from Tsvetkov (1995), which reflect the Jõgõperä variety at the beginning of the 20th century. The initial *h* is found in both varieties, but it definitely appears more often in Luuditsa<sup>6</sup>.

4 Initially this difference was demonstrated by Kuznetsova and Fedotov (2013).

5 Therefore we do not mark the apocope of vowels other than *a/ä* in the examples.

6 A tilde separates variants with and without initial *h* that were observed in the same variety.

**Table 2.** The initial [h] in Votic varieties

Luuditsa	Jõgõperä	Jõgõperä according to (Tsvetkov 1995)	Gloss
<i>umalikaz</i>	<b><i>humalikaz</i></b>	<i>umalikaz</i>	drunken
<i>īri</i>	<b><i>hīri</i></b>	<i>īri</i>	mouse
<b><i>hirvi</i></b> ~ <i>irvi</i>	<i>irvi</i>	<i>irvi</i>	elk
<b><i>hīli</i></b>	<i>īli</i>	<i>īli</i>	coal
<b><i>heme</i></b>	<i>eme</i>	<b><i>heme</i></b>	mould
<b><i>harroma</i></b> ~ <i>arroma</i>	<i>aroma</i>	<i>aroma</i>	to rake up (hay)
<b><i>harjama</i></b> ~ <i>arjama</i>	<i>arjama</i>	<i>arjama</i>	to comb (wool)
<b><i>hāpē</i></b> ~ <i>āpē</i>	<i>āp</i>	<i>āp</i>	aspen

### 3.3. Merging of adessive and allative

In many Finnic languages the system of six locative cases (illative – inessive – elative, allative – adessive – ablative) was distorted. One variant of a syncretism development is the merging of allative and adessive cases, which happened for instance in the Proper Karelian dialect (Makarov 1966: 79 and Zajkov 1999: 12, 44–45), and which we also observe in Luuditsa Votic. The new allative-adessive case has a *-llē/-lle* marker with a geminate and reduced final vowel<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, the Jõgõperä variety keeps all six locative cases separate: the allative marker does not have a geminated consonant but preserved the final vowel (*-lē/-le*)<sup>8</sup> and the adessive marker has a geminate but lost the final vowel (*-ll/-ll*), cf. Table 3.

7 Ariste (1968: 26) noted that the Luuditsa allative case has a marker with a geminate: *mehelle* ‘man, husband.ALL’, *kanallē* ‘hen.ALL’.

8 Ariste (1968: 26) gives an example of the Jõgõperä allative form with a geminated consonant in the marker: *tütterellē* ‘daughter.ALL’. In contemporary Votic, the *-llē/-lle* variant of the allative marker occurs only in pronouns, for example *miilē* ~ *milē* ‘1SG.ALL’. It is worth mentioning that the grammar by Tsvetkov (2008: 31, 57, 63) gives the markers without a geminate as the only variant for the allative forms of nouns (as we observe also in the contemporary Jõgõperä variety), and the markers with a geminate are given as the only variant for the singular forms of personal pronouns and the form *tšelle-le* ‘somebody.ALL’.

**Table 3.** Allative and adessive forms in Votic varieties

Allative (Jõgõperä)	Adessive (Jõgõperä)	Allative-Adessive (Luuditsa)	Gloss
<i>najzɛlɛ</i>	<i>najzɛll</i>	<i>najzɛllɛ</i>	woman
<i>mehelɛ</i>	<i>mehell</i>	<i>mehelle</i>	man
<i>pojgɛlɛ</i>	<i>pojgɛll</i>	<i>pojgɛllɛ</i>	boy
<i>tütölɛ</i>	<i>tütöll</i>	<i>tütöllɛ</i>	girl

It is probable that the vowel reduction described in 3.1. was the reason why the two case endings merged into *-llɛ/-llɛ* in Luuditsa: the phonetic characteristics of the reduced final vowels *ɛ* and *ɛ̃* are rather close to those of *e* and *ẽ* correspondingly. Jõgõperä Votic preserved the difference between the cases because the apocope was stronger in this variety: adessive forms have lost the final vowel completely and therefore did not merge with the allative forms which preserved the final vowel.

### 3.4. Secondary geminates

Secondary geminates developed as the result of the lengthening of a single consonant before a long vowel or a diphthong. They are found in Finnish and Estonian dialects, in Votic, Ingrian, and Livonian (Laanest 1975: 41–42). Secondary geminates did not develop in Central Votic (Kattila, Pummala, Lempola), but they were observed in some other Votic varieties including Eastern Votic, Jõgõperä and Luuditsa (Viitso 1964: 25).

In our field materials secondary geminates are noticeably wider spread in Luuditsa than in Jõgõperä. In both varieties, secondary geminates appear in the partitive and illative forms of nouns and in the present indicative, 2Sg imperative, infinitive, conditional and supine forms of verbs. However, in Jõgõperä the illative, present indicative, 2Sg imperative, and supine forms can only have geminates of the plosive consonants or *s*, while in Luuditsa all consonants can be geminated. Additionally, there is a variation of the partitive and infinitive forms with and without a geminate in the Jõgõperä variety. Compare examples in Table 4<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> In this table we give only short illative forms for Luuditsa Votic, as they are more typical for this variety (cf. 3.5.).



**Table 4.** Forms with secondary geminates in Votic varieties

Luuditsa	Jõgõperä	Jõgõperä according to (Tsvetkov 1995)	Gloss	Comments
<i>kottoa</i>	<i>kottoa</i>	<i>kottoa</i>	house.PART	Gemination of plosives and <i>s</i> in all varieties
<i>kotto</i>	<i>kottose</i>	<i>kottò ~ kottosè</i>	house.ILL	
<i>makkan</i>	<i>makkan</i>	<i>makkàn</i>	sleep.PRS.1SG	
<i>makka</i>	<i>makka</i>	<i>makkà</i>	sleep.IMP.2SG	
<i>makkama</i>	<i>makkama</i>	<i>makkama</i>	sleep.SUP	
<i>tšüssüü</i>	<i>tšüssüü</i>	<i>tšüssüü</i>	ask.INF	
<i>rahha</i>	<i>raha ~ rahha</i>	<i>raha</i>	money.PART	Gemination of non-plosive consonants in the partitive and infinitive (a recent development in Jõgõperä)
<i>tšüllä</i>	<i>tšülä ~ tšüllä</i>	<i>tšülä</i>	village.PART	
<i>ajja</i>	<i>aja ~ ajja</i>	<i>aja</i>	drive.INF	
<i>ellä</i>	<i>elä ~ ellä</i>	<i>elä</i>	live.INF	
<i>rahha</i>	<i>rahase</i>	<i>rahase</i>	money.ILL	Gemination of non-plosive consonants in other forms (only in Luuditsa)
<i>tšüllä</i>	<i>tšüläse</i>	<i>tšülä ~ tšüläse</i>	village.ILL	
<i>suvvan</i>	<i>suvan</i>	<i>suvan</i>	love.PRS.1SG	
<i>suvva</i>	<i>suva</i>	<i>suva</i>	love.IMP.2SG	
<i>suvvama</i>	<i>suvama</i>	<i>suvama</i>	love.SUP	

It is noteworthy that in the dictionary by Tsvetkov (1995) there are no partitive and infinitive forms with secondary geminates other than the plosives and *s*. Therefore, the development of forms like *ajja* ‘drive.INF’, *rahha* ‘money.PART’, etc. is a quite recent phenomenon in Jõgõperä.

As noted in many sources (Kettunen 1913, Laanest 1978: 125–126, and Viitso 1964: 33), gemination in Votic dialects was induced by the contacts with the neighbouring Ingrian varieties.

### 3.5. Short illative form

Votic has two forms of the illative: a long form (with the *-se/-se* marker) and a short form (without this marker). Ariste (1968: 22) observed the variation of the long and short form both in the Central Votic varieties and in the Jõgõperä variety. Our Jõgõperä informants

preferred the long form: *mettsäse* ‘forest.ILL’, *sohose* ‘marsh.ILL’, *kottose* ‘house.ILL’, *linnase* ‘town.ILL’, *linnojsē* ‘town.PL.ILL’, *tšüläse* ‘village.ILL’, *tšülüjse* ‘village.PL.ILL’. The short form appeared only occasionally (for example, there is a variation in the illative forms of the pronouns *ema* ‘own’ and *kump* ‘which’: *emma* ~ *emase*, *kumpa* ~ *kumpase*).

On the other hand, in Luuditsa the short form is preferable (*mettsä* ‘forest.ILL’, *sohho* ‘marsh.ILL’, *kotto* ‘house.ILL’, *linna* ‘town.ILL’, *linnoje* ‘town.PL.ILL’, *tšüllä* ‘village.ILL’, *tšülüje* ‘village.PL.ILL’), but the long form also occurs. It is interesting to note that the long form appears more often in elicited sentences, and not in spontaneous speech. For example, in the text collection (Markus and Rožanskiy 2011a) only 2 of the 68 illative forms from Luuditsa represent the long variant.

The spread of the short illative form in Luuditsa can be explained by the influence of the neighbouring Ingrian dialects. In Ingrian, the use of the long illative form is limited to certain paradigmatic types of nouns, thus the short illative form is considerably more frequent in the nominal paradigms.

### 3.6. Genitive and partitive plural

In Jõgõperä, the genitive plural form does not have a case marker. It ends in a diphthong formed by the stem final vowel and the plural marker: *inimisij* ‘person.PL.GEN’, *omenoj* ‘apple.PL.GEN’, *lampaj* ‘sheep.PL.GEN’. The partitive plural form is marked with *-t*: *inimisijt* ‘person.PL.PART’, *omenojt* ‘apple.PL.PART’, *lampajt* ‘sheep.PL.PART’.

In Luuditsa, the genitive plural form is marked with *-e*: *inimisije* ‘person.PL.GEN’, *omenoje* ‘apple.PL.GEN’, *lampaje* ‘sheep.PL.GEN’. The partitive plural normally does not have a marker (hence it is identical with the Jõgõperä genitive plural): *inimisij* ‘person.PL.PART’, *omenoj* ‘apple.PL.PART’, *lampaj* ‘sheep.PL.PART’. Occasionally, the *-tE/-tE* marker of the partitive plural occurs in Luuditsa.

**Table 5.** Genitive and partitive plural markers in Votic varieties

Case	Luuditsa	Jõgõperä
Genitive	<i>-e</i>	∅
Partitive	∅ (~ <i>-tE/-tE</i> )	<i>-t</i>

In the dictionary by Tsvetkov (1995) the Jõgõperä plural genitive is consistently marked with *-e* (*inimisije* ‘person.PL.GEN’, *omenoje* ‘apple.PL.GEN’,

*лaтpајe* ‘sheep.PL.GEN’). It is likely that the loss of the final vowel in the speech of our informants is the result of the full apocope typical to the Jõgõperä variety (compare with the apocope of the final *-a/-ä* described in section 3.1.). It should also be noted that after *j* the back and front vocalic variants of the marker (*-e* and *-e*) are pronounced very similarly. Possibly for that reason, Tsvetkov spells the genitive plural marker with *e* in both back and front vocalic words. We also do not distinguish *-e* from *-e* in the position after *j* in plural genitive, but we transcribe the marker as *-e*.

In Ingrian, the genitive is marked with *-n*. The plural partitive forms are always marked with *-a/-ä* in Soikkola Ingrian, but there is a considerable variation in these forms in the Lower Luga Ingrian. The choice of a particular variant depends both on a speaker and the paradigmatic type of noun (in our materials  $\emptyset$ , *-t*, and *-a/-ä* markers are found). Thus it is not clear whether the distribution of the partitive plural markers in Votic varieties was influenced by Ingrian.

### 3.7. Imperfect forms

The two varieties are different in the way they build imperfect forms of certain verbs. This difference concerns disyllabic single-stem verbs that have *a* as both vowels in the present, for example *valan* ‘pour.PRS.1SG’ (from *valama* ‘pour.SUP’), *tapan* ‘kill.PRS.1SG’ (from *tappema* ‘kill.SUP’).

In Jõgõperä, the stem final vowel and the imperfect marker *-i* merge into a diphthong in the 1 and 2 person forms: *valē-j-n* ‘pour-IMPF-1SG’, *tapē-j-tt* ‘kill-IMPF-2PL’.

In the same forms in Luuditsa, the imperfect marker *-i* replaces the final vowel of the stem: *val-i-n* ‘pour-IMPF-1SG’, *tap-i-ttē* ‘kill-IMPF-2PL’.

In the 3 singular imperfect form of such verbs the *-i* marker is dropped in Jõgõperä: *valē* ‘pour.IMPF.3SG’, *tappē* ‘kill.IMPF.3SG’. In Luuditsa, the imperfect marker *-i* replaces the stem final vowel: *val-i* ‘pour-IMPF.3SG’, *tapp-i* ‘kill-IMPF.3SG’.

The form *tappē* ‘kill.IMPF.3SG’ is also found in the text from the Kattila variety and in the parallel translation of this text in the Jõgõperä variety by Tsvetkov as presented in Kettunen and Posti (1932: 31, 32).

In both Ingrian dialects that are still alive (Soikkola and Lower Luga), the discussed imperfect forms have a diphthong *-oi*: *soik.tabo-i-n* ‘kill-IMPF-1SG’, *tappo-i* ‘kill-IMPF.3SG’ (from *tappamā* ‘kill.SUP’). Therefore, they are not directly comparable with either the Jõgõperä or Luuditsa Votic forms.

### 3.8. Active participle marker

The marker of the past tense active participle is one of the most varying markers in Finnic varieties of Ingria (Laanest 1978: 302–305, and Rožanskij 2010: 87). The variation in this marker is also observed in the Votic varieties. Jõgõperä speakers use the marker with the final consonant  $-D^{10}$ : *elännüD* ‘live.PRTACT’, *mennüD* ‘go.PRTACT’, *tšüsünnüD* ‘ask.PRTACT’, *tehnüD* ‘do.PRTACT’, *tuuluD* ‘come.PRTACT’. In Luuditsa the same forms do not have a final consonant: *elännü* ‘live.PRTACT’, *mennü* ‘go.PRTACT’, *tšüsünnü* ‘ask.PRTACT’, *tehnü* ‘do.PRTACT’, *tuulu* ‘come.PRTACT’. Examples of a speaker using the form typical for the neighbouring variety are rare.

This kind of distribution seems to be a rather new phenomenon. As presented in Ariste (1968: 78, 82–83), the final  $-D$  always appeared in the participle forms as the plural marker (*en sännu* ‘NEG.1SG get.PRTACT’, but *emmä sännüD* ‘NEG.1PL get.PRTACT.PL’). In our data the presence of the final  $-D$  depends solely on the variety and not on the number characteristics of the participle. It should also be mentioned that Ingrian speakers in Jõgõperä and Luuditsa prefer the variant without  $-D$ , although occasional forms with the final consonant were also observed<sup>11</sup>. Thus, it is not clear if the discussed distribution is the result of the Ingrian influence.

### 3.9. Conditional markers

In contemporary Votic there are many variants of conditional markers. Some of them demonstrate free variation, others are distributed depending on the paradigmatic class of a verb (Markus and Rožanskij 2011b: 97). The formative  $-iz(i)$ , which can be either a separate marker of the conditional or a part of the double conditional markers, behaves differently in Jõgõperä and Luuditsa. In Jõgõperä, the first vowel of this formative combines into a diphthong with the previous vowel: *tuл(л)е-јzi-n* ‘come-COND-1SG’, *tet(t)še-јzi-n* ‘do-COND-1SG’, *men(n)е-јzi-n* ‘go-COND-1SG’, *elä-jäјseјzi-n* ‘live-COND-1SG’, *tšüsü-jäјseјzi-n* ‘ask-COND-1SG’. In Luuditsa, the first vowel of the

10 In Votic, final plosive consonants and *s* can be pronounced voiceless or voiced depending on the phonetic context. Following the tradition of Votic transcription (cf. Ariste 1968 and Tsvetkov 1995) we transcribe such consonants with small caps.

11 In general, both variants of the marker (i.e. with and without the final consonant) are found in Lower Luga Ingrian (Muslimov 2005: 88, 124).

formative replaces the previous vowel: *tet(t)š-izi-n* ‘do-COND-1SG’, *men(n)-izi-n* ‘go-COND-1SG’, *elä-jäjsizi-n* ‘live-COND-1SG’, *tšüsü-jäjsizi-n* ‘ask-COND-1SG’. This difference between the varieties is similar to the one observed in 1 and 2 person imperfect forms (see section 3.7.).

In Soikkola and Lower Luga Ingrian, the vowel of the marker replaces the previous vowel, similar to Luuditsa Votic: Soik. *tekk-īzi-n* ‘do-COND-1SG’, *männ-īzi-n* ‘go-COND-1SG’, *küži-jäiššī-n* ‘ask-COND-1SG’. On the other hand, according to Ariste, in Central Votic varieties the conditional forms had a diphthong, the same as in the contemporary Jögöperä variety<sup>12</sup>: *tetše-izi-väd* ‘do-COND-3PL’ (Ariste 1968: 96), *mene-izi-mmä* ‘go-COND-1PL’ (Ariste 1968: 73), *sa-iseizi-n* ‘get-COND-1SG’ (Ariste 1968: 83).

### 3.10. Negative pronominal forms

In Votic (and also in other neighbouring Finnic languages) personal pronouns and some pronominal adverbs have special negative forms (Rožanskij 2009). In Jögöperä these forms are built with a negative suffix *-jt*: *mittajt* ‘what.PART.NEG’, *tšettajt* ‘who.PART.NEG’, *kuzajt* ‘where.NEG’.

In Luuditsa, the negative suffix *-jt* (*-id*) was dropped and negative forms are built by geminating the stem consonant (*mittä* ‘what.PART.NEG’ from *mitä* ‘what.PART’, *mikkä* ‘what.NEG’ from *mikä* ‘what’, *tšettä* ‘who.PART.NEG’, from *tšetä* ‘who.PART’, *kuhhe* ‘where.to.NEG’ from *kuhe* ‘where.to’, *kuzza* ‘where.NEG’ from *kuza* ‘where’) or by adding *-al/-ä* (if the original affirmative form ends in a reduced vowel, it is replaced with *-al/-ä*): *tšellä* ‘who.ADALL.NEG’ from *tšelle* ‘who.ADALL’, *tšeltä* ‘who.ABL.NEG’ from *tšelte* ‘who.ABL’, *kussa* ‘where.from.NEG’ from *kusse* ‘where.from’, *ķensa* ‘when.NEG’ from *ķens* ‘when’. Some negative forms are the same as the affirmative (for example *tšenne* ‘who.ILL ~ who.ILL.NEG’, *tšenez* ‘who.INESS ~ who.INESS.NEG’).

The Luuditsa system of negative forms was probably borrowed from Ingrian, which has a full set of special negative forms (Rozhanskij 2010). In Jögöperä, the original Votic system is preserved (compare with the data presented in Ariste 1968: 61).

12 We transcribe the diphthongs with a final *-j* where Ariste transcribed them with *-i*.

#### 4. Conclusions

Our material shows that although geographically close, the Jõgõperä and Luuditsa varieties demonstrate many differences. For this reason, it makes sense to distinguish between these varieties when presenting Votic data in publications.

At least half of the differences emerged due to contact induced changes: Luuditsa Votic absorbed more Ingrian influence than the Jõgõperä variety. The Ingrian influence explains such features of the Luuditsa Votic as the initial *h*, secondary geminates, short illative forms, morphophonological alternations in the conditional markers, and a special system of negative pronominal forms. Other differences between Luuditsa and Jõgõperä Votic do not have obvious Ingrian roots.

It is not completely evident why Ingrian had more influence on the Luuditsa Votic. After all, the Ingrian population lived both in Jõgõperä and Luuditsa. Hypothetically we may suggest the following reasons:

a) Luuditsa had a more random mixture of the Votic and Ingrian population, while the Jõgõperä village used to have two clearly distinguished parts: one was Ingrian (*herr-vant*) the other was Votic (*kunig-vant*). This distinction might have slowed down the convergent processes, although of course it could not stop the interference completely.

b) The Luuditsa village is located closer to the Ingrian villages of the Soikkola peninsula, and it used to be close to the Ingrian village of Risumäki (later destroyed).

The comparison of the two Votic varieties conducted in this paper suggests that the development of the Votic language is impossible to describe without taking into account convergent processes. The contemporary Luuditsa variety is a vivid example demonstrating that language change in the Lower Luga area was driven by convergent developments in no lesser degree than by divergent processes.

#### Acknowledgement

The research was supported by the Russian Foundation for Humanities, project 12-04-00168a and the Estonian Research Council grant IUT2-37.

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**Abbreviations**

1 – 1st person, 2 – 2nd person, 3 – 3rd person, ABL – ablative, ADALL – adessive-allative, ALL – allative, COND – conditional, GEN – genitive, ILL – illative, IMP – imperative, IMPF – imperfect, INESS – inessive, INF – infinitive, NOM – nominative, NEG – negative verb or negative pronominal form, PART – partitive, PL – plural, PRS – present, PRTACT – active participle, SG – singular, SUP – supine.

**Languages and dialects:** Est. – Estonian, Fin. – Finnish, Soik. – Soikkola dialect of Ingrian, Vot. – Votic.

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**Kokkuvõte. Fedor Rozhanskiy ja Elena Markus: Vadja keele murrakute varieerumine: Jõgõperä versus Luuditsa.** Käesolevas artiklis võrreldakse kahte vadja keele murrakut. Ainestik on kogutud aastatel 2001–2012 välitöödel viimastelt vadja keele kõnelejatelt. Selle põhjal koostati loetelu kõige tähtsamatest Jõgõperä ja Luuditsa küla murrakuid eristavatest foneetilistest ja grammatilistest tunnusoontest. Need on: lõpukadu, sõnaalguline *h*, allatiivi ja adessiivi sulandumine, hilistekkelised geminaadid, illatiivi ainsuse vormid, genitiivi ja partitiivi mitmuse lõpud, lihtmineviku vormid, aktiivi mineviku partitiivi tunnus, tingiva kõneviisi tunnused ja eitavad asesõnad. Analüüs näitas, et paljud erinevused on seletatavad naabruses kõneldava isuri keele mõjuga. Luuditsas on kontaktid põhjustanud rohkem muutusi ja see on tõenäoliselt üha intensiivsemate isuri kontaktide tulemus. Tänapäeva Luuditsa murrak on elav näide sellest, et keelemuutust Alam-Luuga piirkonnas juhtisid nii konvergensed arengud kui ka divergentsed protsessid.

**Märksõnad:** vadja keel, murde varieerumine, keelekontaktid, foneetika, morfoloogia