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A GRAMMAR OF THE VOTIC LANGUAGE

# A GRAMMAR OF THE VOTIC LANGUAGE

*By Paul Ariste*



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FOREWORD

This Votic grammar is meant as a college text for all those institutions of higher learning throughout the USSR where Finno-Ugric languages are taught. The publication of such minimum grammars was deemed necessary at the Soviet Union Conference of Finno-Ugric Studies at Leningrad in 1947. Along with grammars for the Livonian and Ingrian languages, the task of compiling a grammar of the Votic language was given to the Tartu State University.

The Votic language has never been organized into a standardized grammar. It was and is still spoken in several sub-dialects which are grouped together into larger units. Such larger groupings are the Eastern Votic and Western Votic dialects, the dialect of the village of Kukkuzi, and the now extinct dialect of the Kreevins. The Western Votic dialect is in turn subdivided into several rather large sub-dialects, such as Kattila, Pummala-Lempola, Mati-Kõrvõttula, Jõgõperä -Luuditsa, etc. At the present time there are all together about one hundred speakers of Votic.

The present work is based on the Western Votic dialect, especially as spoken in Kattila and vicinity. Where necessary, other dialects and sub-dialects have also been taken into consideration. However, no attention has been given to the sub-dialect of the village of Kukkuzi, for it has become Ingrianized to such a degree that it no longer directly reflects the character of the Votic language. Also left completely aside is the Kreevin dialect, which is known but fragmentarily from highly unscientifically recorded annotations.

In writing a Votic grammar it has not been possible to present conventional general forms, as is usual for standardized literary languages. A grammar of the Votic language requires a multiple presentation of several parallel forms in order to give a general idea of the varied dialectal scheme of the language.

This grammar deals with contemporary Votic. Of course, rather extensive collections of materials stemming from the last century have also been taken into consideration. The materials from older collections have been treated with a certain amount of caution, since they often contain rather evident features of the Finnish language, the occurrence of which can be attributed to the fact that the scholars

doing research in the Votic language were native Finns who used Finnish as their basis of analysis.

In the past the grammar of the Votic language has been dealt with in the following works of research:

A. Ahlqvist, Wotisk grammatik jemte språkprof och ordförteckning, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae V 1 (Helsingfors 1856). In this work there are 90 pages which directly deal with the grammar. Ahlqvist's material is significant for the reason that it contains a number of features which have disappeared from present-day Votic or which have become very sporadic. Ahlqvist's material stems from the Kattila sub-dialect.

In 1922 the Votic D. Tsvetkov wrote the work Esimein vadđa tšeele gramaatikk - Pervaja grammatika vodskogo jazyka about the Jõgõperä sub-dialect. Because of the early death of the author the work was left unrevised and unpublished. The complete 55-page manuscript has been deposited in the archives of the Language and Literature Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR. Examples in the manuscript reflect the Jõgõpära Votic as Tsvetkov personally used it.

The above-mentioned two works are the only previously written treatises dealing extensively with Votic grammar. Individual aspects of Votic grammar, however, have been touched upon by various authors either as separate topics of research or in combination with other linguistic problems. Of such works M. Airila's 'Vatjan kielen taivutusoppi, I: Nominien taivutus', Suomi V 17 (Helsinki 1934) deserved mentioning. This 55-page work offers much material derived from all available sources, but is quite superficial in its analysis. More abundant material is presented in L. Kettunen's Vatjan kielen äännehistoria, first and second printing (Helsinki 1915 and 1930 respectively). All collections of Votic texts are, of course, extensive sources of material. Concerning the phonology of one Votic sub-dialect the following article by T. R. Viitso should be mentioned: 'Vadja keele Luutsa-Liivtšülä murraku fonoloogia', Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat VII (Tallinn 1961).

The grammar presented herewith is based on the author's own recordings of the Votic language interlaced with materials from the above-mentioned studies and from text collections.

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## PHONOLOGY

§ 1. The Votic language has 10 vowels, namely:

	Back vowels	Central vowels	Front vowels	Front labial vowels
High	u	ɨ	i	ü
High-mid	o	ɛ	e	ö
Low	a		ä	

The pronunciation of Votic back vowels, whether in the main stress position of a word or in subsequent syllables, is more or less analogous to the pronunciation of corresponding Estonian vowels, e. g. kana 'hen', paḷava 'hot', appangB 'it turns sour', orko 'valley', kotikko 'sack', kotona 'home', kusutan 'I extinguish', ujumā 'to swim', urpa 'catkin'.

Of the central vowels, ɛ is similar to Estonian õ. In some villages Votic ɛ is formed somewhat higher than its Estonian counterpart. The difference, however, is so slight that acoustically the increase in height does not appear to be worth mentioning, e. g. verkko 'net', ghtago 'evening', erḗḗḗḗ 'perch, pole for roosting (adess. )', ḗḗḗḗkaZ 'snowy', juttḗḗḗB 'he says'. The high central vowel ɨ gives an acoustical impression similar to that of Russian ы. This vowel represents a borrowed phone which occurs only in loanwords taken from the Russian language, e. g. riḗkoiḗ 'market place (adess. pl. )', višifka 'embroidery', štobi 'that, so that'.

The formation of the front vowels ä, e, and i is similar to the formation of the Estonian front vowels ä, e, and i, e. g. tämä 'he, she, it', pesä 'nest', ätälä 'aftermath, after-crop'; terve 'healthy, whole', pettelen 'I deceive, lie', tšünnettü 'plowed'; sika 'pig', tširjotan 'I write', sermi 'finger', juttelin 'I said'.

The labial front vowels ö and ü also resemble their Estonian counterparts, e. g. tšöhä 'a cough', mörizeB 'he mutters, mumbles', tüttö 'girl', tšülä 'village', lühüD 'short', süntünüD 'born (pl. )'.

In general, Votic vowels are pronounced with full articulation in whatever position they may occur, stressed or unstressed. Dialectally (in the Eastern Votic area, around the region of Jõgõ-perä) particularly the low vowels a and ä may be reduced in unstressed syllables, provided that the first syllable is long. Reduction may also occur in any syllable of a long word, regardless of whether the syllable is stressed or unstressed e.g. paikkē 'place, spot', annē 'give (sing.)', annemmē 'we give', ghsē 'branch', pajattivēD 'they talked', tulittē 'you (pl.) came' juttēvēD 'they say'; tšättē 'hand (part.)', jäivēD 'they remained', tüttpreD 'daughters', tetšemisē 'doing (noun, part.)' (Jõgõpära). Reduced vowels may even be voiceless, e.g. tšühsetn 'baked', tšültš: 'side'.

§ 2. All of the ten vowels presented above can also occur long. Long vowels can occur in syllables having main, secondary, or no stress:

ā: sāmā 'to get, obtain', āpa 'aspen tree', antagā 'give! (pl.)', tširjottamā 'to write';

ō: kōri 'skin, peel, bark', koṭō 'home (ill.)', tüttärikkō 'girl (ill.)';

ū: kūrēn 'I hear', murtūmā 'to break (intr.)', emēhtūB 'it grows moldy';

ē: vēraZ 'stranger', ṁēkkū 'a swing', juttēB 'he says', tūṁēsē 'wind (ill.)';

ī: kit-riḃa 'whale';

ā: pā 'head', tātā 'to know', āmārā 'dim, dusky (part.)';

ē: sēmeneD 'seeds', mēlē 'mind (gen. & ill.)', vērettēB 'it rolls';

ī: īri 'mouse', sermī 'fingers (gen.)', ṁukemīn 'reading (noun)';

ō: tō 'work', sōmmā 'we eat', tüttō 'girl (ill.)';

ū: tūni 'quiet, calm', vāntūB 'it winds (intr.)', süntünūD 'born (pl.)'.

In the Jõgõperä-Luuditsa sub-dialect, as a result of sandhi, non-initial syllables can have half-long vowels occurring in the place of long ones, e.g. pajatētā 'it is said', pūsūkā 'gun (com.)', vennēz 'cistern, tank (iness.)'.

Dialectally the mid vowels ē, ō, and ū have changed to diphthongs (here and there in the Eastern Votic area, in villages in the vicinity of Kattila, and in the village of Pontizõõ). Diphthongization has probably resulted from the influence of neighboring Finnish dialects. In the vicinity of Kattila the diphthongs ie, uo, and üö occur in the main stress position of a word; elsewhere in the word, however,

they appear as je, jo, and jö, e.g. tie 'road', tuomma 'we bring', tüö 'work'; mehelje 'man (all.)', koṭjõ 'home (ill.)', tüttjõ 'girl (ill.)'. In the village of Pontizõõ the corresponding diphthongs are ie, uo, üö and ie, uo, üö, e.g. tie 'road', süo 'marsh', tüö 'work', mehelie 'man (all.)', koṭuo 'home (ill.)', etc. In villages around Kattila long ā and long ē have become diphthongized also, e.g. pēā 'head', pitēā 'to keep, retain', vēgeraZ 'stranger', sūrēē 'big (gen. & ill.)'.

§ 3. The Votic language has an abundance of various diphthongs. In addition to those that have originated from long mid vowels, diphthongs occurring in main stress position are as follows:

ga: seaza 'war (iness.)';

üe: lüettä 'handle of a scythe (part.)';

ug: juejua 'to say';

ai: nainnaing 'woman', ṁaizgaD 'lazy (pl.)';

oi: koira 'dog', oitā 'to economize, spare';

ui: puita 'trees (part.)', suissa 'mouths (elat.)';

ei: seizon 'I stand', peippe 'chicken';

äi: päivä 'day', väittä 'to drag, pull';

ei: leipä 'bread', eittūB 'he is frightened, alarmed', sein 'I ate';

öi: öitä 'nights (part.)', töitä 'works (part.)';

üi: rüiZ 'rye', püitä 'partridges (part.)';

ao: maoD 'snakes';

io: siottu 'tied (past passive participle)';

uo: kuottu 'knitted, woven (past pass. part.)';

au: ṁauṁu 'song', ṁautta 'shed, stable';

ou: (dialectally) toukkänma 'we push', ṁounēD 'south, midday meal';

eu: ṁeuka 'chin', peuta 'drought';

eu: (dialectally) jeutua 'to occur, happen', peukaṁo 'thumb';

iu: riuku 'rod, shaft', tšiuṁto 'shirt';

iä: piän 'I must', siällä 'over there';

üä: süämmezä 'heart (iness.), inside';

äü: tšäümä 'to go, walk', täünä 'full';

eü: leütä 'to find', leülü 'steam in a bathhouse';

öü: (dialectally) löülü 'steam in a bathhouse', löütännü 'found (past active part.)'.

The following diphthongs can occur farther on in the word, in non-stress positions:

oa: ṁjkoa 'stick of firewood (part.)', tüttärikkoa 'girl (part.)';

ua: lintua 'bird (part.)', kuttsua 'to call, invite', kaivua 'well (part.)';

ea: kurkea 'stork (part.)', kerkea 'high'. Dialectally ea can occur instead of this diphthong: kerkea 'high'.

ia: varghsia 'crows (part.)', gttsia 'to look for';

au: makauZ 'a sleeping place', grtauB 'it rubs (intr.)';

eu: sepeumā 'to get dressed', avguzivaD 'they opened (intr.)';

äu: lisäugō 'let it increase', peittäugā 'get hidden'; (pl.);

eu: ehteugā 'adorn, embellish yourselves';

iu: kasiumā 'to clean (intr.)', rūmiuZ 'corpse, dead person'.

iä: tātiä 'aunt', pimiä 'dark', vätšiä 'people (part.)'. Dialectally iē can occur instead of this diphthong: tātiē 'aunt';

öä: tüttöä 'girl (part.)';

üä: eittüä 'to be frightened, alarmed', leülüä 'bathhouse steam (part.)';

ai: varkaita 'thieves (part.)', ampaissa 'teeth (elat.)', vaddamain 'a Vote', pikkaraizeD 'small (pl.)', antaizin 'I would give';

oi: kotoita 'houses, homes (part.)', akanoissa 'chaff (elat. pl.)';

ui: tuumuita 'those who have come (part.)', jöpunnuisia 'the drunken ones (part.)', issuizin 'I would sit';

ei: takumein 'the rear one', ōneiza 'buildings (iness.)', kerkeiē 'the high ones (all.)', paneissi 'he would put';

äi: seipäitä 'stakes, poles (part.)', mättäilē 'pieces of turf (all.)', jättäissi 'he would leave (trans.)';

ei: pimeitä 'the dark ones (part.)', lähteizä 'springs, sources (iness.)', tänäveizeD 'those of today';

üi: lühüitä 'short ones (part.)', süntännüitä 'those that have been born (part.)', tšüsüizin 'I would ask';

äu: lisäümā 'to increase, add to';

eü: ehteümīn 'self-embellishment';

iü: sättiün 'I am adjusting, fixing myself up'.

All of the diphthongs here presented are phonemic. Regarding their pronunciation, there is no difference between older Balto-Finnic diphthongs and the later ones which have developed from contractions.

§ 4. Characteristic of Votic is vowel harmony. If a back or central vowel occurs in the first syllable of a word, neither labial nor non-labial front vowels can occur in the following syllables. An exception is the vowel i which can occur in both front- and back-vowel words, e.g. akkunaD 'windows', sopizimma 'we got along', kussua 'to call, invite', tervakkaiē 'tarry, full of tar (all. pl.)', sika 'pig'. If, however, the first syllable has ä, e, or ö, ü, then neither back nor central vowels can occur in subsequent syllables,

e.g. tšäsillä 'hands (adess.)', seppä 'smith', pitāmā 'to keep, hold', tšöhä 'a cough', süntännü 'born', tšälü 'wife's sister', tüttö 'girl', merelē 'sea (all.)', tšülles 'side (elat.)'.

In respect to the occurrence of front vowels, however, Votic does have many exceptions. There are various derivational suffixes which always have back vowels. The occurrence of the labialized front vowel ö in non-initial syllables is specifically characteristic only of loanwords from either the Ingrian or Finnish dialects; or else its usage has spread after the pattern found in these dialects, e.g. tüttö 'girl', lähtö 'departure', tšülvö 'sowing (noun)' (Jögö-perä), itšävöimžä 'to long for' (Lempola). In general even those Votic words that have a front vowel in the first syllable always have o in subsequent syllables, e.g. tüttärikko 'girl', ämärikko 'dusk', mängko 'game', päsko 'swallow', pälikko 'leader'. Consequently, suffixes ending in o, as for example -likko, -zikko, -tō, etc., do not conform to the general rules of vowel harmony, e.g. pettelikko 'deceiving (noun)', petäzikko 'pine grove', leppäzikko 'alder grove', pätö 'headless' (dialectally in the Eastern Votic area pätü), tötö 'without work'. Furthermore, the following derivational suffixes always have back vowels:

-kā: leivākā 'bread (com.)', jürükā 'thunder (com.)', keräjākā 'beggar (com.)';

-kaz: verekaZ 'bloody', pimākaZ 'milky, rich in milk';

-kkein: päivükkein 'sun', tüttärikkeizemlē 'girl (dim., all.)';

-lain: venälain 'Russian' (alternatively venäläin occurs);

-nikka: önikka 'night lodger';

-ssä: tšülässä 'up to the village', nätilpäivässä 'up until Sunday';

-ttoma-: viddettomā 'of the fifth';

-ko: pesiko? 'did he wash?', emmäko? 'not we?', 'not even we?';

-kā/-gā: sökā 'eat! (pl.)', älkä nagragā 'don't laugh! (pl.)', lämmittägā~lämmittagā 'make heat! (pl.)';

-kō/-gō: sökō 'let him eat', lühsägō~lühsagō 'let (him or) her milk', jättägō~jättagō 'let him leave (trans.)'.

In addition there are onomatopoeic words where vowel harmony does not occur. After all, onomatopoeic words follow completely different rules from the remainder of the vocabulary, e.g. rākumā 'to shout, yell', rāgahti 'he gave out a yell, gave a shout'.

The more recent loanwords do not conform to the rules of vowel harmony, e.g. klättsa 'dried up, withered old person', rätua (~rätüä)mō 'by lines, rows', jätäži 'story of a building'. Also, the more recent loanwords have e instead of ē in back vowel words, e.g. munderi 'uniform', karetti 'carriage, coach', puteli 'bottle'. Moreover, e can occur in the genitive plural: ōnejē 'buildings (gen.)'.



Particular attention should be given to the words kase 'this' and kane 'those', which have no vowel harmony. These words are shortened compound words. Compounds retain the vowel harmony pattern of their components. Exceptions are found only in the case of a few shortened words such as ähü(p)pälē '(to) on top of the oven/stove' (<\*ahjon pällen).

§ 5. In Votic the quantity of both short and long vowels as well as that of diphthongs is close to the vowel quantity of Finnish. All those features of quantity which appear in Finnish are characteristic of Votic also. Estonian quantity relations are quite different. However, the quantity system of Votic is close to the quantity system of the Northeastern Estonian dialects.

Unlike Estonian, Votic diphthongs and long vowels have no quantity gradation. Instead, the quantity remains constant in cases where Estonian would distinguish between strong and weak grades.

Long vowels in non-initial syllables of the Jõgõperä sub-dialect are quite flexible in respect to quantity. If a word occurs in an unstressed position, the long vowel of the non-initial syllable may be reduced to half-long, or it may even become completely short, e. g. ennevanaš tšäütī meisv for ennevanaš tšäütī meisā 'in olden times one went to the manor'.

§ 6. Apocope, which is characteristic of Estonian, is unknown in the Votic language. In certain cases, however, the final vowel may be dropped. The final vowel may be omitted in those words which are used especially often, and which are therefore assumed to be understood even in rapid speech, e. g. sūri~sūr 'big', nōri~nōr 'young'. Apocope may occur in case endings when the same ending is repeated: tämä elāp sūreš tšülāzā 'he lives in a big village', but tämä elāp sūreza tšülāzā 'he lives in a big (not a small) village'. If a compound word has phonetically changed completely into a single word, the final vowel of the first component word may disappear, e. g. raut~ätšellā 'iron harrow (adess.)', raut~nekezeD 'stinging nettles', nahk~iri 'a bat', tamm~open 'mare', ait~seivāZ 'a fence pole', teis~kertā 'second time (part.)', etc. for rauta~ätšellā, rauta~nekezeD, nahka~iri, tamma~open, aita~seivāZ, teissa~kertā.

In the Jõgõperä-Luuditsa sub-dialect apocope is more general than elsewhere. There the final vowel of a word may often disappear as a result of sentence sandhi, e. g. tulim kottō 'we came home', poik meni lidnā 'the boy went to town' for tulimma kottō, poika meni lidnā.

§ 7. In its consonant system, the Votic language differs quite substantially from the closely related Estonian and Finnish languages. The following are the consonants of Votic:

Glottals	Orals				Labials	
		Velars	Palatals	Dentals		
h	Stops	Voiceless	k		t	p
		Voiced	g		d	b
	Nasals	Voiceless				
		Voiced	ŋ		n	m
	Spirants	Voiceless fricatives	x	š	s	f
		Voiced fricatives		j ž	z	v
		Voiceless laterals				
		Voiced laterals		ɹ	l	
		Voiceless trills				
		Voiced trills			r	
	Affricates	Voiceless		tš šʔʒ	ts	
		Voiced		dž		

The Votic fortis voiceless stops k, p, and t are unaspirated, and may occur in all positions. They correspond to the voiceless stops of Finnish and the Northeastern Estonian dialects in articulation as well as in acoustical effect, e. g. kana 'hen', kehta 'right away', pata 'clay pot (for cooking)', pimä 'milk', tē 'tea', tajvi 'winter', makeša 'sweet', aņko 'pitchfork', orko 'valley', kupo 'bale, bundle', leipä 'bread', kumpa 'which of two, who', sata 'hundred', ranta 'shore, edge', męrta 'weir', tširjotamma 'we write', tüt-tarikossa 'girl (elat.)', sürępi-süręp 'bigger'.

The lenes b, d, and g are completely voiced stops as in Russian, e. g. brüda 'pond', bäbuška 'grandmother', börizemä 'to roar, rumble', bulipä 'bald headed person', truba 'chimney, pipe', kabja 'hoof', sebra 'friend', bäbukaz 'raspberry', dabuni 'herd of horses', dovarišša 'comrade', doro 'acorn', durizeB 'it rattles, rumbles', pedra 'elk', tšedrätä 'to spin', tädiD 'aunts', mōda 'style, manner', vedna 'lamb', gāda 'snake, serpent', gulu 'dove', jaņaD 'feet', kagņa 'neck', tagon 'I hit, pound', kaņaZ 'material, cloth', jaizgaš 'lazy (elat.)'. In absolute word-final position b, d, and g are voiceless, e. g. annaB 'he gives', annaD 'you (sing.) give', annaG 'give! (sing.)' (in Eastern Votic). The lenis voiceless stops of Votic resemble those of Estonian in both formation and sound.

The velar nasal ŋ appears only as a combinatory phone before g and k, e. g. kaņaZ 'cloth, material', angęš 'snow drift (elat.)', paņke 'bucket', đohaņka 'tub'. The nasals n and m, however, are completely phonemic, e. g. ono 'uncle', open 'horse', ęma 'own', lehmä 'cow', ęssamä 'to buy'. In respect to articulation, all of the nasals are similar to Estonian nasals.

The velar, or more precisely, velar-palatal fricative x is formed at the same point of articulation as k and g. The only difference is that x is produced by friction at the same point where g and k have a complete stoppage of air. x occurs primarily in Russian loanwords, e. g. xođostoi 'unmarried person', xramoi 'one who limps', grōxatti 'sifter', staruxa 'old woman'. Also, x can occur in the beginning of loanwords taken from the Ingrian and Finnish dialects, e. g. mettsä-xāmo 'forest spirit', xāmođain 'devil' (Estonian vanapagan), xōnopōđ 'devil' (Kattila region). x does not appear in the original Votic vocabulary. Instead, the phone h occurs, which is entirely voiceless before voiceless phones but otherwise has a certain degree of voicing. Any kind of h is still a glottal phone, as is also the Estonian h, e. g. haili 'small herring', hävittä 'to waste, destroy (trans.)', iho 'skin, body', voho 'goat', ęhtagō 'evening', nagrahtimma 'we smiled', ühsi 'one', jaņsi 'child', varehsia 'crows (part.)'.

The palatal fricative j is much more intensive in Votic than in Estonian. In Votic j is not a semi-vowel, as it is in Estonian, but a real fricative, e. g. jā 'ice', jagan 'I distribute', sōjetan 'I warm (intr.)', ujun 'I swim', ęmpęlija 'one who sews', marja 'berry', tühjä 'empty'.

The voiceless palatal sibilant š and its voiced counterpart ž occur only in loanwords taken from either the Russian or the Ingrian language, and in onomatopoeic-descriptive words. The articulation of š and ž is equivalent to Russian ш and ж, respectively, e. g. šoņka 'silk', bäbuška 'grandmother', kukšina 'mug', šōru 'animal penis', karjušiD 'shepherds', šumizeB 'it rustles, hums', širizeB 'it ripples, trickles', šuppulehoD 'burdock leaves', ženixa 'bridegroom', obižoittä 'to insult', kurāžittāB 'he boasts, brags', leživāD 'they lie, recline', Mažajē 'to Maša (proper name)'.

In its formation the dental sibilant s is similar to Estonian s. However, the Votic s is not similar to its Finnish and Ingrian counterparts, which are formed farther back in the mouth, e. g. sarja 'bunch', sū 'mouth', tšüsüä 'to ask', vadđajaisia 'Votes (part.)', ōņęsę 'building (ill.)', musaD 'black (pl.)', męspōļęD 'men, menfolk'. The voiced counterpart of s is z, e. g. zemļāņka 'mud hut', sezar 'sister', vezoD 'sprouts, offspring', tšedrāzivāD 'they were spinning', opezęD 'horses', varzikko 'knee boot', tšāznā 'knot on a tree, gnarl', razva 'fat', kazgeD 'birches', lidnaza 'town (iness.)'. In absolute word-final position z is voiceless, e. g. vęraZ 'stranger'. This voiceless Z is equivalent to Estonian lenis s.

The laterals l and l̥ are actually in complementary distribution. In combination with back and central vowels the so-called Russian л occurs; with front vowels l̥ is found. Of these laterals, л is similar to the Russian л, and l̥ to the Estonian l, e. g. jaņsi 'child', muķę 'to read', kaļa 'fish', ęmuD 'beer', pureļevāD 'they bite one another, fight', leppä 'alder', litši 'near', elā 'to live', pettelivāD 'they deceived, lied'.

The voiced trill r is articulated like the Estonian or Finnish r, e. g. rokka 'cabbage soup', repo 'fox', pureB 'it is biting', tširjotan 'I write', sārni 'ash tree', tappuraD 'tow, oakum'.

The voiceless labio-dental fricative f occurs only in loanwords, e. g. ufatka 'stove poker', fšoravno 'nevertheless', frovva 'Mrs.', Marfa 'Martha (proper name)'. As a partial assimilation, very often the bilabial fricative ϕ occurs in the word ühsi 'one', thus: üϕsi. The voiced labio-dental fricative v is formed more intensely than its Estonian counterpart. Namely, in the formation of the Votic v the lower lip is pressed rather tightly against the upper teeth, e. g.

velli 'brother', varai 'early', süvä 'deep', päivikko 'sun', uivoB 'it howls', tulivaD 'they came'.

The voiceless hard palate affricate tš is a common phone in Votic. Its formation differs quite noticeably from the formation of the Russian ч. Namely, Votic tš is articulated with less palatalization and farther back in the mouth than its Russian counterpart, e.g. tšako 'cuckoo', tšäsi 'hand', tšülä 'village', kurtši 'stork', saintši 'and I got it', kahtši 'birch', pühtšiä 'to sweep', seltšä 'back'. The voiced counterpart of tš is dž, which occurs mainly in the Eastern Votic sub-dialects, e.g. redžeD 'sledges', audžiD 'pikes (fish)', mändžämmäG 'we play'.

The affricate štš is characteristic primarily of Russian loanwords. Its formation is similar to that of Russian ш, e.g. štšetina 'mane, tuft, bristle'.

The affricate ts is alveo-dental, e.g. kutsun 'I call, invite', metsässä 'forest (elat.)'.

§ 8. Most of the consonants presented can also appear as geminates:

kk: kukke 'rooster', vaikko 'resin', tüttärikko 'girl', mapakko 'mitten';

tt: kotti 'bag, sack', mutta 'cattle shed', magotettu 'spread out (past pass. participle)';

pp: appanemä 'to turn sour', röppa 'porridge';

nn: konna 'frog', linnuD 'birds', magannu 'slept (past act. participle)', tševännä 'spring (season) (ess.)';

mm: kumma 'wonder, miracle', nemmi 'heath', annamma 'we give', samma 'we get';

jj (sub-dialectally): vijjä 'to carry, take', riijjejja 'to quarrel';

šš: jaššikka 'box, chest', karjušši 'shepherd';

ss: mässän 'I stir, disturb', mussa 'black', aivassemen 'I sneeze, keep sneezing';

zz: lezzessi 'widow (transl.)';

žž (sub-dialectally): ležžeD 'widows';

jj: ajja '(at) under', vijja 'wool', poigajja 'boy (adess.)', tüttärikojja 'girl (adess.)';

ll: ellütän 'I pamper, coddle', tšellä 'clock, bell', tšülällä 'village (adess.)', jänehsellē 'rabbit (all.)';

rr: kerä 'once', varrekä 'stalk, handle (com.)';

ff (sub-dialectally): uffatka 'stove poker';

vv: tuvva 'to bring', levvän 'I find', gvvi 'yard (tract of enclosed ground)';

ttš: pittšä 'tall, long', müttšä 'silent, mute', makauttši 'sleeping place', lühzettši 'milking pail';

tts: kuttsua 'to call, invite', mettsä 'forest'.

Dialectally Votic has geminates with a short first component (Eastern Votic region together with the vicinity of the village of Mati), e.g. kottō 'home (ill.)', nažgō 'face (gen.)', ejjā 'brook (ill.)', ejjō 'life (gen.)', siñnū 'your' (all from the village of Mati). This secondary gemination occurs before a long vowel.

§ 9. Palatalized consonants are also found in Votic. Those consonants that are formed in the dental region can be palatalized, i. e. t, d, n, s, z, l, r. Palatalized consonants may be single phones or geminates:

t' : Otju 'Audotia (proper name)', Matō 'Matrena (proper name)';

d' : judin 'I read (imperf.)', sudimma 'we combed', Mađō 'Matrena (proper name) (gen.)', vadđa 'stake, peg', vidđeZ 'fifth', ädđä 'father-in-law';

n' : nako 'face', nemoi 'silent, mute', inehmīn 'person, human', kanervo 'hemp', botvena 'vegetable soup', minhā 'daughter-in-law' (Jōgōpāra);

s' : saiiko 'foal', fsoravno 'still, nevertheless', Vaso 'Vasili (proper name)';

z' : Vazō 'Vasili (proper name) (gen.)', azža 'thing', ezžaD 'horse-tails, shave grass';

l' : gulu 'dove', talū 'lamb (dim.)', puteli 'bottle (sub-dialectally)', pallāZ 'bare', illā 'late';

r' : rumka 'liquor glass', gora 'worry', xarokka 'weasel'.

Palatalization in Votic may be contrastive, e.g. vaso 'calf (dim.)' versus Vaso 'Vasili (proper name)'. Though occurring primarily in Russian loanwords, it also appears in a few native Votic geminates. For a very few Votic languages whose language has been very strongly influenced by Russian phonetics, palatalization may follow the Russian pattern; that is, all consonants occurring before front vowels may be palatalized. However, such articulation can in no way be considered as characteristically Votic.

§ 10. The Votic language may have two (or three) consonants at the beginning of a word. The occurrence of two consonants is characteristic primarily of loans and onomatopoeic-descriptive words, e.g. kmasi 'glass', krotta 'mole', kramppi 'cramp', krapu 'crab', prāvittā 'to repair', svātoi 'holy', sjoja 'layer', snāmeni 'flag', šlāppi 'hat', krōsnāB 'he snores', piakuttā 'to clap', krapisa 'to crackle', prakizeB 'it is cracking', streja 'arrow'.

§ 11. The Votic language has sandhi. Voiced phones occurring in front of voiceless ones may become voiceless and vice versa. Sandhi appears in other forms also. A few examples are as follows:

nüd\_miä sinū panen mehelē 'now I am going to marry you off (said to a girl)', meneb\_rinnā 'he is going side by side (with someone)', tulet\_kotō 'you are coming home', tahop\_süvvä 'he wants to eat', mēs\_tuli 'the man came', mēz\_eli vana 'the man was old', mēš\_tšüzüB 'the man asks', annam\_miä siḡḡe opzīta 'I give you some horses', em\_pāznü 'I did not get through', näütäm\_mitāiD 'I show something', ev\_vgi 'I am sick', ev\_vetgettu 'it was not taken'.

§ 12. In Votic the length of short consonants and geminates is more or less equal to the length of the corresponding consonants in Finnish. Single consonants are longer than in Estonian. The geminates are a little shorter than the over-long geminates of Estonian.

§ 13. Consonant gradation has developed farther in Votic than in any other Balto-Finnic language. Gradation affects stops and clusters with stops, in other words stops plus sibilants and affricates. The following is a survey of gradation possibilities:

kk : k: vokki : vokī 'spinning wheel' : 'spinning wheel (gen.)', vaikko : vaikō 'resin' : 'resin (gen.)', paḡḡka : paḡkā 'salary : salary (gen.)', sermikkāD : sermikaZ 'gloves (with fingers) : glove (with fingers)', tüttärikko : tüttärikoD 'girl : girls';

tt : t: kattā : katan 'to cover : I cover', ravvottamā : ravvotan 'to shoe a horse : I shoe a horse';

pp : p: rōppa : rōpassa 'porridge : porridge (elat.)', leppā : lepāD 'alder : alders';

ss : s: kassā : kasan 'to sprinkle, to water : I sprinkle, I water', issua : isun 'to sit : I sit', ḡagassā : ḡagasan 'to devastate : I devastate';

šš : š: karjušši : karjušid 'shepherd : shepherds';

tts : ts: gttsa : gtsā 'end, tip : end, tip (gen.)', virttsa : virtsa 'dung water : dung water (gen.)', suḡḡtsia : suḡḡtsin 'to rinse : I rinse', kammittsa : kammitsā 'fetter, chain : fetter, chain (gen.)';

tšš : tš: pittšā : pitšā 'long : long (gen.)', müttšā : mütšā 'silent, mute : silent, mute (gen.)', tšilttši : tšiltšid 'grasshopper : grasshoppers', lühzettši : lühzettši 'milking pail : milking pail (gen.)';

tšš : dč: väittäšiä : vädči 'to call, invite : call! invite! (sing.)';

k : g: tšako : tšagō 'cuckoo : cuckoo (gen.)', sikā : sigā 'pig : pig (gen.)', rākā : rägā 'nasal mucus : nasal mucus (gen.)', piki : pigikā 'pitch, cobbler's wax : pitch, cobbler's wax (com.)';

hk : hg: tuhka : tuhgassa 'ashes : ashes (elat. sing.)';

ḡk : ḡg: aḡko : aḡgō 'pitchfork : pitchfork (gen.)', kaḡkād : kaḡgaZ 'cloths, materials : cloth, material';

sk : zg: pāsko : pāzgō 'swallow : swallow (gen.)';

sk : zz: ḡaska : ḡazzen 'to let : I let';

šk : žg: šiška : šižgā 'rag : rag (gen.)';

rk : rg: varkād : vargaZ 'thieves : thief';

ḡk : ḡg: jaḡka : jaḡgassa 'foot : foot (elat.)';

pk : bg: šapka : šabgā 'hat : hat (gen.)', jupka : jubgā 'skirt : skirt (gen.)';

tk : dg: matka : madgā 'journey, trip : journey, trip (gen.)', itkeā : idgen 'to cry : I cry', utka : udgaD 'duck : ducks';

tšk : džg: botška : bodžgaD 'barrel, cask : barrels, casks';

fk : vg: slifkoi : slivgaD 'cream (part. pl.) : cream (nom. pl.)';

t : φ: sitē : sie 'binding (gen.) : binding', mato : maō 'snake : snake (gen.)', seta : seā 'war : war (gen.)' (sub-dialectally there is seta : sehā);

t : d: tāti : tādiD 'aunt : aunts', sātu : sādussa 'garden : garden (elat.)', utu : udussa 'fog : fog (elat.)';

t' : d': Maḡo : Maḡoḡḡa 'Matrena (proper name) : Matrena (adess.)';

t : v: ḡauta : ḡavvaḡḡa 'table : table (adess.)', leütā : levvān 'to find : I find';

t : dč: riteḡen : ridčeḡḡa 'I quarrel : to quarrel', vītēsē : vidče 'five (ill.) : five (gen.)';

t : jj (sub-dialectally): riteḡen : rijčeḡḡa 'I quarrel : to quarrel';

ht : h: lehto : lehō 'leaf : leaf (gen.)';

nt : nn-n: lintu : linnū 'bird : bird (gen.)', tšāntā : tsānān 'to turn : I turn';

lt(ḡt) : ll(ḡḡt)~l(ḡt):: peḡto : peḡḡtō 'field : field (gen.)', mēltūB : mēltūtāB 'it is attractive, flattering';

rt : rr-r: ķerta : ķerrā 'time, turn : time, turn (gen.)' ūrtēD : ūre 'grooves, furrows : groove, furrow';

p : v: open : ovessa 'horse : horse (part.)', ḡupān : ḡuvata 'I allow, promise : to allow, promise';

mp : mm: kumpa : kummā 'which one of two, who : which one of two (gen.), whose', sampād : sammaZ 'column : columns';

lp(ḡp) : lv(ḡv): ķeḡpāB : ķeḡvatō 'it is suitable : unsuitable';

rp : rv: urpa : urvaD 'catkin : catkins', varpād : varvaZ 'toe : toes';

s : z: isā : izāssā 'father : father (elat.)', pikkaraisia : pikka-raizeD 'small (part. pl.) : small (nom. pl.)';

hs : hz: uhsi : uhzeḡḡa 'door : door (adess.)', lāhsi : lāhzin 'he went : I went', ḡahsi : ḡahzeD 'child : children';

rs : rz: persād : perzaZ 'piglets : piglet';

š : ž: Maša : Mažā 'Maša (proper name) : Maša (gen.)';

tš : dž (primarily in Eastern Votic): retši : redžē 'sledge : sledge (gen.)', autši : audžiD 'pike : pikes (fish)';

tš : φ: itšä : iä 'age : age (gen.)', ätšēD : äeZ 'harrows : harrow', mätši : mäessä 'hill : hill (elat.)' (sub-dialectally the weak grade may have j as a linking phone before e, e.g. mäjeD 'hills', äjeZ 'harrow');

tš : d: utši : udin 'he read (imperf.) : I read (imperf.)', autši : audiD 'pike : pikes (fish)';

tš : g: atši : agē 'ceiling : ceiling (gen.)', sutši : sugen 'he combed : I comb';

htš : zg: kahtši : kazgē 'birch : birch (gen.)';

htš : zz: lehtši : lezzē 'widow : widow (gen.)' (sub-dialectally the weak grade has ležžē - Jögöperä);

htš : hj: mähtšä : mähjä 'sweetened rye mush : sweetened rye mush (gen.)', pühtšēD : pühje 'towels : towel';

htš : zd: (in Eastern Votic): lehtši : lezdessi 'widow : widow (transl.)';

htš : hd (in Eastern Votic): tähtši : tähdeD 'head, ear of corn : heads, ears of corn';

ntš : nd: entšia : endin 'to fish : I fish', entši : endē 'soul, individual : soul, individual (gen.)';

ntš : nn: tšentšä : tšennä 'shoe : shoe (gen.)';

ntš : nh: entši : enheD 'individual : individuals' (Jögöperä-Luuditsa);

ntš : ndž (in Eastern Votic): entši : endžē 'soul : soul (gen.)', mäntšia : mändžin 'to play : I play' (also in Western Votic);

ltš : ll: seltšä : sellässä 'back : back (elat.)', ültšēD : ülle 'seals, sea dogs : seal, sea dog';

jtš : jg: ejtši : ejgē 'straw : straw (gen.)';

rtš : rdž (in Eastern Votic): ärtšä : ärdžä 'bull : bull (gen.)';

rtš : rj: ärtšä : ärjä 'bull : bull (gen.)', särtši : särjeD 'roach : roaches';

rtš : rd: särtši : särđillä 'roach : roaches (adess.)';

rtš : rg: kurtši : kurgē 'stork : stork (gen.)';

The premise for the radical gradation system presented above is the original openness and closedness of the syllable. If originally the syllable was closed, the weak grade occurs; if, however, the syllable was originally open, then conversely, the strong grade occurs, e.g. isä 'father' < \*isä; izä 'father (gen.)' < \*isän; izässä 'father (elat.)' < \*isästä; isännä 'father (ess.)' < \*isänä.

§ 14. A small part of the most recent loanwords are not affected by consonant gradation, as for example šnurka : šnurkaJMa 'rope : rope (adess.)', staruxa : staruxaD 'old woman : old women'.

Concerning the strong grade of the inessive and of the plural, see § 25 and § 43 respectively.

§ 15. In addition to the so-called radical gradation, (gradation taking place in the stem of a word), Votic also has suffix gradation, which is dependent on the position of the phone in the word. Namely, a single consonant occurring after an unstressed syllable is always in the weak grade, e.g. ettsigo : ettsigō 'a search : a search (gen.)', a kajaga : kajagā 'sea gull : sea gull (gen.)', opezia : opezeD 'horses (part.) : horses', tšedräziväD : tšedräzin 'they were spinning : I was spinning'.

§ 16. In Votic the dynamic main stress is normally on the first syllable of a word. The only exceptions are a few compound words which are no longer treated as compounds, e.g. ebe·Jē 'it is not', para·iko 'now', mā·i·Jma 'world', sesa·ma 'the very one'. Also in the most recent Russian loanwords word stress may occur on syllables other than the first, as for example, fšoravno 'still, nevertheless', signa·Jē 'signal', kamuni·sti 'communist', revolū·ttsija 'revolution'. In the older loanwords the stress is always on the first syllable, where, according to individual usage, it can also occur in the newer loans.

Strong secondary stress occurs on the third (and fifth) syllable(s), e.g. Ju·kemī:n 'reading (noun)', su·vāmī:n 'loving (noun)', tt·ttäri:kko 'girl', pi·kka:izeD 'small (pl.)', ke·Jvatō 'unsuitable', ka·mmita:D 'fetters', ka·vaJa 'sly, clever'. The various case endings, however, show no evident secondary stress, e.g. se·llässä 'back (elat.)', Ju·vvaJMa 'table (adess.)'.

§ 17. The speech melody or intonation of the Votic language is much closer to Estonian than to that of Finnish. The Ingrians, living side by side with Votes, have, however, an intonation pattern which is indeed closer to the intonation of Finnish. As is well known, intonation is a rather conservative phonetic phenomenon which may remain constant for great lengths of time. The fact that Votic and Estonian have more or less the same intonation patterns should in itself give support to the assertion that the Votic language arose from those Balto-Finnic dialects which also become the basis for the Estonian language.

In Votic the intonation pattern of individual words remains at a nearly steady level for the entire length of the word. A small intonational rise at the beginning of the word and a fall at the end are not really noticeable. The intonation pattern for any type of sentence is always falling, as it also is in Estonian, e.g. miä tuJen kotōsē 'I am coming home', miä en tuJē kotōsē 'I am not coming home', elä tuJē kotōsē! 'don't come (sing.) home!'.

§ 18. The articulatory basis of Votic is, nevertheless, noticeably different from the articulatory basis of Estonian. In the Votic

language all phones are formed higher and more intensively than in Estonian. Regarding the more intensive articulation of the phones, Votic is closer to the Finnish language.

## MORPHOLOGY

### Nominals

#### Cases

§ 19. In Votic as in the other Balto-Finnic languages, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals follow the same general principle in their declension. Thus, the changes occurring in all nominals can be considered together.

Votic has the following singular and plural productive cases: nominative, genitive, partitive, illative, inessive, elative, allative, adessive, ablative, translative, essive, abessive, comitative, terminative, excessive, and instructive. The instructive and the comitative II (§ 38) are actually rudimentary cases functioning as adverbs. A separate accusative occurs only for a few pronouns.

Instead of a common standard language, the Votes have a number of small sub-dialects which differ especially widely from one another in regard to morphology. Therefore, all of the more significant case endings will be listed in the discussion which follows. The forms used in the Kattila sub-dialect group are taken as the basic forms for analysis.

§ 20. As is the case with the other Balto-Finnic languages, the nominative singular in Votic has no special marker, e.g. kana 'hen', lehmä 'cow', varvaZ 'toe', tütär 'daughter', kehtain 'yellow'.

The plural marker for the nominative is -D, which as a result of sandhi may also appear as a voiced lenis or a voiceless fortis, e.g. kanaD 'hens', lehmäD 'cows', varpāD 'toes', tüttäreD 'daughters, girls', kehtaiZeD 'yellow (pl.)', but tüttäret\_tulivaD 'the daughters came', tüttäred\_dūmazivaD 'the daughters were thinking'.

§ 21. The marker of the genitive singular is lengthening of the stem vowel. The consonant grade is weak if the nominative singular is in the strong grade. Words ending in a long vowel or in a diphthong have no special marker for the genitive, e.g. (uhsi 'door:'): uhzē 'door (gen.)', (isä 'father:'): izā 'father (gen.)', (kotti 'sack, bag:'): koti 'sack, bag (gen.)', (tüttärikko 'girl:'): tüttärikō 'girl (gen.)',

Ed. note--these additional symbols occur in the transcription of the examples: ē - raised e, ɛ - vowel between e and ä, ɥ - syllable boundary, e.g. tōɥaG. Also, proper names have been capitalized to conform to English usage; this should not be confused with final -B, -G, -D, -Z, which indicate voiceless lenes.

(mā 'land, country!:) mā 'land, country (gen.)', (jā 'ice!:) jā 'ice (gen.)', (veji 'butter, oil!:) veji 'butter, oil (gen.)'. In the Jõgõperä dialect group a half-long vowel or even a sandhi-conditioned short vowel may quite often occur in place of a long vowel, e. g. tütterikõ 'girl (gen.)', kattijā 'kettle (gen.)', tämä nõrepä poiga nain 'his younger son's wife'.

In Votic as in all Balto-Finnic languages, the ending of the genitive was previously -n. In a few instances this former genitive marker appears even today. It occurs primarily in front of the following words: ema 'own', ajā '(to) under', ajja 'under', ajta '(from) under', etē '(to) in front', ezā 'in front', essā '(from) in front', nain-naine 'woman', aika 'time': minūn\_ema 'mine, my own', jahzēn\_ema 'the child's, the child's own', siļļān\_ajā '(to) under the floor', pān\_ajja 'under the head', rässān\_ajta '(from) under the roof', rehēn\_etē 'into the front room', saunān\_ēzā 'in the front room of the bathhouse', Trifonān\_nain 'Trifona's wife', izān\_aikana 'in father's time, in the presence of father'. Usually the genitive -n is pronounced in liaison, that is, the -n is carried over to the beginning of the following word, e. g. minū\_nema 'mine, my own', siļļā\_najā '(to) under the floor', rehē\_netē-rehennetē 'into the front room', etc.

In Eastern Votic and around the region of Mati gemination occurs in front of the long vowel of the genitive, e. g. nižzū 'wheat (gen.)', tšüllā 'village (gen.)'.

The obsolescent -n of the genitive does not appear in the plural. In the plural the genitive markers are either the forms -jē/-jē, -ddē/-ddē or simply the plural stem, e. g. jaļkojē-jaļkoi 'feet (gen.)', ļahsajē-ļahsai 'children (gen.)', linojē-linoi 'sheets, flax (gen.)', lintujē-lintui 'birds (gen.)', rattajē-rattai 'wheels, cart (gen.)', ōnejē-ōnei 'buildings (gen.)', sermi 'fingers (gen.)', keikki 'everything, all (gen. pl.)', inēhmisi 'people (gen.)'. The sub-dialectal occurrence, as in Jarvigoištsülä, of plural genitives such as seipāddē 'stakes, poles (gen.)', tüttārikkodde 'girls (gen.)', puddē 'trees (gen.)', jāddē 'ice (gen. pl.)', kodde 'moths (gen.)', etc. is a general feature in all Votic sub-dialects. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect a genitive plural having double genitive markers can occur, e. g. puddējē 'trees (gen.)'. In the same sub-dialect either a half-long or a short vowel can occur in place of the long vowel, e. g. tāhtijē 'stars (gen.)', tšūlije 'villages (gen.)'.

In the Votic language the marker of the genitive plural is always added to the vowel stem.

First of all, the genitive in Votic appears attributively, e. g. poigā tširja 'the boy's letter', tševällā on lintui ļauļu ļoza 'in

spring the song of the birds is beautiful', se on sigā suku 'this is of pig stock (i. e. unsuitable, good-for-nothing people)'.

The ergative sentence construction belongs here also, e. g. Fjokļa on karū revittū 'Fjokla has been torn by the bear', poigā tehtū 'done by the boy'.

In Votic, as in Finnish, the genitive can function as a dative, e. g. kumpa sinū näüttip\_parep\_keikkia? 'who seems to you to be the best of all?', minū beļe kuhē mennā 'I have no place to go', ohto sinū on savvega setkua 'you have enough clay to knead', keikki piti eļļa 'everyone had to be'.

Furthermore, the genitive indicates the person or object that is doing or accomplishing something, e. g. izā tuļļeza kotōsē 'upon father's coming home'.

In Votic the attributive genitive may occur without a possessive pronoun, e. g. štop\_se eļeis tā mā 'so that it would be his', se gli minū 'that was mine'. In poetic or emphatic style the attributive genitive may appear after the word that it modifies; generally, however, it is always in front of the word to which it refers, e. g. pilvi gli tuļļu taivā 'a cloud of the sky had come', kase gli koto Kigori\_ā! 'but that was Grigori's house!'.

The genitive also indicates how many there are together, e. g. kahē tšezzē 'the two of us', tulimma keļļmē mehē 'we three men came'.

§ 22. In Votic the accusative singular is like either the nominative or the genitive; the plural accusative coincides with the nominative plural, e. g. teukkā emaz\_āntā vetēsē 'stick (sing.) your tail into the water', nāūtā miļļe merkki 'give (show) (sing.) me the signal', avā silmād\_avē 'open (sing.) your eyes', puļmat\_pētti 'the wedding was celebrated', siļļe tuvvaš mokoma kirstu 'such a chest (coffin) will be brought to you', sōjetin vē 'I heated the water', mahzan\_keik\_sūrē mahzō 'I will pay all of the large fee', i tā mā vällā ajevaD 'and they chased him out', sōtetti i jōtetti nāmā 'they were fed and given drink (until they were full)', isā tervūti nāmā 'father greeted them', ep\_kūļļu eļevā 'didn't hear it being so', eb\_nāū tuļļevā 'doesn't seem to be coming'.

A special marker for the accusative has been noted only in regard to a few personal pronouns, e. g. teddet\_lūvvässā 'you are being hit', medded\_etsitti 'we were being looked for' (Lempola).

§ 23. In Votic the marker of the partitive is -ta/-tā ~ -te/ -tē ~ -t, -sa/-sā, -a/-ā; the lengthening of a and ā to ā and ā respectively; or just the stem, which is used only as the marker of the partitive plural, e. g. irtā 'mouse (part.)', epeata 'silver (part.)',

pātā 'head (part.)', ülettä 'cream (part.)', päivüttä 'sun (part.)', sutta 'wolf (part.)', tätä 'him', neitä 'them', varkaita 'thieves (part.)', mungita 'eggs (part.)', einoita 'hay (part. pl.)', vasaroita 'hammers (part.)', tütäritä 'daughters (part.)', pillitä 'musical instruments (part.)', opezita 'horses (part.)', rikkäpita 'richer (part. pl.)'. The Jõgõperä sub-dialect may have -e and -g as the final vowel of the partitive marker, e. g. pāte 'head (part.)', muite 'others (part.)', lähette 'source, spring (part.)', etc. As already stated above (§ 6), the final vowel of a case marker may disappear. Thus, in unstressed sandhi positions, and even in stressed positions, the partitive also can have forms without a vowel, e. g. kunni zvierid veittivad lintuit 'until the animals defeated the birds', tuon süvvä sūri pähtšini i gunēi 'I bring big nuts and apples to eat', tütär eli kerkeat kazvua 'the daughter was of tall growth (i. e. the daughter was tall)' (Lempola). Apocope is especially characteristic of the Jõgõperä sub-dialect.

Words whose stem ends in -s have -sa/-sä as the marker of the partitive, e. g. naissa 'woman (part.)', massa 'child (part.)', vimissä 'last (part.)', kaunissa 'red (part.)'.

Besides the already mentioned partitive in -ta/-tä, -a/-ä also occurs as a marker of the partitive. This happens primarily in disyllabic words. However, since according to individual and sub-dialectal usage the partitive in -a/-ä is common also to words of three or more syllables, it is not possible to draw a definite boundary between these two partitive markers, e. g. lintua 'bird (part.)', makga 'ceiling (part.)', savvea 'clay (part.)', pihua 'palm of the hand (part.)', seppiä 'smith (part.)', minua 'me (part.)', sinua 'you (part. sing.)', tütärikkoa 'girl (part.)', ghtagoa 'evening (part.)', naizikkoa 'woman (part.)'.

Words with stems ending in -a/-ä have a long vowel as the partitive marker, e. g. päivä 'day, sun (part.)', leipä 'bread (part.)', lidnä 'town (part.)', tijä 'place (part.)', vorotnikkā 'collar (part.)'.

Partitives with double partitive markers, such as nõrepāta 'younger (part.)', üvätä 'good (part.)', leipätä 'bread (part.)', vävüätä 'son-in-law (part.)', should not go unnoticed. This type of partitive occurs everywhere in the Votic language area. It is especially common in the Kattila sub-dialect group.

The most common marker of the partitive plural is the plural stem, e. g. emi velli '(one's) own brothers (part.)', värttāni 'distaffs (part.)', linoi 'sheets, flax (part.)', mahsai 'children (part.)', jalloi 'feet (part.)', menikkai pajoi 'several pieces, sections (part.)', kapusoi 'cabbages (part.)', mutukoi 'bugs (part.)', sojdat tai 'soldiers (part.)'.

In Votic the partitive is used first of all to express a partial object, e. g. tütärikkein sōp\_kuivā leipā 'the girl (dim.) eats some dry bread', sedgon savvea 'I am kneading some clay', orkozaizet tšüntäväd jo pentua 'the inhabitants of the village of Mati (=orkozaizet) are already plowing the field', tōn süvvä lihā i veita 'I bring some meat and butter to eat', pani sūrē kaukaio siniš savvea 'he put a big trough of blue clay', antagā kuiva papa leipätä 'give (pl.) a dry piece of bread'.

The partial subject is also in the partitive, e. g. on vėl leipā 'there is more bread', mā-mungita lēB 'there will be some potatoes', dabuni opezita 'a herd of horses'.

With negation the object is always in the partitive, and under certain circumstances so is the subject, e. g. beje kaloi 'there is no fish', mā pällä tijā eb lē 'there will be no place on earth', emā bejuu täl 'he had no mother', üvätä beje ühtāiD 'there is not one good one', en taho läntüä 'I don't want sour milk', emmā esa kast sepā 'we are not buying this article of clothing'.

With the exception of the numeral ühsi 'one', the partitive singular occurs after words of quantity, e. g. ühs maš\_on kotona 'one child is at home', kahs kem vaddamaisi tšülä 'two or three Votic villages', elin lidnaza tšümmē vōtta 'I was in the city ten years', miū on pallo ätätä 'I have much trouble', kahs pihua sūrimoi 'two handfuls of barley'.

The origin of someone or something, or the classification of someone or something into a certain category is indicated by the partitive, e. g. tämä naizikko on tōž soikkozaisi 'this woman is also a Soikkola Ingrian', sika on üvā (~üvätä) sukua 'the pig is of a good breed', tütär eli kerkeat kazvua 'the daughter was of tall growth (i. e. the daughter was tall)'.

When it stands next to the comparative, the word with which something is compared is always in the partitive, e. g. keikkega sūrep pojo 'the biggest boy of all', miä gjen pallo vanapi teitä 'I am much older than you (pl.)', kerkeapant lidnä 'from higher than the town'.

The partitive is used also as a place and time adverbial, e. g. kurgaza tšättä 'in the left hand', senel päivä, kasen päivä 'on that day', teizej päivä 'on another day', ühel kertä tuli sūr tūli 'once there came a big wind', kemmettomani ötä 'on the third night' (Mati).

Furthermore the partitivus causae should also be noted, e. g. on itšävä emā 'mother is pitied, mother is felt sorry for', lezzellä eli itšävä mēssä 'the widow felt sorry, sad about her husband'. Also, the partitivus directionis, e. g. tämä taitšinākā viskazi irtä 'he/she threw the mouse with dough (i. e. he/she threw dough at the mouse)'.



Concerning the prepositions and postpositions which require the partitive see § 126, § 130.

§ 24. Monosyllabic word stems have -hē/-hē or -hā/-hā as the marker of the illative. Words of two or more syllables have a long stem vowel or a diphthong in the illative, or else they have lengthening of the stem vowel. The emphatic particle -sē/-sē may be added to each of these markers, e.g. jähē~jähēsē 'ice (ill.)', pähē~pähēsē 'head (ill.)', öhē~öhēsē 'night (ill.)', sohē~sohēsē 'marsh (ill.)', suhē~suhēsē 'mouth (ill.)', puhē~puhēsē 'tree (ill.)'. pähā~pähāsē 'head (ill.)' occurs dialectally. mahā~mahāsē 'ground, land (ill.)' is used generally. Examples from stems having more than one syllable are as follows: koirū~koirūsē 'mischief (ill.)', lidnā~lidnāsē 'town (ill.)', tšätē~tšätēsē 'hand (ill.)', setā~setāsē 'war (ill.)', kahtšizikkō~kahtšizikkōsē 'birch grove (ill.)'. Likewise, the forms onē~onēsē 'building (ill.)', taivā~taivāsē 'heaven (ill.)', tširvē~tširvēsē 'ax (ill.)' also occur. However, words ending in -e, -eZ, -iZ, -aZ, (e.g. lähe 'source, spring', kalliZ 'dear, expensive', lumekaZ 'snowy') almost always have the illative ending in -sē/-sē. Dialectally in the vicinity of Kattila the emphatic particle has a short final vowel, e.g. lidnāsē 'town (ill.)', tšätēsē 'hand (ill.)'. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect the illative may have a half-long vowel in place of a long vowel, e.g. mahā 'ground, land (ill.)', kattijā 'kettle (ill.)', elõsē 'life (ill.)'.

Noteworthy is the Eastern Votic form mettsāsēG 'forest (ill.)', pimāsēG 'milk (ill.)'. Here we are concerned with the lative marker -k, which has been added to the illative.

In the plural the emphatic particle -sē/-sē is general as the marker of the illative. It is added to the plural stem, e.g. maisē 'lands (ill.)', lintuisē 'birds (ill.)', vasaroisē 'hammers (ill.)', pehmisē~pehmeisē 'soft (ill. pl.)', sūrepisē 'bigger (ill. pl.)'.

In those sub-dialects where gemination occurs, the consonant occurring in front of the long vowel of the illative is geminated, e.g. tšättē~tšättē 'hand (ill.)' (Jõgõperä), elõsēsē 'life (ill.)' (Mati), tafrēsēG 'bathhouse (ill.)' (Itšäpäivä).

First of all, the illative indicates movement toward something, and the placing or situating of something (someone) somewhere, e.g. pojod menivät teisē tšülāsē 'the boys went to another village', pane leipä varttisē 'put (sing.) the bread into the bag', lehmät tulivad mettsāsē 'the cows came into the forest', varez lenti puhē 'the crow flew onto the tree', tämä meni eikeä tšätēsē 'he went to the right', sovdatti meni kappi 'the soldier went to the closet'.

Further, the illative indicates the habitual frequentation of a place, e.g. tämä tšäüsi lidnā 'he often went to town' (cf. tšäüsi lidnaza 'he went to town once').

A direct connection between different objects can be expressed with the illative, e.g. lein varpā tšivēsē 'I hit (imperf.) my toe against the stone (rock)', ratkazin nagjāsē sgermē 'I hit (imperf.), chopped my finger against the nail', pane šläppi pähē 'put (sing.) the hat onto your head', issū opezege seltšā 'sit (sing.) on the horse', kojize uhsē 'knock (sing.) on the door'.

The work or activity which one is setting out to perform is denoted by the illative, e.g. naizikod meniväd mettsā marjāsē 'the women went to the forest to pick berries', karjušši trubitti i meni karjā 'the shepherd blew his horn and went to (tend) the flock', kuhē menet töhē? 'where are you (sing.) going to work?', menti tšäümäsē 'they went to woo', vammissua setāsē 'to get ready for war, to go to war', umalikkād mehed evät keprā töhē 'drunken men are not suitable for work'.

The illative indicates the person, circumstance, object, or thing under whose administration or influence someone (something) may come, e.g. mõ jäimmä pimiāsē 'we got caught in the dark', tšenēsē on poika? 'whom does the son resemble?'.

The illative is also used to show the time when something occurs. The time is not precisely determined, e.g. vanā aikā elimmä pazgassi 'in the old times we lived badly', se eli elmuinā 'this was once upon a time', kojoxozā aikā 'during the collective farm era', päivässä päivāsē 'from day to day'.

§ 25. The marker of the inessive is -za/-zā. According to its sandhi position the inessive marker can also appear as -Z. The apocopated marker -Z may even appear as -s or -š, e.g. māza 'ground, land (iness.)', pāzā 'head (iness.)', jaŋgaza 'foot (iness.)', pezazā 'nest (iness.)', kammittsaza 'fetter (iness.)', tammizikkoza 'oak grove, grave yard (iness.)', but māz gli kasē 'dew was on the ground', pēnepāz rihezā on jauta 'the table is in the smaller room', eglē elimma lidnaZ 'yesterday we were in town', (the word elimma is emphasized, cf. elimma lidnaza, 'we were in town, not in the country'), kurgaš tšäezā 'in the left hand'. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect the inessive marker can have -e/-g as its final vowel, e.g. tšüläze 'village (iness.)', jaŋgeze 'foot (iness.)'. In the same dialect the apocopated inessive ending is especially widespread. In the plural, the same ending as for the singular is added to the plural stem, e.g. maiza 'lands (iness.)', tšülizā 'villages (iness.)'.

A characteristic feature of the Votic inessive is the fact that geminate stops -kk-, -pp-, -tt-, the geminate affricates -tts-, -ttš-, the geminate -ss-, and the consonant cluster -hs- always are in the strong grade before this case marker, e.g. verkkoza

'net (iness.)', rōppaza 'porridge (iness.)', ᵛauttaza 'animal shed (iness.)', mettsäzä 'forest (iness.)', pittšäzä 'long, tall (iness.)', mussaza 'black (iness.)', ᵛahseza 'child (iness.)', ᵛuzikkaza 'spoon (iness.)', kammittsaza 'fetter (iness.)', lühzettšizä 'milking pail (iness.)', etc. However, a single stop and a single -s- always have the weak grade in the inessive, e.g. orgoza 'valley (iness.)', pāza 'pot (iness.)', kravuzä 'crag (iness.)', izäzä 'father (iness.)'.

The inessive indicates location, e.g. miä emen elännü aina emaza tšüläzä 'I have always lived in my own village', mettsäzä nāin pēdrä 'I saw an elk in the forest', grava issu pūza 'a squirrel sat on the tree', koirūz on jo verezä 'mischief is already in the blood', tšen on uhsēza? 'who is behind the door?'

The inessive, like the illative, expresses a direct connection between different objects, e.g. pojōᵛᵛᵛa on kauniš tšiuᵛᵛto selläzä 'the boy is wearing a red shirt', tširjavat tšintät tšäezä 'multi-colored gloves on the hands'.

The inessive indicates the affecting circumstance, power, or force, e.g. kuivattagā kaᵛᵛat päivūz 'dry (pl.) the fish (pl.) in the sun', kahs sermēga tšämmälezä 'two fingers bent', sūr mato on ᵛukkoza 'a big serpent is locked up' (from a fairy tale), se beᵛᵛᵛu vēlä naiziza 'this one was not yet married', kuᵛᵛᵛā voimaza 'in the glow of gold', mād on keᵛᵛmeza nurmeza 'the land is in three fields'.

The time within which something happens is denoted by the inessive, e.g. siä emaz jäz ed ehi hukata 'you (sing.) won't be able to waste (it) in your lifetime', keᵛᵛmeza päiväzä tetši vaᵛᵛmissi 'he finished it in three days'.

The inessive also expresses the activity or the work in which one is engaged, e.g. ᵛahzēd elivad obahkaza 'the children were out gathering mushrooms', elimma kōminaza tappamaza 'we were in the threshing-barn threshing (grain)', kuza emet tōzä? 'where are you working?'

Note should be taken of the fact that the verb jāmā 'to remain' can occur with the inessive, e.g. miᵛᵛ kizaz on jaᵛᵛnū menikkai paᵛᵛoi 'a few pieces (of food) have remained in my bag' (Lempola). However, even in Votic the illative is still the more common form, e.g. jāi kotō 'he/it remained at home'.

§ 26. The marker of the relative is -ssa/-ssä, -sse/-sse, or the apocopated form -š, which occurs as a result of sandhi, e.g. sūssa 'mouth (elat.)', mehessä 'man (elat.)', nätšēmässä 'seeing (noun, elat.)', akkunassa 'window (elat.)', but tämä akkunaš rägahtī 'he shouted once from the window', ajan emāš kōssa vällä 'I chase, drive (something) out of my house, home'. The apocopated relative

marker is especially widespread in the Jōgōperä sub-dialect. In the same sub-dialect relative forms such as kāpisse 'closet, cupboard (elat.)', silmisse 'eyes (elat.)' can be heard. In the plural the same case marker as for the singular is added to the plural stem.

The relative indicates departure or removal from a certain place, and the direction from which one comes or originates, e.g. veᵛᵛa verkossa kaᵛᵛat 'take (sing.) the fish from the net', lidnassa tōtī buᵛᵛkkä 'white bread was brought from town', tulin rannassa 'I came from the shore', saksamaᵛᵛin ajetti meddē māssa vällä 'the German was driven out of our country', tämä pakeᵛᵛni vällä mehessä 'she ran away from her husband' (Mati), nämä pakeᵛᵛnivad zvierissä 'they ran away from the wild animals' (Lempola).

The relative is used to express the cessation of a direct connection between objects, e.g. sermuhsē tšäješ veᵛᵛtan 'I take the ring from the finger' (Lempola), šnurka katkezi kukšīnassa 'the rope broke off from the mug'.

The relative shows the source or the material from which something is made, e.g. pata on tehtü savvessa 'the pot is made from clay', ᵛenka on viᵛᵛmassa 'the yarn is of wool'.

The relative indicates the opening or the path through which some action occurs, e.g. emintimä rägahtī akkunassa 'the step-mother shouted once from the window', tämä tuli uhzeš akkunavälle 'he came outside through the door', ampu pūsüssä 'he shot from the gun'.

The relative shows that part of a whole which is under consideration, e.g. ūhsi nōrissa 'one of the young', tämä eli aivō mūdra teisīs vellīs 'he was quite smart compared to the other brothers', naiz-emokoiš on kotona Marō 'of the women folk (only) Marjo is at home'.

The relative denotes a person, being or object about whom or which someone is speaking, e.g. kaska kunikā tūtāres 'fairy tale about a king's daughter', tämä pajatti meddē tšülä peᵛᵛossa 'he spoke about the burning of our village'.

The relative also shows that being or object for whom or for which something is obtained or paid in return, e.g. ante rublā dengoit pillissä 'he gave one ruble of money for the (clay) flute', sain tōssä üvā paᵛᵛkā 'I got good wages for the work'.

Further, the relative indicates that which is caught or held, e.g. i veᵛᵛti tūtärt tšäeš tšīn 'and he took his daughter by the hand' (Lempola), koira puri ᵛassa jaᵛᵛgassa 'the dog bit the child on the foot', jāi ännässä tšīni 'it got caught by its tail'.

Finally, the relative expresses the period of time of origin, or the time during which something occurs, e.g. tšäppä on švėdā

aigassa 'the grave is from the Swedish period', senessä päivässä 'from this day', päivässä päiväsē ottēn poigarta tširjā 'from day to day I wait for a letter from my son'.

§ 27. The marker of the allative in Votic is -llē/-llē, -lle/-lle, -llē, or -lē/-lē, -le/-le, -l/-l. The occurrence of these endings fluctuates considerably dialectally and in individual usage. In general, however, their occurrence is as follows: after a short vowel with main or secondary stress, the geminate -llē/-llē occurs; after a non-short vowel and an unstressed syllable the single -l/-l occurs, e.g. miillē 'I (all.)', tällē 'he (all.)', tšellē 'who (all.)', vimezellē~vimizellē 'last (adj.) (all.)', sesarellē 'sister (all.)', tüttärellē 'daughter (all.)', but völē 'belt (all.)', tölē 'work (all.)', näilē 'they (all.)', māllē 'ground, land (all.)', sesariellē 'sisters (all.)', pitšälē 'long (all.)', naizellē (all.)', üvälē 'good (all.)', ghtagoizellē 'supper (all.)'. Dialectally (the village of Pontizõõ) the single -l/-l occurs also after the secondary stress, e.g. tüttärelē 'daughter (all.)', tuttavallē 'acquaintance (all.)'. In other dialects (Luuditsa) gemination occurs even after an unstressed syllable, e.g. mehelle 'man, husband (all.)', kanallē 'hen (all.)'. Not only in the latter dialect region, but in other areas also, a short word-final vowel may occur due to sandhi. The short vowel is especially common in the personal pronouns miillē 'I (all.)', siillē 'you (all. sing.)', tälle 'he (all.)', meile 'we (all.)', etc. In Jõgõperä a half-long word-final vowel is quite common, e.g. māllē 'land, ground (all.)', mehelē 'man (all.)', tütterellē 'daughter (all.)'.

In order to bring the function of the allative to the fore, the emphatic marker for the illative -sē/-sē can be added to the allative ending. This feature is especially characteristic of the Kattila region, e.g. siillānsē 'bridge, floor (all.)', emälēsē 'mother (all.)', jalikoillēsē 'feet (all.)'.

The Votic allative is a very productive case. It is used first of all to denote proceeding, or putting something (someone), to a place, e.g. meni kaivō rakkēllē 'he went to the wall enclosing the well', pani leivā tavvullē 'he put the bread on the table', viskamma māllē 'we throw/let's throw (it) on the ground!', pani mēkā vōlē 'he put the sword in his belt'.

The allative indicates the continual and habitual frequentation of a place, e.g. ühz naizikko tšäüs nittāmā peillollē 'one woman went (continually, as a matter of course) to mow on the field', kuttse puimeijēsē 'he was always inviting (someone) to the wedding'.

The allative indicates setting out in the direction of someone or something, e.g. tāmā johzep hukollē vassā 'he is running to greet the old man' (Mati), meni teizellē sesarallē 'she went to the

other sister', tuli vanallē ämmälē 'she came to the old mother (dim.)', kunikaz jahtsi bābuškallē 'the king let, allowed (someone) to go to grandmother' (from a fairy tale).

The allative expresses that person or object toward whom or which some action is directed, or in respect to whom or which an action is performed, e.g. bābuška miillē pajatti 'grandmother told me', keik miillē jätä 'leave (sing.) everything to me', tšellē se tufli keppāB? 'for whom is the slipper suitable?', issū opezellē seltsā! 'sit (sing.) on the horse!', karullē i silmät tšin piti panna 'even the eyes of the bear had to be closed' (from a fairy tale), neisi tāmā sesariellē nittāmā 'he started to mow for the sisters', näilē tuli tās paha mēli 'they started to get into a bad mood again', teilē mehilē, mehē põzellē, ain lēb aikā 'you men/menfolk will always have time', kummartatti tällē 'he was bowed to (i. e. they bowed to him)'.

The allative expresses that which comes under some power or into some situation, e.g. jazid minua voliellē 'they set me free', keik jagad rikkozin verelē 'I beat (broke) all feet until they bled', venüttās pitšälē 'it is stretched long'.

The allative marks the person to whom one gets married, e.g. nūd miä sinū panen mehelē 'now I am going to marry you off (said to a woman)', evät tā što nōrikke mehelē meni 'they don't know that the bride got married', naisiuzi teizellē naizellē 'he got married to another woman'.

The allative is used to express sensory impressions, e.g. kui üvälē haizep keik! 'how good everything smells!', maistā pahallē 'to taste bad', ivuhsed on musallē 'the hair seems black'.

The allative expresses permission, denial, duty, and command, e.g. kui miillē mennä? 'how must I go?', anna miillē tšävvä 'let (sing.) me walk', tšähsi tüttärellē panna vōlē tšin 'he told his daughter to fasten (it) to her belt', mitä siillē vajā? 'what do you (sing.) need?'.

The allative can also indicate the owner of something, e.g. a tällē kunikkā tüttäred elivat kerjettu jaivaza 'but he had princesses hidden in the ship' (Lempola, from a fairy tale), elmuinā eli emintimā tüttärikkezellē 'in times gone by, the girl (dim.) had a stepmother', tällē täütti kahtšümmei vōtta 'he became twenty years old', miillē keimget päivā tolki elä 'I have only three days to live' (from a fairy tale).

Finally, the allative can show the action or activity which someone (something) is setting out to perform, e.g. kuhē mēmmä tölē? 'where are we going to work?'.

§ 28. The marker of the adessive is -llä/-llä, -lle/-lle, -lā/-lā, -l/-l. However, the geminate forms are general as

markers of the adessive, e. g. mājja 'ground, land (adess.)', pällä 'head (adess.)', pujja 'trees (adess.)', meillä 'we (adess.)', siija 'you (adess.)', lennoija 'flight (adess.)', poigaija 'son (adess.)', pitšällä 'long, tall (adess.)', tüttärikoija 'girl (adess.)', etc. As happens with final vowels of other case markers, the a and ä of the adessive very often disappear as a result of sandhi, e. g. rägutti sūreji älellä 'they shouted with big (i. e. loud) voices', nahka-iri päiväl ev veji lennellä 'a bat cannot fly about during the day', keiki jauju tuuti 'everyone came singing'. In the case of apocope after a long vowel in main stress position, a short -l or -r can occur, e. g. meil velli jäi kotō 'we had our brother stay at home', teil sünnüp\_tütär 'a daughter will be born to you'. Apocopated forms occur most consistently in the Jōgōperä sub-dialect. In the same sub-dialect -e/ -g can occur as the final vowel of the adessive, e. g. nurmeje 'meadow, field (adess.)', tšäelle 'hand (adess.)', silmille 'eyes (adess.)'. From the Eastern Votic sub-dialects an adessive with only a single -l has been noted also, e. g. plodgaja 'whip (adess.)', opezeja 'horse (adess.)', ülä 'night (adess.)'.

The adessive in Votic is likewise a productive case. The following uses can be considered noteworthy. First of all, the adessive shows the place where or near which something (someone) is, e. g. kagra kazvap\_pegjovija 'the oats grow on the field', Kattijajja on kahs tšülä gtsā 'in Kattila there are two ends to the village', meil ühs velli jäi kotō 'one of our brothers stayed at home (lit. by us one brother stayed at home)', glimma teil 'we were at your place', keiki piäb\_ejja kunikāi 'everyone has to be by the king' (from a fairy tale).

The adessive shows the owner, e. g. meil eli ēzepi paska\_elo 'we had a bad life before', miij on üvä lehmä 'I have a good cow', pedrajja on sūret\_sarved 'the elk has big horns', tüttärikoija beje emä 'the girl doesn't have a mother'.

The adessive indicates that person or object to whom or to which something happens, e. g. teil sünnüp\_tütär 'a daughter will be born to you', sesarejja kōli poika 'the sister had a son die', äddäl kejpaiž\_ülē panna '(it) would be suitable for the father-in-law to put on (to wear)'.

The adessive denotes the tool, the means with which or with the assistance of which something is accomplished. Likewise the adessive denotes the person by whom some action is performed, e. g. meniväd\_jaivaija sinne 'they went there by boat', rägutti sūreji älellä 'they shouted with a big (i. e. loud) voice', pāzgod\_vettavad lennoija tšimō tšini 'flying the swallows catch the bee',

(however, to express the instrumental concept in question, the comitative is more commonly used); tämä eli atamanajja varga-settu 'he was robbed by the devil' (from a fairy tale), siija on vetettu bābuška\_üvä tširja kāsa 'you have taken a good letter along from your grandmother'.

The adessive may express a situation that has some action occurring simultaneously with it, e. g. keiki jauju tuuti 'everyone came singing'. However, to express this relationship the comitative is still more commonly used.

The adessive indicates the time when something occurs, e. g. nahka-iri päiväl ev veji lennellä 'during the day a bat cannot fly about', elin lidnaza sūtšüzüllä 'I was in town in the fall'. With this case, time is also expressed in such a manner that the noun is in the partitive (see § 23) and the numeral or pronoun in front of it is in the adessive, e. g. senel päivā 'on that/this day', ühel kertā tuli sūr tūli 'once there came a big wind'.

The adessive denotes duty, obligation, need, or the person or thing that should do something, e. g. kui miij mennä teise tšülä? 'how should I go to the other village?', miij piäb\_leivāt\_setkua 'I have to knead the breads (i. e. the dough)', täl piti\_ejja kahteteš-šemē tunnišā 'he had to be (there) until twelve o'clock', kumma\_ silmät\_tšin panna? 'who (of two) has to close his eyes?'.

The adessive can occur together with the now completely neutralized possessive suffix. This combination has an adverbial function, e. g. uhzē eli jättännü ragojja 'he had left the door ajar', täl on\_kervad\_mokkōjja 'his ears are drooping', ürvüllä 'stooped'.

§ 29. The ablative marker is -jta/-ltä, -jte/-lte, -jt/-lt, e. g. mājta 'land, ground (abl.)', miltä 'I (abl.)', naizejta 'woman, wife (abl.)', tüttärikojta 'girl (abl.)'. -jt/-lt can occur due to sandhi, or as a shortened form, e. g. eli vanajit naizejta jännü tütär 'from the former wife a daughter had remained', tält tšüzütti 'he was asked (lit. from him [it] was asked)', minū mājit vällä! 'out of my land!'. Apocopated forms are most common in the Jōgōperä sub-dialect. In this same sub-dialect g and e can occur as a result of reduction of final -a and -ä, respectively, e. g. värttenelte 'distaff (abl.)', tšässilte 'hand (abl.)', paikete 'spot, place (abl.)'.

The ablative shows the person or being from whom something is obtained or from whom something proceeds or starts out, e. g. sain tširjā poigajta 'I got a letter from (my) son', essi sevāt\_sgb-rajta 'he bought the clothes from (his) friend', tšüzüp\_tält 'he asks him (lit. he asks from him)'.

The ablative can indicate the place from which someone (something) is coming or going. Likewise it indicates the person from

whose place someone (something) is coming or going, e. g. kēs peļļonā tuļemma 'when we come from the field', pojot tulivad jarveņa entšimassa 'the boys came from the lake from fishing', tulin bābuškaņa 'I came from grandmother's place' kui mēneit virstaņt tuli 'how many versts (=0.6629 miles) did he come from away'.

The ablative designates the person or object in respect to whom or which a connection is broken off, e. g. sueņta äntā kad- gattī 'the tail was pulled off the wolf', miņa jaņgā murti 'my leg was broken (lit. from me it broke the leg)', avas karuņt sil- mād 'he opened the bear's eyes (lit. he opened from the bear the eyes)' (from a fairytale), tō ezad-ühtē evād-mennūd-mehelt 'the man didn't have the sections of the work fit together (lit. from the man the sections of the work didn't go together)'.

The ablative shows the person or being by whom something is accomplished, e. g. ēnen mūneittu neđđant 'I am deformed by the witch' (from a fairytale).

The ablative can indicate the time from which something originates, e. g. vōsi vuvveņa on parapi elā 'from year to year living becomes better (lit. year from year is better to live)'.

The ablative can also occur together with the semantically neutralized possessive suffix. In such instances, the ablative has an adverbial function, e. g. kaņa gsetti elāvältā 'the fish was bought alive', sōp-tšihvaņtā 'he eats (it) hot', rāgahti kert nimeltā 'he shouted/called (someone) once by name'.

§ 30. Quite generally throughout the entire Votic language area the translative marker is -ssi, -ssiG. However, in sandhi the form -s̄ can also occur, although apocope is not so common with this particular case as it is with the other cases, e. g. ōssi 'night (transl.)', tēssi 'road (transl.)', ülepāssi 'chief, superior (transl.)', mālehtūhsessi 'remembrance, souvenir (transl.)', naizessi 'woman, wife (transl.)', antēssi 'as forgiveness', keņ- meņtomassi 'third (transl.)', but huļļuā meni 'he went crazy', veņgaš veņamma 'we take as/to a debt'.

In Eastern Votic the translative marker ends in a stop, e. g. ūsessiG 'night (transl.)', vanassiG 'old (transl.)'. In the sub-dialects of present day Votic only the word mi 'what' has in quite a few localities the translative form mihsi, in addition to the regular translative forms missi-miš. As the notations from the last century indicate, at that time -hsi could have appeared as the sign of the translative in other instances also, as for example in the words tšivehsi 'stone, rock (transl.)', suehsi 'wolf (transl.)' (Jōgōperä). The translative in -hsi is especially general in

Ahlqvist's Wotisk grammatik. It is probable, however, that Ahlqvist was merely theorizing in regard to the translative.

The translative first of all indicates the situation, relation, or state which is attained, e. g. lämmittās tšihvassi 'it is heated hot, it is heated until it will be hot', sai naizessi Trifonā tüttäre 'he got Trifona's daughter for a wife', jauta krāzgattī musassi 'the table was painted black', tē lühüpāssi 'make (sing.) (it) shorter', nī eli meil senāš tehtū 'so we had agreed (lit. thus by us was made for/to the word)'.

The translative shows the situation, the state in which someone (something) is, e. g. tahte eļļa keikķea ülepāssi 'he wanted to be superior to everyone' (Mati).

Further, the translative shows the time during which some action takes place or stops, or the time before which an action occurs, e. g. tulin siļļe ühessi tunnissi 'I came to your (sing.) place for an hour', sojdati tšūsū ōssi 'the soldier asked (for lodging) for the night', Īvana tei vimezessi 'Ivan was the last to bring (it) (lit. Ivan brought as/to the last)', keņmeņtomassi piāb- emmeņa tšiuhto 'as the third (thing) a shirt has to be sewed'.

The translative designates purpose, e. g. nā tāria tēssi! 'here take (sing.) some small beer along for the road!', antagā antēssi! 'forgive! (pl.) (lit. give as forgiveness!)', missi (~miš) tāmā on hakka? 'why (for what purpose) is she an old woman?'.

Finally, the translative indicates the language that is spoken, e. g. pajatan vaddanaizessi, vaddakossi 'I speak Votic', juttē māssi! 'say (sing.) it in Votic (in the language of the land)!', kui on venāissi? 'how is it in Russian?', virossi 'in Estonian'.

§ 31. The essive marker is -na/-nā, -ne/-ne, -nna/-nnā, -nne/-nne. In sandhi, the essive case ending can also be -n and -ñ. In the individual sub-dialects of the Votic language, the form of the essive marker is very varied. First of all, there are sub-dialects where -na/-nā occurs with the vowel stem, and -nna/-nnā with the consonant stem, e. g. Jaņsena 'child (ess.)', nōrena 'young (ess.)', kotona 'home (ess.)', tallikķeizena 'lambkin (ess.)', naizikkona 'woman (ess.)', but tševännā 'spring (season) (ess.)', ōmeņa 'tomorrow', keļmeņa 'three (ess.)'. In many Votic villages, however, the geminated essive marker is general also for the vowel stems, e. g. üvännā 'good (ess.)', emännā 'mother (ess.)', ehtagonna 'evening (ess.)', kōļļanna 'dead (ess.)', prāznikkanna 'feast day (ess.)', setamehennā 'soldier, warrior (ess.)' (Mati, Kōrvōttula, Lempola), pēnenne 'small (ess.)', ohtegonne 'evening (ess.)' (Jōgōperä). Shortened forms resulting from sandhi can be heard in all villages, e. g. marjoikā süönnūn-ēļļa 'to get full from

eating berries', tu<sub>1</sub>en omēn pān 'I will come tomorrow', ize meni tu<sub>1</sub>en 'he himself went as the wind' (Lempola).

As a predicate adverb the essive expresses the idea of being something or being considered as something, e.g. älä e<sub>1</sub>e tuisku-tupurinna ja <sub>1</sub>aiska-<sub>1</sub>apurinna 'don't (sing.) be a madcap or a lazy-bones' (Lempola), kui miä elin tüttärikkona Kattila<sub>1</sub>lla 'when as a girl I was at Kattila', leb <sub>1</sub>ahzē emännä 'she will become mother to the child', elin setamehennä Tallinaza 'I was in Tallinn as a soldier', vai siä karjuššīn e<sub>1</sub>eD? 'are you the shepherd?'

The adverbial function of the essive also includes that of indicating state or manner, e.g. tahto üvänä (~üvännä) e<sub>1</sub>lla 'he wanted to be good, he wanted to make himself appear good', makāb jo kō<sub>1</sub>ūna (~kō<sub>1</sub>ūnna) māta tšebiätä 'already he is sleeping dead in the "light" earth', marjoikā süönnūn e<sub>1</sub>lla 'to get full from eating berries' (Lempola), e<sub>1</sub>eizit siä sinä tu<sub>1</sub>e tuiskuna (~tuiskunna) 'if you (sing.) would be there like a whirlwind (i. e. as fast as that)'

The essive expresses time that is more or less definite, e.g. se eli ehtagona (~ehtagonna) 'that was in the evening', nävād neisti omnikkoñ 'they got up in the morning' (Mati), viddespān lähsi 'he started to go on Friday', tämä süntü jo menhä vōn 'he was born last year already', prāznikkan eli tšülazā pallo vätšjä 'on the feast day there were many people in the village'.

The essive even indicates location, e.g. issuzivat keiki <sub>1</sub>avvā takana 'they all sat behind the table', tšen on kotona? 'who is at home?', elimme izā vellē tüvenne 'we lived at father's brother's place' (Jõgõperä).

The essive can also have a possessive suffix, the function of which has been neutralized, e.g. eli ühsinā 'he was alone, by himself', ühste ššēme<sub>1</sub>t tunnia sāp tāünnä 'the time will be eleven o'clock' (Mati), ülleüdnā kauniZ 'completely red' (Itšäpäivä), on va aivonā ühs rōja 'it is but pure (one) mud'.

§ 32. The excessive marker is -nD, e.g. traktoristinD 'tractor operator (excess.)', sojdatinD 'soldier (excess.)'. The excessive is not a common case throughout the Votic language area. Its use is limited primarily to words designating persons and animals.

The excessive indicates departure from a situation or sphere of action, e.g. tuli Fadei kotūō sojdatinD 'home came Fadei from being a soldier', tu<sub>1</sub>eb vällžā karjušinD 'he comes away from being a shepherd', sütšüzül meneb vällžā traktoristinD 'in the fall he will leave the position of tractor operator' (Lempola), tuli terviēssi läsivānD 'he got well from the sickness' (Pummala), tuli kottō e<sub>1</sub>pet-tajanD 'he came home from the teaching profession' (Mati).

In the Votic language area the adverbs takanD 'from behind', and kotonD-kotonta 'from home' also occur in the excessive. The excessive has been recorded only in the singular.

§ 33. The abessive marker is -tta/-ttä, -tte/-tte, -ta/-tä, and in Eastern Votic -ttaG/-ttäG. In sandhi the abessive case can also have the sign -t̄ (Jõgõperä, Mati), e.g. i<sub>1</sub>mā leivättä 'without bread (abess.)', i<sub>1</sub>mā minutta 'without me (abess.)', i<sub>1</sub>mā pillittä 'without the musical instruments (abess.)', i<sub>1</sub>mā <sub>1</sub>ahjoittä 'without the wedding gifts (abess.)'. Abessive forms having only a single -t̄ have been recorded from the Mati sub-dialect, e.g. i<sub>1</sub>mā leivätä 'without bread (abess.)', puhassamata 'cleaning (abess.)'. But even in this sub-dialect, the geminate marker of the abessive can be heard. As a result of sandhi, the apocoped case marker can occur, e.g. ja<sub>1</sub>koit̄ 'feet (abess.)', arvāmēt̄ 'thinking, guessing, assuming (abess.)' (Jõgõperä). The forms leivättäG 'bread (abess.)', minuttaG 'I (abess.)', etc. are characteristic of Eastern Votic. Jõgõpära has tšäette 'hand (abess.)', rahatē 'money (abess.)'.

Usually the abessive occurs together with the preposition i<sub>1</sub>mā 'without'. It expresses absence or relinquishment, e.g. i<sub>1</sub>mā minutta siä et tunne mennä 'you don't know how to go without me', jāin i<sub>1</sub>mā pillittä 'I was left without the musical instruments' tantsi i<sub>1</sub>mā rivatta 'he danced with his legs bare (lit. without leggings)'

§ 34. The usual comitative marker in Votic is -kā, which in sandhi can also appear as -k̄ā, -ka. The shortened sandhi form -G can be observed in both the Eastern and Western sub-dialects. In the singular the marker of the comitative is added to the genitive stem. In the plural, it is added to the genitive plural or to the plural stem (which actually is the short form of the plural genitive), e.g. ja<sub>1</sub>gākā 'foot (com.)', ja<sub>1</sub>koikā 'feet (com.)', opezēkā 'horse (com.)', tüttärēkā 'daughter (com.)', tuttärikā 'daughters (com.)', puddēkā 'trees (com.)', tantsi Morozovā poigāG (~poigāk) 'she danced with the son of Morozov' (Mati), tein-teizēG 'with each other' (Kõrvõttula), menim izākā nittämä 'we went with father to mow', tappeli karükā 'he fought (struggled) with the bear' (Jõgõperä).

It should be noticed that vowel harmony does not apply to the comitative marker which retains its back vowel even in front vowel words. Only in the sub-dialect of the village of Kukkuzi do the parallel forms -k̄ā/-k̄ā occur, e.g. šahsēkā 'child (com.)', but lehmākā 'cow (com.)'.

The comitative expresses first of all the idea of being with or beside, e.g. eli izākā ja emākā 'he lived with his mother and father', nämād menivāt poigākā 'they went with the son' (Lempola), tšenēkā siä isud rinnā? 'with whom are you sitting side by

side?'', jutteli tüttärikkoikā 'he conversed with the girls', elin lehmikā karjaza 'I was in the grazing pasture with the cows'.

The comitative designates the means or the tool with which something is accomplished, e. g. tanjaz jargākā 'he trod with his foot', rikke keik pād opezēkā 'he broke all the pots with a horse', sevetti üvi keikēkā 'he dressed (trans.) well with everything', keretākā panget pihajja 'pails with a yoke (for carrying water) on one's shoulder'. To express the relationship in question here, the adessive is also used, although the use of the comitative is more common (see § 28).

The comitative shows that with which someone (something) is equipped, e. g. verēkā varvaZ 'a bloody toe, a toe with blood', gunappū gungikā 'an apple tree with apples', seittsemē paikākā kātsaD 'pants with seven patches', kaľaska kauni rattaikā 'a carriage with red wheels', mikā pāka on? 'what is wrong with the head?' tuli vālenkoikā rihēsē 'he came with felt boots (i. e. with felt boots on his feet) into the room, inside'.

In rare instances the comitative can also indicate time, e. g. miä eĵen üö-päivčäkā karjuššīn 'I am days and nights a shepherd' (Lempola).

Finally, the comitative can indicate the manner of doing something, e. g. elimma tōzā arttelikā 'we were at work in great numbers'.

There is no concord of case between the comitative and the nouns and adjectives used in conjunction with it. The adjective is usually in the genitive, as it is in Estonian. However, if the adjective is especially emphasized, congruence may occur, e. g. mesizikā mēlikā 'with a sweet (honeyed) disposition', menin vana-pāk poigāG 'I went with the older son' (Mati).

Several scholars of the last century, and even some from the present century, do not recognize the Votic comitative as it is presented here. In its place they have noted down the genitive plus the postposition kā, e. g. tāmā kā 'with him/her'. It is still probable, however, that even at that time the comitative existed as a quite independent case. Authors have evidently been led astray by the fact that vowel harmony does not apply to the comitative marker, as well as by the fact that the development of this case marker from a former postposition is in every respect still evident.

§ 35. The terminative marker is -ssā, which is added to the illative or the allative. In Eastern Votic there is siĵtässāG or even -ssāk, e. g. ĵeunässā 'noon, south (termin.)', siĵtässā 'bridge (termin.)', mahässā 'ground, land (termin.)', pōĵessā 'half (termin.)', mātsēssā 'hill, mountain (termin.)', tüttärikkōssā 'girl (termin.)', bābuškaĵĵessā 'grandmother (termin.)', peĵĵo-

ĵessā 'field (termin.)'; in Eastern Votic there is siĵtässāG 'bridge (termin.)', mettsässāG 'forest (termin.)', kreipostissāk 'fortress (termin.)' (Itšäpäivä). Adding the terminative marker to the allative is relatively rare.

The terminative has developed from the allative or the illative, to which the postposition sā 'to, until' has been added. In fact, several earlier scholars of the Votic language have recorded it as illative plus postposition. It is probable that for the most part these scholars have done so on purely theoretical grounds, using the etymological viewpoint as their basis for analysis. Yet, because of the several examples appearing in Ahlqvist's work, (Wotisk grammatik 117), it can still be assumed that his informants could have had sā as an independent word. In this respect examples such as kotōse sā 'up until home' wäsümāse sā 'up until tiredness', should be noticed. Here the emphatic -sē/-sē is attached to the illative, in front of the present day marker of the terminative.

The terminative marker is not affected by vowel harmony; it is always back vocalic. Also, this case marker does not require concord of case for the noun and adjective which precedes it. The adjective is either in the illative or the allative.

The terminative indicates first of all the place up to or until which someone (something) is going or coming, e. g. vaddajaisī tšüliä on ĵaukässā 'there are Votic villages up to Lauga', kanava menep Kattiĵĵĵessā 'the canal goes up to Kattila', anna miĵĵe bābuškaĵĵessā tšävvä 'let me go up to grandmother's place', johsi kotōssā 'he ran up to (his) home'.

Further, the terminative shows the time up until which an action occurs, e. g. elimma peĵĵoĵĵa ĵeunässā 'we were in the field until noon', puĵmia mändžitti ömnikkōssā 'the wedding was celebrated until morning', elimma eittsezā vaĵgetikkōssā 'we were out tending the animals until dawn', tāmā eli gneva vanässā i surmässā 'he was happy until his old age and until his death'.

Finally, the terminative expresses the measure, the span that is reached or to be reached, e. g. on täünä (~täünnä) pōĵessā 'it is filled up to the half mark', tšävi keĵĵme kertässā 'he went there up to three times', sō keikkeg ettsässā 'eat (sing.) everything to the end, eat everything'.

§ 36. The cases thus far presented are the productive cases of Votic. These can be used with all nominals, provided the context within which a word occurs so permits. With the exception of the comitative, the terminative, and the excessive, all of these cases have already been noted in Ahlqvist's Votic grammar. However, several assumed former cases still exist in the Votic language.

In present day usage these appear only as remnants of bygone forms. Such cases are the instructive, the comitative II, the pro-lative, and the lative.

§ 37. The marker of the instructive is the long stem vowel of the singular, the long stem vowel of the plural, or the plural stem which ends in a diphthong. Words affected by gradation are in the weak grade, e. g. keiki 'all, everything (instr.)', tšazi 'hand (instr.)', meli 'mind (instr.)', kevi 'hard (instr.)'.

The instructive, first of all, indicates the manner in which an action occurs, e. g. tēn tōtā üvi meli 'I work (lit. do the work) gladly', en veta vātšizi 'I don't take with force', rahzed johsevat pallai päi 'the children are running bareheaded'.

The instructive expresses the means or the tool with which an action is accomplished, e. g. tšazi tehti 'it was made by hand, with the hand', tulimma jarkazi 'we came on foot'.

The instructive also expresses number, quantity, measure, and time, e. g. elimma seittsemē naizikō 'we were seven women', keikē keimē mindā 'all three daughters-in-law', keiki piāb\_ellā 'all have to be', kahē tšezze 'by twos, in two', keimē tšümmeni kopeikō veti nagjassa 'he took thirty copecks for a/per pound', elivad vizi päivi 'they were for five days, in sequences of five days'.

Concerning the instructive, see more detailed information under adverbs (§ 117).

§ 38. The comitative II occurs with only a few dozen words. The usual marker of this comitative is -nā/-nā, which is added to the plural stem, e. g. keikkinā 'all (com. II), in general', pejvinā 'on one's knees', naisinā 'women (com. II)'. In sandhi the final vowel of this case marker can be half-long: -nā/-nā. A comitative ending in -nē/-nē has been noted in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect, e. g. tempez juringē 'he pulled (it up) with the roots', perenē i poikikā 'with the family and the boys'. It can be assumed that the comitative having this particular vowel structure is an obvious Ingrian feature which is found in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect. After all, this sub-dialect abounds in other Ingrian loans also.

First of all, the Votic comitative II indicates the idea of being along, of being with, e. g. tujemma poigad\_naisinā 'we boys come with our wives', keik teizet pereinā tujmas 'all the others are coming with their families', tempazin pū jürinā 'I pulled the tree out with its roots'.

The comitative II indicates the tool, e. g. miä vetan tšasinā 'I am taking with my hands', utisap\_serminā 'he is squeezing with his fingers'.

Further, the comitative II expresses the manner of action, e. g. neisivat pejvinā 'they fell on their knees', ghsinā päivinā tōmma pū kotōsē 'with branches and everything we bring the tree home'.

The comitative II can also express number, e. g. ühsinā-ühsnā 'alone, by oneself'.

§ 39. The pro-lative can occur only with a few isolated words, such as ajetsē 'from the bottom, from below', mānajatšē 'from below/under the ground', ülitsē 'from above'. See more detailed information under adverbs.

§ 40. The former lative case likewise occurs with only a few words, which function completely as adverbs, e. g. ajā '(to) below, under', tagā '(to) behind'. See more detailed information under adverbs.

#### The formation of the plural

§ 41. It has been mentioned above (§ 20) that in Votic the plural marker for the nominative is -D, and that this is added to the stem obtained from the genitive singular. The formation of the plural for the remainder of the cases is rather complicated, since in the individual sub-dialects the plural stem varies considerably, and its formation does not coincide with the formation of the Estonian and Finnish plural stems. With the exception of the nominative, the plural marker is i which can be added to the singular stem of a word in several ways. According to individual words or sub-dialects this marker i may have disappeared from the present day usage of the language, a fact which makes the formation of the plural all the more difficult.

The plural marker i is added directly to the singular stem of words which have -g, -u, -ü as their stem vowel, as well as to the singular stem of the longer o-stem words (and of disyllabic o-stem words in Eastern Votic and Jõgõperä), e. g. vävüilē 'sons-in-law (all.)' (:vävüle 'son-in-law [all.]'), lintuilla 'birds (adess.)' (:linnuilla 'bird [adess.]'), pankeissa 'buckets (elat.)' (:pangeissa 'bucket [elat.]'), ghtagoilla 'evenings (adess.)' (:ghtagoilla 'evening [adess.]'), verkkoissa 'nets (elat.)' (:verkossa 'net [elat.]').

In words that have -ā, -ä, -ē, -ē, -ū, -ü or the diphthongs -ga, -iä as stem vowels, 1) the long vowel of the singular stem becomes shortened before the i of the plural is added to the stem; 2) the second component of the diphthong -ga disappears before the plural marker; 3) likewise, the second component of the diphthong -iä disappears, and in place of the vowel i the vowel e occurs



instead, e.g. maina 'countries, lands (ess.)' (:māna 'country, land [ess.]'), rattaijua 'wheels, wagon (adess.)' (:rattāijua 'wheel [adess.]'), seipäittä 'stakes, poles (abess.)' (:seipättä 'stake, pole [abess.]'), ōņissa 'buildings (elat.)' (:ōņessa 'building [elat.]'), lähteizä 'sources, springs (iness.)' (:lähtēzä 'source, spring [iness.]'), kōļmijua 'dead (adess. pl.)' (:kōļmūjua 'dead [adess. sing.]'), lühüissä 'short (elat. pl.)' (:lühüssä 'short [elat. sing.]'), kerkeiņē 'high (all. pl.)' (:kerkeaiņē 'high [all. sing.]'), pimeissi 'dark (transl. pl.)' (:pimeāssi 'dark [transl. sing.]'). In some villages (Kattila and its vicinity; Pihlaala) word types like pehmeä 'soft (sing.)', vaņķea 'white (sing.)' can have a long i in the plural instead of the diphthongs ei and ei, e.g. pehmitä 'short (part. pl.)'. For words of this type the long i is also characteristic of Eastern Votic where an additional feature is the gemination of a consonant occurring before the long i, e.g. piņmitä 'dark (part. pl.)'.

If the first syllable of a word has a, g, or i, the stem vowel a changes to o before the plural marker, e.g. akanoijta 'chaffs (abl.)' (:akanajjta 'husk, chaff [adess.]'), katagoiza 'junipers (iness.)' (:katagaza 'juniper [iness.]'), adroijua 'plows (adess.)' (:adrajua 'plow [adess.]'), jaņkoissa 'feet (elat.)' (:jaņgassa 'foot [elat.]'), seņoissa 'words (elat.)' (:seņassa 'word [elat.]'), siņtoijua 'bridges, floors (adess.)' (:siņtājua 'bridge [adess.]'), sepoi 'clothes (part.)' (:sepā 'clothing, a piece of clothing [part.]'). However, the majority of the words that have g in the first syllable belong to the following group.

If the first syllable of a disyllabic word has o, g, or u, the stem vowel a becomes g before the plural marker i, e.g. poikeiņē 'boys (all.)' (:poigaiņē 'boy [all.]'), sebreiņē 'friends (all.)' (:sebraiņē 'friend [all.]'), also sepei 'clothes (part.)', nurkkeiza 'corners (iness.)' (:nurkkaza 'corner [iness.]').

In a few disyllabic words whose first syllable contains the diphthong ei, the vowel o is substituted for the stem vowel ä in front of the plural marker, e.g. einoijua 'hay (adess. pl.)' (:einällä 'hay [adess. sing.]'), leipoiza 'breads (iness.)' (:leiväzä 'bread [iness.]'), seinoiņē 'walls (all.)' (:seinälē 'wall [all.]').

Special attention should be given to 1) disyllabic words whose stem vowel is e, g (i in the nominative), o, i, and to a certain degree u; and also to 2) those words of more than two syllables whose stem vowel is o or i. Before the plural marker i, these words have the vowels a or ä instead of their singular stem vowel, e.g. tšiväizä 'rocks, stones (iness.)' (:tšivezä 'rock, stone [iness.]'), gņkaita 'straw (part. pl.)' (:gņķea 'straw [part. sing.]'), irsäissä

'logs (elat.)' (:irressä 'log [elat.]'), ņahsaiņē 'children (all.)' (:ņahzeiņē 'child [all.]'), pojaiņē 'boys (all.)' (:pojaiņē 'boy [all.]'), peņtaissa 'fields (elat.)' (:peņtossa 'field [elat.]'), taņaisē 'farms (ill.)' (:taņōsē 'farm [ill.]'), ahvakaissa 'perch (fish) (elat. pl.)' (:ahvakossa 'perch [elat. sing.]'), karjuššaiņē 'shepherds (all.)' (:karjuššaiņē 'shepherd [all.]'), pilläitä 'musical instruments (part.)' (:pillä 'musical instrument [part.]'). This particular manner of forming the plural is characteristic of one part of the Western Votic villages. But even in those localities where this manner of forming the plural is common, it does not occur with all the words of this type. The ai plural is most typical of disyllabic o-stem words.

In unstressed syllables the diphthongs ai, äi, ei as well as the diphthong oi can lose their second component i, e.g. tšimaiņē 'bees (all.)', paļossi 'pieces, portions (transl.)', gzreņa 'oats (ess.)', kōrmgettä 'by loads', sebreiņē 'friends (all.)'. In the parti-tive plural of the Mati sub-dialect, the disappearance of the second component of the diphthong is especially common. In this case a long vowel occurs in place of the diphthong, e.g. aiņkā 'sticks of firewood (part.)', tšivvā 'stones, rocks (part.)', gņsē 'branches (part.)', seiņō 'walls (part.)', kagrō 'oats (part.)'.

The plural stems of all those noun types that have not been mentioned here have either a long i or a short i in place of their singular stem vowel, e.g. pesiä-pesitā 'nests (part.)' (:pesā 'nest [part.]'), seppišsā-sepišsā 'smiths (elat.)' (:sepišsā 'smith [elat.]'), varehsia 'crows (part.)' (:varessa 'crow [part.]'), naišijē 'women (all.)' (:naizeiņē 'woman [all.]'), tšäzillä-tšäsillä 'hands (adess.)' (:tšäellä 'hand [all.]'), vanapiņē 'older (all. pl.)' (:vanapaņē 'older [all. sing.]'), sättajijē (and also sättajeiņē) 'senders (all.)' (:sättajaiņē 'sender [all.]'), ärtšilē 'bulls (all.)' (:ärtšälē 'bull [all.]'), vokkiza 'spinning wheels (iness.)' (:vokkiza 'spinning wheel [iness.]'), nōrišsa 'young (elat. pl.)' (:nōressa 'young [elat. sing.]').

The plural and singular stems of words such as ratiZ 'shed', kalliZ 'dear' are identical, e.g. kallijua 'dear (all. sing. and pl.)', rattiza 'shed, sheds (iness.)'.

In words like koto 'home, house', rōto 'fishbone' the diphthong oi occurs in the plural stem, e.g. roitta 'fishbones (abess.)', koissa 'homes (elat.)'. However, the parallel forms kotoissa, rōtoissa also occur.

In those Votic dialects where secondary gemination occurs before a long vowel, a single consonant can also become geminated in front of the long i of the plural, e.g. tšässillä 'hands (all.)' (Jõgõperä), piņmissä 'dark (elat.)' (Eastern Votic).

§ 42. After the pattern of the Ingrian language, both the Western and Eastern sub-dialects of Votic can have -Joi/-löi as the plural marker. This type of plural is more common in those sub-dialects that come into direct contact with the Soikkola Ingrian sub-dialects, e. g. mindajoi 'daughters-in-law (all.)', tüttölöissä 'girls (elat.)', jarvioiza 'lakes (iness.)', püssülöillä 'guns (adess.)', nüttülöillä 'meadows (adess.)' (Mati). In these same sub-dialects the plural marker -Jai/-läi can also occur, e. g. kaunijai 'red (adess. pl.)', setamehiläil 'warriors, soldiers (adess.)', vittsojai 'switches (adess.)' (Körvöttula).

§ 43. Characteristic of the Votic plural is the occurrence of the strong grade in words of two or more syllables that are subject to consonant gradation, e. g. jalikoissa 'feet (elat.)' (:sing. jalgassa), pehtaijia 'fields (adess.)' (:pehtojia), poikeijä 'sons (all.)' (:poigajä), tšäsissä 'hands (elat.)' (:tšäessä), naisijä 'women (all.)' (:naizejä), lintuijia 'birds (all.)' (:linnujia), tüttärikkoissa 'girls (elat.)' (:tüttärikossa). Numerous examples of the strong grade of the plural may be found in § 41.

If, however, the plural does not have a long i or a diphthong, then dialectally the weak grade occurs even in the plural, e. g. pezizä 'nests (iness.)' (:pezäzä), jalgossa 'feet (elat.)' (:jalgassa).

§ 44. In speaking of plural markers, the emphatic suffix of the illative, -sē/-sē, must also be mentioned. In present usage of the language this suffix is added to both the singular and plural stems. Ahlqvist, however, consistently presents forms like rat-tisi 'sheds (ill.)', lehtaisi 'leaves (ill.)', siirtoisi 'bridges (ill.)'. Consequently, he gives -si as the emphatic suffix for the plural. It is probable that on this point Ahlqvist has not theorized on the basis of Finnish dialects, since such a plural suffix has been noted even in more recent times, e. g. pēsaisi 'bushes (ill.)' (Körvöttula).

#### Declensions

§ 45. Now the declensions of the Votic nominals will be considered according to their most significant groupings. Actually the Votic language has but one general declension, which, according to the different word types, shows in the singular only very small deviations. The main differences in the declension occur in the formation of the plural.

#### One-stem words

§ 46. Declension I. Monosyllabic words that end in a vowel, such as mā 'land, country', ū 'bone', sō 'swamp, marsh', tō 'work', pā 'head', tāi 'louse', veji 'butter, oil' belong to this declension.

		Singular	
Nom.	mā	tō	tāi
Gen.	mā	tō	tāi
Part.	māta	tōtä	tāitä
Ill.	mahā(sē)	tōhē(sē)	tāihē(sē)
Iness.	māza	tōzā	tāizā
Elat.	māssa	tōssä	tāissä
All.	māje(sē)	tōlē(sē)	tāilē(sē)
Adess.	mājja	tōllä	tāillä
Abl.	mājta	tōltä	tāiltä
Transl.	māssi	tōssi	tāissi
Ess.	māna	tōnä	tāinä
Excess.	(does not occur in any context)		tāinD
Abess.	mātta	tōttä	tāittä
Com.	mākā	tōkā	tāikā
Termin.	māssā	tōssā	tāissā
		Plural	
Nom.	māD	tōD	tāiD
Gen.	mādde	tōdde	tāidde
Part.	maita	tōitä	tāitä
Ill.	maisē	tōisē	tāisē
Iness.	maiza	tōizā	tāizā
Elat.	maissa	tōissä	tāissä
All.	maijsē(sē)	tōilē(sē)	tāilē(sē)
Adess.	maijsa	tōillä	tāillä
Abl.	maijsa	tōiltä	tāiltä
Transl.	maissi	tōissi	tāissi
Ess.	maina	tōinä	tāinä
Excess.	----	----	----

Abess.	maitta	töittä	täittä
Com.	madđēkā	töđđēkā	täđđēkā
Termin.	maisēssā	töisēssā	täisēssā

All cases are listed in the declension given above. In those that follow, only the nominative, genitive, partitive, illative, and relative will be given, since from these cases the characteristics of the particular declension under consideration will be sufficiently evident.

§ 47. Declension II. Disyllabic words that have -o, -u, -ü, -i, and -g as the stem vowel, as well as longer words having -o as the stem vowel belong to this declension, e. g. verkko 'net', koto 'home, house', kaivo 'well', lintu 'bird', sātu 'garden, orchard', lauu 'song', vävü 'son-in-law', tšälü 'wife's sister', sili 'hedgehog', musti 'pretty, fine, grand', panke 'bucket', tüttärikko 'girl', naizikko 'woman', ghtago 'evening', etc.

Singular				
Nom.	verkko	lintu	vävü	sili
Gen.	verkō	linnū	vävǖ	silī
Part.	verkkua~ verkkoa	lintua	vävüä	siliä
Ill.	verkkō(sē)	lintū(sē)	vävǖ(sē)	silī(sē)
Elat.	verkkossa	linnussa	vävüssä	silissä
Plural				
Nom.	verkoD	linnuD	vävüD	siliD
Gen.	verkkojē~ verkkodđē~ verkkoi	lintujē~ lintudđē~ lintui	vävüjē~ vävüđđē~ vävüi	silijē~ silidđē~ sili
Part.	verkkoi~ verkkoi~ verkkoi	lintui~ lintui~ lintuja	vävüit~ vävüi~ vävüjä	silit~ sili
Ill.	verkkoisē	lintuisē	vävüisē	silīsē
Elat.	verkkoiissa	lintuissa	vävüissä	silissä

§ 48. Declension III. Disyllabic a-stem words, and words of more than two syllables that have a, g, or i in the first syllable

belong to this declension, e. g. jaŋka 'foot', adra 'plow', akana 'chaff, husk', vasara 'hammer', kattija 'kettle', senä 'word', sepa 'clothing', siŋta 'bridge, floor'.

Singular				
Nom.	jaŋka	vasara	senä	siŋta
Gen.	jaŋgā	vasarā	senā	siŋtā
Part.	jaŋkā~ jaŋkāta	vasarā~ vasarāta	senā~ senāta	siŋtā~ siŋtāta
Ill.	jaŋkā(sē)	vasarā(sē)	senā(sē)	siŋtā(sē)
Elat.	jaŋgassa	vasarassa	senassa	siŋtassa
Plural				
Nom.	jaŋgaD	vasaraD	senāD	siŋtaD
Gen.	jaŋkojē~ jaŋkodđē~ jaŋkoi	vasarojē~ vasarodđē~ vasaroi	senojē~ senodđē~ senoi	siŋtojē~ siŋtodđē~ siŋtoi
Part.	jaŋkoita~ jaŋkoi~ jaŋkoja	vasaroita~ vasaroi~ vasaroja	senoita~ senoi~ senoja	siŋtoita~ siŋtoi~ siŋtoja
Ill.	jaŋkoisē~ jaŋkosē	vasaroisē~ vasarosē	senoisē~ senosē	siŋtoisē~ siŋtosē
Elat.	jaŋkoissa~ jaŋgossa	vasaroissa~ vasarossa	senoissa~ senossa	siŋtoissa~ siŋtossa

§ 49. Declension IV. This declension contains several words which have front vowels in the singular and back vowels in the plural, e. g. einä 'hay', leipä 'bread', seinä 'wall'.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	einä	eināD
Gen.	einā̄	einojē~ einoi
Part.	einā̄~ einā̄tā	einoita~ einoi~ einoja
Ill.	einā̄(sē)	einoisē

Elat. einässä einoissa

§ 50. Declension V. Disyllabic a-stem words that have o or u in the first syllable belong to this declension. Also, the majority of those disyllabic a-stem words having e in the first syllable belong here too, e. g. poika 'son', sepa 'clothing' (dialectally), sebra 'friend', nurkka 'corner'.

Singular			
Nom.	poika	nurkka	sebra
Gen.	poigā	nurkā	sebrā
Part.	poikā~ poikāta	nurkkā~ nurkkāta	sebrā~ sebrāta
Ill.	poikā(sē)	nurkkā(sē)	sebrā(sē)
Elat.	poigassa	nurkassa	sebrassa
Plural			
Nom.	poigaD	nurkaD	sebraD
Gen.	poikejē~ poikei	nurkkejē~ nurkkei	sebrejē~ sebrei
Part.	poikeita~ poikei~ poikeja	nurkkeita~ nurkkei~ nurkkeja	sebreita~ sebrei~ sebreja
Ill.	poikeisē	nurkkeisē	sebreisē
Elat.	poikeissa	nurkkeissa	sebreissa

§ 51. Declension VI. Words ending in -ga/-eä~-iä are in this declension, e. g. kerkega 'high', vaškega 'white', pimiä~pimeä 'dark', pehmiä~pehmeä 'soft', tšünteliä 'candle'.

Singular		
Nom.	vaškega	pehmiä~pehmeä
Gen.	vaškega	pehmiä~pehmeä
Part.	vaškegata	pehmiätä~pehmeätä
Ill.	vaškegasē	pehmiäsē~pehmeäsē
Elat.	vaškegassa	pehmiässä~pehmeässä

Plural		
Nom.	vaškegaD	pehmiäD~pehmeäD
Gen.	vaškeijē~ vaškei	pehmeijē~pehmijē~ pehmi
Part.	vaškeita~ vaškei	pehmeitä~pehmitä~ pehmei~pehmi
Ill.	vaškeisē	pehmeisē~pehmisē
Elat.	vaškeissa	pehmeissä~pehmissä

In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect the declension of this word type differs from the given examples to such a degree as to merit a separate presentation, e. g. vaškā=vaškea 'white'.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	vaškā	vaškāD
Gen.	vaškā	vaškajē~vaškejē
Part.	vaškāte	vaškaitē~vaškite
Ill.	vaškāsē	vaškaisē~vaškeisē
Elat.	vaškāsse	vaškaissē~vaškeissē

§ 52. Declension VII. To this declension belong single stem, disyllabic words that have -i in the nominative, but whose stem vowel is -e/-ē, e. g. kurtši 'stork', jarvi~järvi 'lake', tajvi 'winter', mätši 'hill', tšivi 'stone', velli 'brother'. Sub-dialectally, either all or part of these words may be declined according to Declension IX.

Singular			
Nom.	kurtši	jarvi	mätši
Gen.	kurgē	jarvē	mägē
Part.	kurkega	jarvega	mätšeä~ mätšiä
Ill.	kurkē(sē)	jarvē(sē)	mätšē(sē)
Elat.	kurgessa	jarvessa	mäessä
Plural			
Nom.	kurgēD	jarveD	mäeD

Gen.	kurtšijē~ kurtši	jarvijē~ jarvi	mätšijē~ mätši
Part.	kurtšia~ kurtšita	jarvia~ jarvita	mätšiä~ mätšitā
Ill.	kurtšisē	jarvisē	mätšisē
Elat.	kurtšissa	jarvissa	mätšissa

§ 53. Declension VIII. The ä-stem words are declined according to this declension. Also included in this declension are those a-stem words that have two syllables, the first of which contains e, as well as those that have more than two syllables, e. g. seppä 'smith', tšülä 'village', tšäppä '(burial) mound', sättaja 'sender', mauraja~mauroja 'singer', keva 'hard'. Dialectally, part of the words that belong here can be declined according to Declension IX.

## Singular

Nom.	seppä	sättaja	keva
Gen.	sepä	sättajä	kevä
Part.	seppä~ seppätä	sättajä~ sättajätä	kevä~ keväta
Ill.	seppäsē	sättajāsē	kevāsē
Elat.	sepässä	sättajassa	kevassa

## Plural

Nom.	sepäd	sättajaD	kevaD
Gen.	seppijē~ seppijē~ seppi	sättajijē~ sättajijē~ sättaji	kevijē~ kevijē~ kevi
Part.	seppiä~ seppitā	sättajia~ sättajita	kevia~ kevitā
Ill.	seppisē	sättajisē	kevisē
Elat.	sepiissä~ seppiissä	sättajissa~ sättajissa	keviissa~ keviissa

§ 54. Declension IX. A feature particularly characteristic of the dialect around Kattila is the formation of the plural by means of the diphthong -ai/-äi. This way of forming the plural can also

be found in other localities of the Western Votic area. Nowhere, however, is this plural form exclusive. In Eastern Votic this particular type of plural is, on the whole, rare. First of all, o- and i-stem words of two or more syllables belong to this declension, e. g. pejto 'field', pojo 'boy', ahvakko 'perch (fish)', pilli 'musical instrument', karjušši 'shepherd'. Also in this declension are monosyllabic as well as disyllabic words that have -e or -g as their stem vowel, but which have -i in the nominative, e. g. gntši 'straw', tšivi 'stone, rock', mahsi 'child', irsi 'log'. Sub-dialectally or according to individual usage, these words can be declined according to either Declension VII or Declension X. A few u-stem words belong here too, e. g. tširppu 'flea'.

## Singular

Nom.	pejto	ahvakko	gntši	irsi	karjušši
Gen.	pejto	ahvakō	gngē	irrē	karjuši
Part.	pejtua~ pejtoa	ahvakkua~ ahvakkoa	gkga	irttä	karjuššia
Ill.	pejto(sē)	ahvakkō(sē)	gkē(sē)	irtē(sē)	karjušši(sē)
Elat.	pejtoissa	ahvakossa	gngessa	irressä	karjušsissa

## Plural

Nom.	pejtoD	ahvakoD	gngēD	irreD	karjušiD
Gen.	pejtajē~ pejtai	ahvakkajē~ ahvakkai	gkajē~ gkai	irsājē~ irsäi	karjuššajē~ karjuššai
Part.	pejtaita~ pejtai	ahvakkaita~ ahvakkai	gkaita~ gkai	irsäitä~ irsäi	karjuššaita~ karjuššai
Ill.	pejtaisē	ahvakkaisē	gkaisē	irsäisē	karjuššaisē
Elat.	pejtaissa	ahvakaissa	gkkaissa	irsäissä	karjuššaissa

## Two-stem words

§ 55. Declension X. A large group of two-stem words whose vowel stem ends in -e or -g (with -i in the nominative) belong to the same declension, e. g. nōri 'young', mahsi 'child', tuli 'fire', kersi 'straw', tšūsi '(finger, etc.) nail', tšäsi 'hand', kahsi 'two', lumi 'snow', sini 'russule (mushroom)'. In this word group, special attention should be directed to the partitive singular, which can be quite varied in its details, e. g. nōrta, massa, turta, kertta, tšüttä,

tšättä, ᵐunta, kahta, sīntä. In principle, however, the partitive is still declined according to the same general pattern. In all the plural cases only the vowel stem is used. The consonant stem is used in the partitive singular. In some sub-dialects words of this declension can also be declined according to Declension IX.

Singular				
Nom.	tuli	ᵐumi	tšäsi	kersi
Gen.	tuᵐḡ	ᵐumḡ	tšäḡ	kerreḡ
Part.	tuᵐta	ᵐunta	tšättä	kerᵐta
Ill.	tuᵐḡ(sḡ)	ᵐumḡ(sḡ)	tšätḡ(sḡ)	kerᵐḡ(sḡ)
Elat.	tuᵐḡessa	ᵐumḡessa	tšäḡessa	kerreḡessa
Plural				
Nom.	tuᵐḡD	ᵐumḡD	tšäḡD	kerreḡD
Gen.	tulijē~ tulijē~ tuli	ᵐumijē~ ᵐumijē~ ᵐumi	tšäsijē~ tšäsijē~ tšäsi	kersijē~ kersijē~ kersi
Part.	tulia~ tulita~ tuli	ᵐumia~ ᵐumita~ ᵐumi	tšäsiä~ tšäsitä~ tšäsi	kersia~ kersitä~ kersi
Ill.	tulisḡ	ᵐumisḡ	tšäsisḡ	kersisḡ
Elat.	tulissa~ tulissa	ᵐumissa~ ᵐumissa	tšäsisḡ~ tšäzissä	kersissa~ kerzissa

§ 56. Declension XI. Those words which have -Z in the nominative, but whose vowel stems have -hs-, -ss-, or -s-, according to the dialect, are declined like the sample word vareZ 'crow'. Other such words are ivuZ 'hair', jäneZ 'rabbit', sermuZ 'ring', aᵐuZ 'base. boat'. The consonant cluster -hs- is characteristic of the vicinity of Kattila. The Jõgõperä sub-dialect has -s-. Elsewhere -ss- occurs.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	vareZ	vareḡsḡD, etc.
Gen.	vareḡsḡ~ vareḡssḡ~ vareḡsḡ	vareḡsijē~vareḡsijē~ vareḡsi, etc.

Part.	vareḡssa	vareḡsia~vareḡsita, etc.
Ill.	vareḡsḡsḡ	vareḡsisḡ
Elat.	vareḡsḡessa	vareḡsḡissa

§ 57. Declension XII. Words which have -n~ne/-ne in the nominative singular, but whose vowel stems have -se-/-ze-/-se-/-ze-, according to consonant gradation, belong here, e.g. nain~naine 'woman, wife', opein~opine 'horse', vaddaᵐain~vaddaᵐaine 'a Vote', sinin~sinine 'blue'.

Singular			
Nom.	nain~ naine	sinin~ sinine	vaddaᵐain~ vaddaᵐaine
Gen.	naizḡ	sinizē	vaddaᵐaizḡ
Part.	naissa	sinissä	vaddaᵐaissa
Ill.	naisḡ(sḡ)	sinizē(sḡ)	vaddaᵐaisḡ(sḡ)
Elat.	naizḡessa	sinizḡessa	vaddaᵐaizḡessa
Plural			
Nom.	naizḡD	sinizēD	vaddaᵐaizḡD
Gen.	naisijē~ naisijē~ naisi	sinizijē~ sinizijē~ sinizi	vaddaᵐaisijē~ vaddaᵐaisijē~ vaddaᵐaisi
Part.	naisia~ naisita	siniziä~ sinizitä	vaddaᵐaisia~ vaddaᵐaisita
Ill.	naisisḡ	sinizisḡ	vaddaᵐaisisḡ
Elat.	naisissa~ naizissa	sinizissä~ sinizissä	vaddaᵐaisissa~ vaddaᵐaizissa

§ 58. Declension XIII. In this declension are those two-stem words that have a long vowel in the nominative singular, e.g. sēmē 'seed', keᵐvatō 'unsuitable', ungtō 'sleepless', ramotō 'weak', veti 'key'. In addition, some of those two-stem words that have a diphthong in the nominative singular also belong here, e.g. süä 'heart'.

Singular			
Nom.	sēmē	veti	ungtō

Gen.	sēmenē	vettimē	unęttomā
Part.	sēmētā	vętita	unętōta
Ill.	sēmenē(sē)	vettimē(sē)	unęttomā(sē)
Elat.	sēmenessā	vettimessa	unęttomassa
Plural			
Nom.	sēmeneD	vettimęD	unęttomaD
Gen.	sēmenijē~ sēmeni, etc.	vettimijē~ vettimī, etc.	unęttomijē~ unęttomī, etc.
Part.	sēmeniā~ sēmeniā	vettimia~ vettimīta	unęttomia~ unęttomīta
Ill.	sēmeniisē	vettimīsē	unęttomīsē
Elat.	sēmeniissā~ sēmeniissā	vettimīssa~ vettimīssa	unęttomīssa~ unęttomīssa

Ordinal numbers from third upward are declined like the sample words given above, e. g. keJmaZ~keJmaiZ~keJmāZ~keJmeZ 'third', nellāZ~nellāiZ~nellāZ~nelleZ 'fourth'. As an example, the singular of these two words, as found in the Kattila and Jögöperä sub-dialects, will be presented.

Nom.	keJmaZ~keJmeZ	nellāZ~nelleZ
Gen.	keJmattomā~ keJmęttęmā	nellättomā~ nellettęmā
Part.	keJmatta~ keJmętte	nellättā~ nellette
Ill.	keJmattomā(sē)~ keJmęttęmā(sē)	nellättomā(sē)~ nellettęmā(sē)
Elat.	keJmattomassa~ keJmęttęmessę	nellättomassa~ nellettęmessę, etc.

§ 59. Declension XIV. Those words whose nominative ends in -aZ/-āZ, -iZ, or -e/-ę belong to this declension, e. g. ammaZ 'tooth', seivāZ 'stake, pole', ratiZ 'shed', päre 'splinter used as a torch', się 'binding'.

Singular			
Nom.	ammaZ	ratiZ	się

Gen.	ampā	rattī	sitę
Part.	ammassa	ratissa	siętta
Ill.	ampāsę	rattisę	sitęsę
Elat.	ampāssa	rattissa	sitęssa
Plural			
Nom.	ampāD	rattīD	sitęD
Gen.	ampaijē~ ampadđē~ ampai	rattijē~ rattidđē~ rattī	sitęijē~ sitędđē~ sitęi
Part.	ampaita~ ampai	rattīta~ rattī	sitęita~ sitęi
Ill.	ampaisę	rattisę	sitęisę
Elat.	ampaissa	rattissa	sitęissa

§ 60. Declension XV. Words such as lühüD 'short', ęhuD 'thin', kōJJu 'dead', süntünü~süntünü 'born', iJozuZ 'beauty', rikkauZ 'wealth'.

Singular			
Nom.	lühüD	kōJJu	iJozuZ
Gen.	lühü	kōJJu	iJozü
Part.	lühüttā	kōJJuutta	iJozutta
Ill.	lühüse	kōJJusę	iJozüsę
Elat.	lühüssā	kōJJussa	iJozüssa
Plural			
Nom.	lühüD	kōJJuD	iJozüD
Gen.	lühüijē~ lühüdđē~ lühüi	kōJJuujē~ kōJJudđē~ kōJJu	iJozuijē~ iJozudđē~ iJozui
Part.	lühüitā~ lühüi~ lühüziā	kōJJuuita~ kōJJu~ kōJJuizia	iJozuita~ iJozui
Ill.	lühüisę	kōJJuisę	iJozuisę
Elat.	lühüissā	kōJJuissa	iJozuissa

In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect forms like lühüD, kõllju have the singular stem lühē-, kõlljē-, and the plural stem lühēi-, kõlljei-. Probably the latter forms have been influenced by the pattern found in Ingrian dialects, the more so since individual speakers may also use as the singular stem words like tšättšü 'cradle', ehü 'thin (gen.)'. The distribution of the stem vowel of the singular, -ē-/-jē-, is almost universal in the past participle.

§ 61. The general patterns of changes in the nominals of the Votic sub-dialects have been presented in the above declensions. It has been necessary to disregard the less significant dialect patterns, as well as single-word deviations.

As has already been mentioned, the Votic language makes no distinction in the declining of nouns, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns. The whole system operates on the same general principles. In the declension of nouns and other nominals, concord occurs with all cases except the terminative, and partly the comitative. With both of these cases, the noun alone has the case marker. The word preceding the noun is either in the genitive, e. g. nõrē pojõkā 'with a young boy', ühē senākā 'with one word'; or it is in the illative, e. g. paṛavāsē päivässä 'until the hot day'.

However, there are words which, when used attributively, never change, e. g. koko 'whole', rikki 'broken': mā-munaD vetin rikki kauakajõssa 'I took the potatoes from the broken trough'. Adjectives such as vaddā 'Votic', virõ 'Estonian', venäi 'Russian' do not change either, e. g. sān arvua vaddā tšēlessä 'I can understand the Votic language'.

It should be noted that in proper names, only the last element is changed, regardless of whether the names are used according to the Votic or the Russian usage, e. g. Pedrā Pavo 'Paul the son of Peter':

Nom.	Pedrā Pavo	~	Pavel Petrovitš
Gen.	Pedrā Pavõ	~	Pavel Petrovitšā
Part.	Pedrā Pavua	~	Pavel Petrovitšā(ta)
All.	Pedrā Pavuṛē	~	Pavel Petrovitšāṛē

#### Comparison of adjectives

§ 62. The comparative marker of adjectives is -pi~p in the nominative, -pā/-pā in the genitive, e. g. sūrepi~sūrep 'bigger', iṛokkāpi~iṛokkāp 'prettier', vaddakkāpi 'more Vote-like', ṛaugu-passi 'slacker (transl.)', kerkeapaD 'higher (plural)', vanaraṛṛē

'older (all.)', pahapassi 'worse (transl.)', enāpi 'more'. In Eastern Votic the comparative marker is -piG in the nominative, and again -pā/-pā in the genitive, e. g. kerkeapiG 'higher', parapiG 'better'. As is seen from the examples given, the comparative marker is added to the genitive stem. However, in the majority of disyllabic words, the stem-final -a/-ä is replaced by -g/-e in front of the comparative marker, e. g. musepi 'blackier' (<mussa 'black'), kevepi 'harder' (<keva 'hard'), sūvepi 'deeper' (<süvä 'deep'). It should be noted that the comparative of üvä 'good' is parepi or parapi.

In words having gradation, the comparative is in the weak grade, even though now the comparative marker does not close the syllable.

The comparative is declined according to Declension VIII, as is shown by the example sūrepi 'bigger (sing.)'.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	sūrepi	sūrepaD
Gen.	sūrepā	sūrepijē~ sūrepi, etc.
Part.	sūrepā~ sūrepāta	sūrepiā~ sūrepīta
Ill.	sūrepā(sē)	sūrepišē
Elat.	sūrepassa	sūrepišsa~ sūrepissa

In Votic the comparative governs the partitive case of the word with which something is compared, e. g. lēt sūrepi emāta isā 'you (sing.) will become bigger than your father', huṛṛupā sinua māji-ṛ-maza beṛē 'no one in the world is more foolish than you (sing.)' (Lempola), keittšia parepiG 'better than all' (Itšäpäivä).

As a second possibility for expressing comparison, the word kui 'than' can be used with the comparative, e. g. miä elen nõrepi kui meddē mindā 'I am younger than our daughter-in-law (or: the wife of the younger brother of the husband)'.

In Votic the superlative does not have a distinctive marker. The superlative is expressed by the comparative preceded by keik-keä 'all (part.)', keikkia~keittšia (Eastern Votic) 'all (part. pl.)', e. g. tahte elṛa keikkeä ülepässi 'he wanted to be the highest of all', keikkia parepi or parep keikkia 'best of all'. Also common is the use of sāmoi plus the positive degree of the adjective, which is a construction borrowed from the Russian, e. g. sāmoi sūri 'the biggest'.



The superlative can further be expressed by adding an augmentative adverb to the positive degree of the adjective, e. g. eli ühs tütär izällä aivō ijoza 'the father had a very pretty daughter', värpo on aivō kavaļa lintu 'the sparrow is a very clever bird, the most clever bird', miä ežen enäp väsünnü 'I am the most tired'.

The equative degree of the adjective is expressed by the word niku 'like, as', e. g. mokoma niku tō 'such as you (pl.)', nēb\_bōri-zemä niku ärtšä 'starts to bellow like a bull'.

## Pronouns

§ 63. In their general characteristics the Votic pronouns are similar either to the noun or the adjective. They are divided into the following categories: personal, reflexive, reciprocal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, and indefinite. In general the pronouns are declined like the rest of the nominals. Since, however, many pronouns have unusual declined forms, they have to be mentioned separately.

§ 64. Personal pronouns. In the singular, the Votic personal pronouns are miä 'I', siä 'you', tämä 'he, she'. As a shortened form or in sandhi the third person singular pronoun also occurs as täm. In the plural the personal pronouns are mō~mū 'we', tō~tū 'you', nämä~nämäD~näväd 'they'. The dialectal forms mū and tū belong to Eastern Votic and the Jõgõperä sub-dialect. The dialectal form näväd occurs in Eastern Votic and in the Mati sub-dialect. The Jõgõperä sub-dialect has nämäD; in the Kattila sub-dialect both nämä and nämäD can occur. The personal pronouns are declined as follows:

Singular			
Nom.	miä	siä	tämä
Gen.	minū	sinū	tämä
Acc.	minū	sinū	tämä
Part.	minua	sinua	tätä
Ill.	minūsē	sinūsē	tämäse
Iness.	minuza	sinuza	tämäzä
Elat.	minussa	sinussa	tämässä
All.	miä~minuē	siä~sinuē	tällē
Adess.	miä~minuļa	siä~sinuļa	tällä

Abl.	miä~minuļa	siä~sinuļa	tältä
Transl.	minussi	sinussi	tämässi
Ess.	minuna	sinuna	tämänä
Abess.	minutta	sinutta	tämättä
Com.	minūkā	sinūkā	tämäkā
Termin.	minüssä	sinüssä	tämässä

Plural			
Nom.	mō~mū	tō~tū	nämä~nämäD~näväd
Gen.	medde	tedde	nädde~nännē
Acc.	meddeD	teddeD	nämä~nämäD~näväd
Part.	meitä	teitä	näitä
Ill.	meisē	teisē	näisē
Elat.	meissä	teissä	näissä

In a few villages in the vicinity of Kattila, the first and second person plural have an accusative with a separate marker, namely meddeD and teddeD, e. g. medded\_etsitti 'we were being looked for' (Kõrvõttula), miä vetan i teddet\_sinne 'I will even take you there' (Mati), teddet\_kutsutti 'you were called, invited' (Lempola). In the third person plural the accusative is like the nominative. In the singular the accusative is mostly like the genitive, although the partitive can also function as the accusative, e. g. nūd\_miä sinū panen mehelē 'now I will marry you off (said to a girl)', mō tämä vetamma 'we take her/him', i kätte nämä 'and (he/she) covered them' (Lempola), pesi näväd 'he/she washed them' (Mati), veťa miñnua naizessi 'take (sing.) me for a wife', piäb\_vettä tätä 'he/she has to take her/him' (Mati).

§ 65. The reflexive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun in Votic is ize~izze 'self', which occurs only in the nominative. In the remaining cases it has the stem en~ene-:

Nom.	ize~izze	Part.	entä	Elat.	enessä, etc.
Gen.	enē	Ill.	enēsē		

The reflexive pronoun occurs primarily in the singular, e. g. miä vetan marjad enellē (~enelē) 'I take the berries for myself',

mõ esimma enelē musā opezē 'we bought ourselves a black horse'. However, plural usage has been noted from the Jõgõperä sub-dialect, e. g. eneiskā 'oneself (com.)', eneit 'oneself (part.)', eneissā 'oneself (termin.)'.

In his Votic grammar Ahlqvist is acquainted with the use of the reflexive pronoun together with the possessive suffixes, e. g. enelleni 'I myself (all.) (i. e. to me myself)', eneltänö 'you yourselves (abl.) (i. e. from you yourselves)', eneläsä or enellä 'they themselves (adess.) (i. e. by/at them themselves)'. Even today the reflexive pronoun can occur with an attached possessive suffix, the meaning and function of which have become lost, so that only the third person suffix is used for all persons, e. g. tšäüsi enellēz, naissa ettsimā 'he went (repeatedly) to look for a wife for himself', vetan enellēZ (~enelleni) 'I take for myself'. The possessive suffix is added to the end of the word. However, in the comitative, it occurs within the word, before the case marker, e. g. eneskā 'oneself (com.) (i. e. with oneself)' (Lempola).

The reflexive pronoun can also be used in such a manner that the word ize occurs in the nominative, followed by the stem ene--en- in the desired case, e. g. tämä petteleb\_ize entä 'he/she is deceiving himself/herself', mii\_ize enellä on vana ämmä kotoñ 'I myself have an old mother (dim.) at home'. With regard to this singular feature the Votic language agrees with the Estonian language.

Moreover, the pronoun ize can also occur together with the personal pronouns, which change in accordance with the case required. In such instances the word ize has an emphatic function, e. g. tõ\_ize 'you yourself', teitā\_ize 'you yourself (part.)', teilē\_ize 'you yourself (all.) (i. e. to you yourself/selves)', teilēssā\_ize 'you yourself (termin.) (i. e. up to you yourself)'.

§ 66. Reciprocal pronoun. The reciprocal pronoun in Votic is tein-teizē 'each other, one another (gen.)', tein-teissa (part.), etc., e. g. mõ tunnemma üvi tein-teissa 'we know each other, one another well', pajattivat tein-teizessa pahāta 'they spoke badly about each other'.

§ 67. Possessive pronoun. The possessive pronoun in Votic is ema or dialectally ņema 'own'. Before the word ema, the preceding word usually retains the genitive marker -n, e. g. minūn\_ema 'my own', muddēn\_ema 'others' (i. e. belonging to others)', ṁahzēn\_ema 'the children's'. Quite commonly the genitive -n has been carried over to the beginning of the following word ema, e. g. poigā\_ņemaD 'the boys', ṁahzē\_ņema 'the child's'. If the possessive pronoun does not occur after the genitive, it keeps the form ema, e. g. vei\_ema majāsē 'he/she took (it) into his/her own hut', esin\_emiṁē

ṁahsaiṁē vassezet\_tšentšimühseD 'I bought my children new footwear'. In Eastern Votic the word ema has become completely attached to the preceding word, e. g. minuma 'mine', sinuma 'yours (sing.)', ižāma 'father's', emāma 'mother's'.

The word ema is declined according to Declension VIII. Regarding this pronoun, it should be noted that there are still a few instances where remnants of possessive suffixes occur, e. g. et\_tantsi\_emaskā 'you (sing.) do not dance with your own', emēd\_ennevapi\_emiž\_vellitā 'you (sing.) are happier than your brothers', miä\_piän\_puṁmei\_emani\_tüttärellē 'I am celebrating a wedding for my daughter'.

In connection with the possessive pronoun, the Votic possessive suffixes in general have to be mentioned. Only in Votic folk songs are the possessive suffixes somehow distinguishable and still alive, e. g. vetab\_verta\_velleltāni 'he takes blood from my brother', meri\_meddē\_evvezani 'the sea in our yard', elā\_ukkā\_üvüttāsi 'do not (sing.) waste (destroy) your possessions', ņeiskā\_tšäüt\_tšüllettānō 'rise, brothers-in-law, from your place (your side)', poikano 'your (pl.) son', tättozakā 'with his own father, old man'. In present day language usage the possessive suffixes appear under very restricted conditions, which will be described in the following paragraphs.

A flattering or enticing way of calling someone is expressed by the first person possessive suffix, e. g. tuṁē, poikani 'come (sing.)', my son (dim.)', elān, ätāni 'I am living, my father (dim.)'.

Indications of the third person possessive suffix are seen in many adverbial expressions, e. g. meni\_ühsinā 'he went alone', ajke\_šetkua\_ṁakonā\_savvea 'he started to knead the clay with his feet', uhzē\_eli\_jättānū\_ragoṁmā 'he had left the door ajar', kaṁa\_esettī\_elävältā 'the fish was bought alive', ülleüdnā 'in general, all over' (Itšäpäivä). To a certain degree, a third person possessive suffix of a different form is still in use, e. g. se\_vei\_javod\_akaṁēZ 'this one took the flour (pl.) to his wife', tätā\_kuttsu\_ämmäs\_koto 'his mother-in-law called him home'. As has been mentioned above, the third person possessive suffix can also be used in connection with other persons, e. g. štobj\_saisezgin\_enellēZ\_üllēs\_panna 'so that I could put (it) on me' (Mati).

It seems that the more the Votic language has lost ground, the more its use of the possessive suffixes has been reduced. Ahlqvist states (1856) in his Wotisk grammatik 46 ff. that in everyday speech the use of the possessive suffixes is becoming more and more infrequent. In present day language usage, the use of the possessive suffixes has diminished even more. In the middle of the last century the possessive suffixes of the proper person were most commonly

used together with the word ema 'own', e. g. anna kagroī emazi opezilē 'give (sing.) some oats to your horse', tämä löb emaza naissa 'he hits his wife', mō rüissä nitämmä emani sirppijekā 'we cut the rye with our sickles', tō ajatta omano opezijekā 'you are driving your horses', nämä essavat kormā emaza živatoijē 'they buy food for their animals'.

In addition to the possibilities already mentioned, today, along with the third person possessive suffix, possessive suffixes for the other persons also occur. This happens mostly in connection with the word ene- 'self', e. g. enellän 'I myself (adess.)', entän 'I myself (part.)', iimā enettäZ 'without you yourself (abess.)', enelläZ 'you yourself (adess.)'.

In Eastern Votic the ending of the rudimentary third person possessive suffix is -G, e. g. gukōd itsāzāG 'let them be their age'.

Hence, the system of Votic possessive suffixes as stated above is the following:

Singular		Plural	
I Person	-ni, -n	I Person	-ni
II Person	-zi, -Z	II Person	-no/-nō
III Person	-za/-zā, -Z, lengthening of the vowel, lengthening of the vowel + <u>-zaG/</u> <u>-zāG</u> (Eastern Votic)	III Person	like III Person singular

§ 68. Demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns in Votic are se 'this, that', kase 'this (here)', sama 'the same', mokoma 'such', kammuga 'such a', sesa-ma 'the very same', mo-koma-sama 'the same kind'. Their declension is the following:

Singular		Plural	
Nom.	se	I Person	kase~kase
Gen.	senē	II Person	kazē~kazē
Part.	sitā	III Person	kasta
Ill.	sihē	III Person	kasēsē~kassē~kasēsē
Iness.	senezā~sinā	III Person	kasenna~kasenna~kazeza
Elat.	senessā~sitā	III Person	kazessa~kazessa

All.	senelē~sellē~sillē	III Person	kazejē~kazejē
Adess.	senellä~ sellā~sillā	III Person	kazejta~kazejta
Abl.	seneltā~seltā~siltā	III Person	kazejta~kazejta
Transl.	senessi	III Person	kazessi~kazessi
Plural			
Nom.	neD	III Person	kane~kane~kaneD
Gen.	ninnē~nenni~nennijē	III Person	kanejē~kanejē
Part.	nītā	III Person	kaneita~kangita
Iness.	nizā	III Person	kaneiza~kangiza
Abl.	niltā	III Person	kanejta~kangjta

In sandhi se and neD can have a lengthened vowel, e. g. kui sē tēp se hakka? 'how is she doing, that woman?'. The shortened form of the word kase is kas, e. g. kas Ivana meneB 'this Ivan is going'.

Ahlqvist (Wotisk grammatik 45) gives the following forms of the pronoun se: sinā (iness.), sitā (elat.), silē (all.), silā (adess.), siltā (abl.). sinā and sitā occur even now, but they function mainly as adverbs. The external local cases just quoted are, however, either archaic or dialectally very restricted forms. In present day language usage, case markers added to the genitive stem are more general.

The pronouns mokoma and kammuga are declined according to Declension VIII. In compound pronouns, both components are declined, e. g. sesa-ma 'the very same (nom.)', senē-samā (gen.)', sitā-samā (part.)', mokoma-jta-samajta 'the same as (adess.)'.

§ 69. Interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns are tšen~tšenka 'who', mi~mikā 'what', kumpa 'which of two', miltine~miltin~milline~millin~miltän 'what kind, what sort', mikä~mokoma 'what kind', męneZ 'what kind, which one (in a sequence)'. Of these pronouns, kumpa, (gen. kummā), miltin, etc., (gen. miltizē) are declined like other nominals belonging to the corresponding word types. The pronoun tšen~tšenka is declined as follows:

Nom.	tšen~tšenka	Part.	tšetā	Elat.	tšenessā
Gen.	tšenē	Ill.	tšenēsē		

In the plural only the nominative tšeD occurs. The remaining cases,

though plural in context, are always singular in form, e. g. tšet siäl turjevaD? 'who are coming there?', tšenēkā pajatit kuja juua? 'with whom were you (sing.) talking in the street?'.  
 In various dialects, the pronoun mi-mikä is extremely variable in its declension. The Kattila, Mati, and Jõgõperä forms are given in the following example.

The Eastern Votic forms are like those of Jõgõperä.

Nom.	mi-mikä	(same)	(same)
Gen.	minē	mizē	migā
Part.	mitä	mitä	mitä
Ill.	mihē-minēsē	missē	migā(sē)
Elat.	minessä	mizessä	migāssä
All.	millē	mizelē-millē	migälē
Abl.	miltä	mizeltä-miltä	migältä
Transl.	mihsi	missi	mihsi
Com.	minēkā	miskā	migākā, etc.

In the plural only the nominative occurs, which is migäd in Jõgõperä and miD elsewhere.

§ 70. Relative pronouns. The relative pronouns are kumpa 'who, what, which one of two' and mikä 'what'. The following are a few examples of their use: nõrep tütär, kummā tām tahte enellēz mehelē 'the younger daughter whom (from among two) he wanted for a wife for himself', pojo, kumma on nenä pittsä, on Pavõ Īvana 'the boy who has a long nose is Pavo Ivan', tšülä, kummaza glid eglē, on Mativē tšülä 'the village in which you were yesterday is the village of Mati', lēb migällä sūrussaG 'there will be something to eat for breakfast' (Eastern Votic).

§ 71. Indefinite pronouns. The Votic indefinite pronouns are ühsi-ühs 'one, someone', meni 'many, some, a few', menikaZ 'a few, some', mū 'other', keikki-keik (Jõgõperä) ~ keittši (Eastern Votic) 'all', jeka-jeka-ikä (Jõgõperä) 'every, everyone', jekain 'everyone', koko 'whole', mejepeaD-nejepeaD 'both'. The words koko, jeka-ikä are not declined. The remaining pronouns are declined like other nominals belonging to corresponding word types, e. g. jeka paikkaza 'in every place', nejepeat poigad menivät setāsē 'both sons went to war', elimmä siällä keiki 'we were all there', en vei juojna jekaizejuje 'I cannot tell everyone'.

A series of indefinite pronouns, such as the negative pronouns, are derived by means of certain affixes, e. g. eb\_mittäD (dialectally eb\_mittäD, Mati) 'nothing', ep\_tšenniD 'nobody', eb\_ühsid 'no one', eb\_miltineid 'no kind, no sort'. These pronouns are declined so that the emphatic negative affix -id always remains at the end of the word, e. g. en taho miltissäid mahsua 'I do not want any kind of payment', tämä eb\_juejuu tšelleid 'he did not tell anyone', emmä pajata tšenessäid 'we are not talking about anyone'.

In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect the negative indefinite pronouns are formed in the following manner: ebni-tšen 'nobody', en nähnu ebni-tšetä 'I did not see anyone', ebni-tšenessä 'up to nobody (termin.)'; ebni-mikä 'nothing'.

Thirdly, the indefinite pronouns can be formed by the affixation of -lēB~-leB~-lē~-le, which is the isolated third person sing. future form lēB 'he will (be)', e. g. tšenlēB 'someone', mikälēB 'something', miltinlēB~millinlēB 'some kind of', kumplēB 'one of two'. Also in these words the derivative affix -lēB remains at the end, as the word itself changes, e. g. tšenlēB 'someone', gen. tšenēlēB, part. tšetälēB. Usually in place of the allative tšellēlēB the simpler form tšellēB occurs.

In the Jõgõpära sub-dialect indefinite pronouns can also be derived by the addition of the affix ribu-it, e. g. tšen-ribu-it 'somebody', mitä-ribu-it 'something'.

#### Numerals

§ 72. Cardinal numbers. The Votic Cardinal numbers are the following:

ühsi-ühs	1	kahesä	8
kahsi-kahs	2	ühesä	9
kejmeD-kejm	3	tšümmē	10
nellä	4	sata	100
vīsi-vīZ	5	tuhatta-tuhaD	1000
kūsi-kūZ	6	miljoni	1,000,000
seitsē	7		

The longer forms given above usually occur as single, isolated numbers; the shorter forms occur attributively and in sandhi, e. g. kui ment mässä siällä on? — vīsi 'how many men are there? — five', vīZ mässä tulivat tētä mō 'five men came along the street',

keṃ poikā 'three boys', keik̄ keṃmeD 'all three'.

The numerals are declined like other nominals belonging to corresponding word categories. However, in their declension there are still a few peculiarities, so that a short survey of the paradigms of cardinal numbers should be given.

Singular				
Nom.	ūhsi	kahsi	vīsi	kūsi
Gen.	ūhē	kahē	viddē	kuvvē
Part.	ūhtā	kahta	vittā	kūtta
Ill.	ūhtē(sē)	kahtē(sē)	vītē(sē)	kūtē(sē)
Elat.	ūhessā	kahessa	viddessā	kuvvessa
Plural				
Nom.	ūheD	kahēD	viddeD	kuvveD
Gen.	ūhsijē~ ūhsijē~ ūhsi	kahsijē~ kahsijē~ kahsi~ kahtojē (Jõgõperä)	vīsjē~ vīsjē~ vīsi	kūsjē~ kūsjē~ kūsi
Part.	ūhsia~ ūhsitā	kahsia~ kahsita~ kahtoita	vīsia~ vīsita	kūsia~ kūsita
Ill.	ūhsisē	kahsisē~ kahtoisē	vīsisē	kūsisē
Elat.	ūhsissā	kahsissa	vīsissā	kūsisā

The cardinal numbers given above are thus declined according to Declension X. Only the cardinal number kahsi 'two' has a parallel plural form which is declined according to Declension III. The remaining cardinal numbers are declined in the following manner:

Singular				
Nom.	keṃmeD	nellā		sata
Gen.	keṃmē	nellā		sā
Part.	keṃmea	nellā~nellātā		satā~satāta
Ill.	keṃmēsē	nellāsē		satāsē

Elat.	keṃmessa	nellässā	sāssa
Plural			
Nom.	keṃmeD	nellāD	sāD
Gen.	keṃmijē, etc.	nellijē, etc.	satojē, etc.
Part.	keṃmita~keṃmia	nellitā~nelliā	satoita~ satoi, etc.
Ill.	keṃmisē	nellisē	satoisē
Elat.	keṃmissa	nellissā	satoissa

Thus, these cardinal numbers are declined according to Declensions VII, VIII, and III, respectively. The remaining cardinal numbers are declined according to Declension XIII.

Singular				
Nom.	seitsē	kahesā	tšümmē	tuhaD
Gen.	seittsemē	kahessamē	tšümmenē	tuhattēmē
Part.	seitsettā	kahesatta	tšümmettā	tuhatta
Ill.	seittsemē(sē)	kahessamē(sē)	tšümmenē(sē)	tuhattēmē(sē)
Elat.	seittsemessā	kahessamessa	tšümmenessā	tuhattēmessa
Plural				
Nom.	seittsemeD	kahessameD	tšümmeneD	tuhattēmēD
Gen.	seittsemijē etc.	kahessamijē etc.	tšümmenijē etc.	tuhattēmijē etc.
Part.	seittsemitā etc.	kahessamita etc.	tšümmenitā etc.	tuhattēmita etc.
Ill.	seittsemisē	kahessamisē	tšümmenisē	tuhattēmisē
Elat.	seittsemissä	kahessamissa	tšümmenissä	tuhattēmissa

The word ūhesā 'nine' is declined like kahesā 'eight'. The nominative tuhatta 'one thousand' becomes tuhatā in the genitive.

The cardinal numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed as follows (according to the Kattila and Jõgõperä sub-dialects):

ühste·ššemetta ~ ühste·ištšümmeD 11

kahste·ššemetta	~	kahste·ištšümmeD	12
ķemte·ššemetta	~	ķemte·ištšümmeD	13
kaĥsäte·ššemetta	~	kaĥsäte·ištšümmeD	18
ūhesäte·ššemetta	~	ūhesäte·ištšümmeD	19

Dialectally and in sandhi the short forms ūhste·ššemet, etc., can occur. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect, in addition to the forms already given, ūhste·ištšümmeD, etc., can also occur. As these compound cardinals change case, both components are declined, e.g. ūhēte·ššemē, ūhtäte·ššemetta, ūhelēte·ššemeṁē, etc. Yet as a parallel the possibility of an unchanged first component is also to be noted, e.g. ūhste·ššemē, ūhste·ššemeṁē.

The tens from twenty to ninety are formed as follows:

kahtšümmettä~	20	kūštšümmettä	60
kahtšümmettä			
ķemtšümmettä	30	seitsētšümmettä	70
nellätšümmettä	40	kaĥsätšümmettä	80
vištšümmettä	50	ūhesätšümmettä	90

Here also, dialectally or in sandhi, the final vowel can be omitted, e.g. kahtšümmeṁ. The final vowel is nearly always omitted in the compound numbers kahtšümmeṁ ūhsi 'twenty-one', ķemtšümmeṁ nellä 'thirty-four', seitsētšümmeṁ kūsi 'seventy-six', etc.

The hundreds and the thousands are also formed according to the same principle as the tens, e.g. ķemsatā 'three hundred', nellätuhatta 'four thousand'.

In these compound numbers, all the components are declined, e.g. viddessä tšümmeṁsā 'fifty (elat.)', kaĥeṁṁṁ sāṁṁṁ 'two hundred(adess.)', ķeṁṁṁ sāṁṁṁ kuvveṁṁ tšümmeṁnellä kaĥessameṁṁ 'three hundred sixty-eight(adess.)'. However, it is possible alternatively to decline only the last number, e.g. kahtšümmeṁ ūhesämeltä 'twenty-nine (abl.)', kaĥsätšümmeṁ nelläzä 'eighty-four (iness.)'. Together with ķeṁṁṁ rublaṁṁ the form ķeṁṁṁ rublaṁṁ 'with three rubles' also occurs.

It is necessary to consider separately the genitive of the cardinal numbers, which expresses the idea of how many there are together, e.g. mō assuzimma tētä mō ķeṁṁṁ 'we three walked along the street', kaĥko tō rōpā seittä? 'did the two of you eat up the porridge?'.  
 Morphology

The instructive of the cardinal numbers expresses an indefinite amount, e.g. kasenna taivenna eväd javod mahza kui ķeṁṁṁ, nellä rublā 'this winter flour does not cost more than about three, four rubles'.

Another concept that deserves special mention is the use of the cardinal numbers as indicators of time, e.g. kahste·ššemet tunnia öllä 'twelve o'clock at night', vitē tunnisṁsā 'until five o'clock'.

§ 73. The Votic ordinal numbers are the following:

<u>esimen~esimene~esimein</u> 'first'	<u>kaĥessamaiZ</u> , etc. 'eighth'
<u>teine~tein</u> 'second'	<u>ūhessāmāiZ</u> , etc. 'ninth'
<u>ķeṁṁṁ~ķeṁṁṁ~ķeṁṁṁ</u>	<u>tšümmeṁṁaiZ</u> , etc. 'tenth'
<u>ķeṁṁṁ</u> 'third'	
<u>nelläiZ~nelläZ</u> , etc. 'fourth'	<u>sāZ</u> 'hundredth'
<u>viddeiZ</u> , etc. 'fifth'	<u>tuhattēmaiZ</u> , etc. 'thousandth'
<u>kuvveṁiZ</u> , etc. 'sixth'	<u>vimeine~vimein~vimene~vimen</u> 'last'
<u>seittsemeiZ</u> , etc. 'seventh'	

The ordinals esimein, tein, vimein are declined like all other nominals of Declension XII. The remaining ordinal numbers are declined according to Declension XIII.

In compound numbers the last component of the compound receives the ordinal marker:

<u>ūhste·ššemaiZ~ūhste·ššemeṁiZ~ūhste·ššemaZ</u> , etc. 'eleventh'
<u>kūste·ššemaiZ</u> , etc. 'sixteenth'
<u>kahtšümmeṁṁaiZ~kahtšümmeṁṁeiZ</u> , etc.~ <u>kahtšümmeṁṁaiZ</u> , etc. 'twentieth'
<u>seitsētšümmeṁṁaiZ~seitsētšümmeṁṁaiZ</u> , etc. 'seventieth'
<u>ķeṁṁṁetsāZ</u> 'three hundredth'
<u>vīstuhattēmaiZ</u> , etc. 'five hundredth'

Dialectally all components of compound numbers may have the ordinal marker, as in Jõgõperä for example, nelläste·ištšümmeṁ 'fourteenth',

keṽmeštsümmeneZ 'thirtieth'. In longer ordinal numbers the ordinal marker is given to each unit, tenth, hundredth, thousandth, etc., e. g. kahtsümmenäiZ ühessämäiZ 'twenty-ninth', sāz nellätšümnenäiZ esimein 'one hundred forty-first'. Accordingly, all those components of a compound number that have the ordinal marker are declined, e. g. kahtsümmenettomā ühessämättomā 'twenty-ninth (gen.)'.

§ 74. Fractions. The Votic fractions are pōli-pōli 'one half', which is declined according to Declension X, pōliteissa-pōliteissa 'one and a half', pōli-keṽmatta 'two and a half', pōli-viddettä 'four and a half', etc. Of these fractions, only the first half is declined, e. g. pōlta keṽmatta 'two and a half (part.)', pōlessa nellättä 'three and a half (elat.)'.

Other fractions are formed with the help of the word esa 'part', e. g. keṽmaiZ-keṽmaz esa 'one third', viddeiz esa 'one fifth', kahs viddettä esa 'two fifths'. Together with the word nelläiz esa 'one fourth', the form tšetvertti-tšetvertakka occurs. One fortieth is sorokofka, genitive sorokovgā.

§ 75. Indefinite numbers. In Votic the indefinite numbers are mitō-mittoma 'many', sitō-sittoma 'so many, so much', pallo 'many, much', vähā 'little', meni 'a few, some, many', meneZ 'which one (in a sequence)'. The Votic indefinite numbers can even function as indefinite pronouns, e. g. mitō mēssä 'many men (part.)', mittomaṽta sittomaṽta on tšüzüttü 'from many a person (it) has been asked', menta päivā eli, sitō päivā i ötteli 'how many days there were, so many days he did wait', tāmā eli jo kui menez v̄raZ '(I) don't know which (in number) guest that was already'. The indefinite numbers mitō and sitō are declined according to Declension XIII, pallo according to Declension III, and meni according to Declension X. The words vähā and meneZ are not declined. When declined forms are needed, the word vähāin 'little, small' is used in place of the former, and meni in place of the latter.

## Verbs

### Personal forms

§ 76. In Western Votic the marker of the first person singular is generally -n, which occurs in all tenses and moods, e. g. (miä) tuṽen 'I come', elän 'I live', tulin 'I came', elin 'I lived', tuṽeisin 'I would come', eläisin-eläizin 'I would live'. In Eastern Votic the final -n has disappeared, and the stem vowel has been lengthened. If in front of the lengthened vowel there was a single

consonant, this consonant may have been geminated, e. g. (miä) annā 'I give', tuṽṽe 'I come', johsi 'I ran', taṽṽe 'I hit, pounded', vettaisi 'I would take', mahsaisi 'I would pay'.

The marker of the first person plural is -mma/-mmä. In sandhi the Jõgõperä sub-dialect has -mme/-mme. In Eastern Votic the corresponding marker is -mmaG/-mmäG, e. g. (mō) Jugemma 'we read', elämmä 'we live', samma 'we get, are able', tširjotamma 'we write'; aṽgemme tširjottä 'we started to write', nüttä summe i jümme 'now we eat and drink' (Jõgõperä); sammaG 'we get, are able', mümmäG 'we sell', kannemmaG 'we carried', tšüsüzimmäG 'we asked' (Eastern Votic). In sandhi the final vowel of Western Votic may be omitted, e. g. kēs tuēm taṽṽāZ? 'when will we come back?' (Mati).

§ 77. The second person singular marker is -D, e. g. (siä) jutteṽeD 'you say', tekuD 'you fall', viskaziD 'you threw', vettaiziD 'you would take'. In sandhi either the voiced -d or voiceless -t can occur in place of -D, e. g. vettaizid enellēZ 'you would take for yourself', esit kaunī tšiuṽō 'you bought a red shirt'.

The second person plural marker is -tta/-ttä, -tte/-tte (Jõgõperä), or -ttaG/-ttäG (Eastern Votic), e. g. (tō) teukkätta 'you push', püzittä 'you caught'; süntüzitte 'you were born', suvazitte 'you loved'; esattaG 'you buy', tširjetittaG 'you wrote'. In Western Votic the final vowel may again be omitted, e. g. minē perās süttuzit kevassi? 'why did you get so very angry?'.

§ 78. The marker of the third person singular is -B, e. g. (tāmā) annaB 'he/she gives', rāgahtāB 'he/she gives out a yell', issūB 'he/she sits down', tšäüB 'he/she walks'. In the past tense the third person singular marker is the stem of the past tense, which is always in the strong grade, e. g. rāgahti 'he gave out a yell', jätütti 'it froze', jutteli 'he said', essi 'he bought', johsi 'he ran', sei 'he ate', lei 'he hit', aje 'he chased', ante 'he gave', vassazi-vassaZ 'he answered'. u- and ü-stem words just have the verb stem as such for the third person singular of the past tense, e. g. kuttsu 'he called, invited' (: kuttsuzin 'I called, invited'), issu 'he sat' (: issuzin 'I sat'), tšüsü 'he asked' (: tšüsüzin 'I asked'), süntü 'he was born' (: süntüzin 'I was born'). Dialectally the o-stem words can also have just the verb stem for the third person singular of the past tense, e. g. tahto 'he wanted', seiso 'he stood'. Usually, however, o-stem words have -e as the stem vowel in the third person singular, past tense, e. g. tahte 'he wanted' (: tahtozin 'I wanted'), rikke 'he spoiled, damaged' (: rikkozin 'I spoiled, damaged'). Even the so-called contracted verbs can have -e in the third person singular of the past tense, e. g. teukke 'he pushed' (: teukkazin 'I pushed'),

viske 'he threw' (: viskazin 'I threw'). The marker for the third person singular of the conditional is likewise only the strong grade stem of the conditional, e. g. antaissi~antaizi~antaiš~antaiZ 'he would give'.

The third person plural marker is -vaD/-vãD, e. g. (nãmã) aŋkavaD 'they begin, start', aŋkevaD 'they began, started', issu-vaD 'they sit', issuzivaD 'they sat', elãvãD 'they live', elivãD 'they lived', antaissivaD~antaizivaD 'they would give'.

In present day Votic sub-dialects it is quite usual for the impersonal to occur instead of the third person plural, e. g. nãmã tuŋŋassẽ~tuŋŋãssẽ~tuŋŋassa~tuŋŋãss~tuŋŋãZ~tuŋŋã 'they come', nãmã tuŋŋi 'they came', etc. The use of the impersonal has become especially widespread in very recent times. With some speakers its use is rare even now, with others, however, it is general. The Russian language has set the example for the occurrence of the impersonal, since in Russian the third person plural and the impersonal have the same marker (cf. Russian они говорят 'they speak, say' and говорят 'it is said', они говорили 'they spoke, said' and говорили 'it was said').

#### Tenses

§ 79. In Votic the verbs have the following tenses: present, imperfect, present perfect, past perfect, future, and future perfect. Of these the present and the imperfect are simple tenses. The present perfect, past perfect, future, and the future perfect are compound tenses which are formed with auxiliary verbs. Only in the case of the auxiliary verb does the future also occur as a simple tense. The helping verbs ejla 'to be', and liddã 'to be in the future' are given below in all tenses.

Present	
miã ejlen~ẽn	mõ ejemma~ẽmma
siã ejleD~ẽD	tõ ejetta~ẽtta
tãmã on	nãmã omaD~onvaD~ovaD
Imperfect	
elin	elimma
eliD	elitta
eli	elivaD

#### Present perfect

ejlen ejlu~ejluG	ejemma ejlũD
ejleD ejlu, etc.	ejetta ejlũD
on ejlu, etc.	omad ejlũD

#### Past perfect

elin ejlu~ejluG	elimma ejlũD
elid ejlu, etc.	elitta ejlũD
eli ejlu, etc.	elivaD ejlũD

#### Future

lẽn~lẽnen	lẽmmã~lẽnemmmã
lẽD~lẽneD	lẽttã~lẽnettã
lẽB~lẽneB	lẽvaD~lẽnevãD

#### Future perfect

lẽn ejlu~ejluG	lẽmmã ejlũD
lẽD ejlu, etc.	lẽttã ejlũD
lẽb ejlu, etc.	lẽvãd ejlũD

In the Jõgõpera sub-dialect the plural has ejlũẽD.

§ 80. In Votic the present tense has no special marker in the active voice. Only the personal endings are added to the verb stem. In accordance with the rules of gradation, the stem is either in the strong or weak grade, e. g. annan 'I give', annaD 'you (sing.) give', annaB 'he gives', annamma 'we give', annatta 'you (pl.) give', antavaD 'they give'.

The passive voice, however, does have a special marker even for the present tense, concerning which see § 90 below.

§ 81. There are several possibilities for forming the Votic imperfect. With the exception of the third person singular, the imperfect has the same personal endings as the present. However, in the imperfect the verb has a different stem, the so-called past stem. The past stem can be obtained in the following ways:

Monosyllabic stems that end in a vowel have a diphthong in the past stem, e. g. sei 'he ate' (: sõB 'he eats'), lein 'I hit' (: lõn 'I hit, am hitting'), veiD 'you took' (: vẽD 'you take'), saimma 'we



got' (: sāmma 'we get'), jättä 'you (pl.) remained' (: jättä 'you remain').

A second possibility is that instead of the present tense stem vowels -e, -g, or -a, the imperfect stem has -i. a-stem words consisting of more than two syllables likewise have -i. Dialectally and in certain words, disyllabic verbs having their present stem in -a/-ä can also have this -a replaced by -i in the imperfect, e.g. tetšiväd 'they did, made' (: tetševäd 'they do, make'), pezimmä 'we washed' (: pezemmä 'we wash'), neisivaD 'they rose, started' (: neisevaD 'they rise, start'), jutteli 'he said' (: jutteleB 'he says'), jätin 'I left behind' (: jätän 'I leave behind'), eliväd 'they lived' (: eläväd 'they live'), püvvin (Mati)-püzin (Lempola) 'I caught' (: püvvän 'I catch'), leütiväd 'they found' (: leütäväd 'they find'), isutimma 'we planted' (: isutamma 'we plant'), veittivaD 'they won' (: veittavaD 'they win'), essi 'he bought' (: esaB 'he buys'), anti 'he gave' (: annaB 'he gives' [Liivküla]).

To a certain degree, some sub-dialects can have forms with long -i in the past stem, e.g. murti 'he broke' (: murraB 'he breaks' [Mati]), lenti 'he flew', köli 'he died', pakenivaD 'they fled' (Lempola). Long -i also occurs in the imperfect if the present tense contains a long vowel, e.g. rāgahti 'he cried out, screamed' (: rāgah-tāB 'he cries out, screams'), nagrahti 'he smiled' (: nagrahtāB 'he smiles'), tšūditti 'it haunted' (: tšūdittaB 'it haunts'), kummarti 'he bowed' (: kummartāB 'he bows'), ehtagoitti 'he ate supper' (: ehtagoittāB 'he eats supper'), hüppi-üppi 'he jumped' (: hüppāB-üppāB 'he jumps').

In the majority of Votic sub-dialects, disyllabic a-stem words whose first syllable also contains -a have -g as the stem vowel of the imperfect, e.g. ajevaD 'they drove' (: ajavaD 'they drive'), kannemma 'we carried' (: kannamma 'we carry'), aške 'he began, started' (: aškaB 'he begins, starts').

o-stem words have -g as the stem vowel for the third person singular of the imperfect, e.g. sitg 'he tied' (: sioB 'he ties'), seisg 'he stood' (: seizoB 'he stands'), rikke 'he spoiled, damaged' (: rikoB 'he spoils, damages'), tahte 'he wanted' (: tahoB 'he wants'). The remaining persons have the marker -zi- as in the verb group that follows.

There are two possibilities for forming the imperfect of those verbs that have -u, -ü, or -i as the stem vowel. The verb stem occurs only in the third person singular, e.g. kuttsu 'he called, invited' (: kutsuB 'he calls, invites'), sütü 'he got angry' (: sütüB 'he gets angry'), süntü 'he was born' (: sünnüB 'he is being born'), ehi 'he decorated, embellished' (: ehiB 'he decorates, embellishes').

For the remaining persons the imperfect marker is -zi-, e.g. kuttsuzin 'I called, invited', sütüzimma 'we got angry', süntüzittä 'you (pl.) were born', ehtiziväd 'they decorated, embellished', seizattuzin 'I stopped', sopiziD 'you (sing.) suited, agreed'. Sub-dialectally o-stem verbs also belong to this category, e.g. tahto 'he wanted', tahtozimma 'we wanted'. In those sub-dialects where o-stem verbs have -g in the third person singular of the imperfect, the remaining persons are nevertheless still conjugated according to this pattern, e.g. seisg 'he stood', but seisozin 'I stood', seisozid 'you (sing.) stood'.

This same -zi- marker of the imperfect is also characteristic of the so-called contracted verbs, e.g. viskazin 'I threw' (: viskän 'I throw'), katkazin 'I gave a tug, broke off' (: katkän 'I give a tug, break off'), tahtazid 'you (sing.) trod, trampled' (: tahtāD 'you tread, trample'), teukkazimma 'we pushed' (: teukkāmma 'we push'), vassazitta 'you (pl.) answered' (: vassätta 'you answer'), suvazisuvaZ 'he loved' (: suvāB 'he loves'). In the third person singular, these last word types can also have the forms viske 'he threw', tahtge 'he trampled, trod', teukke 'he pushed'.

Concerning the passive voice of the imperfect, see § 91.

§ 82. The present perfect is formed with the aid of the present tense of the auxiliary verb elja 'to be' and the past participle of the pertinent verb, e.g. elen, eleD, on antannu 'I have, you (sing.) have, he has given', elemma, eletta, omaD antannuD 'we, you (pl.), they have given'. Concerning the various dialect forms of the participle, see § 99.

§ 83. The past perfect is formed with the aid of the imperfect tense of the auxiliary verb elja 'to be' and the past participle of the pertinent verb, e.g. elin, eliD, eli antannu 'I, you (sing.), he had given', elimma, elitta, elivaD antannuD 'we, you (pl.), they had given'.

§ 84. In Votic, as in the other Balto-Finnic languages, the present can function as the future, e.g. linad leživäd māmma, näväd lēväd valmīD, pehmiäd, sis pämma rigäsē, tapamma 'the flax is lying on the ground, it is getting ready, soft, then we will put (it) into the threshing-barn, we will thresh', nätilpän tuemma teilē 'Sunday we will come to your place', kui tämä turep kotōsē, eittäp kehaḡmā makāmāsē 'when he comes home, he will go to sleep right away'. Only the auxiliary verb liddā has a specific future meaning (see § 79), e.g. tšülä lēb litši i leipā lēB 'the village will be near and there will be bread', i siḡ lēväd ḡahzeD 'even you (sing.) will have children', lēnen lidnaza aḡkoi kantajanna 'I will be a wood carrier in the city', Maḡo ku kazvaB, lēB mokoma niku emä 'Matjo,

when she grows up, will be like her mother'. If the future tense of a verb is to be definitely emphasized, the auxiliary verb *liddā* can be used, e.g. *sinū tavākā liep\_taugeta* 'if one has your (sing.) kind of habits, one must die', *lieb\_mennā mettsā obahkā* 'it will be necessary to go to the forest to gather mushrooms' (Lempola).

Other auxiliary verbs may also be used to express the future. One such auxiliary verb is the rather wide-spread *neisa* 'to rise, start', e.g. *neizen~nēn*, *neizeD~nēD*, *neizeB~nēB*, *neizemma~nēmma*, *neizetta~nētta*, *neisevaD~nēvaD* *tetšemā* 'I will start, you (sing.) will start, etc. to make', *miä nēn patoi tetšemā* 'I will start to make clay pots', *kui mēt\_kotōsē*, *sinua isā tuntemā eb neize* 'when you go home, (your) father will not recognize you', *tāmās lēneb\_üvä poika*, *kumpa pahāta eb\_neize tātāmā* 'he will become a good son who will know nothing bad', *vedna eb\_nē kazvamā* 'the lamb will not begin to grow, will not grow up'.

Also the verb *vettā* 'to take' can be used as an auxiliary verb for expressing the future, e.g. *miä ävitin sermuhsē; tšen vetab\_ leütā?* 'I lost the ring; who will find (it)?'.

The future can also be expressed syntactically, e.g. *jeikkān sigā* 'I will kill the pig', and *jeikkān sikā* 'I am killing the pig', *tšünnättä pe\_πiō* 'you (pl.) will plow the field' and *tšünnättä pe\_πtua* 'you (pl.) are plowing the field', *esamma opezē* 'we will buy a horse' and *esamma ovessa* 'we are buying a horse'. In such cases the future is expressed by the total object.

§ 85. In Votic the future perfect tense also occurs. This is formed by means of the auxiliary verb *liddā* and the past participle, e.g. *kui miä lēn tšüsünnü*, *sis siä anna* 'when I will have asked, then you (sing.) give'. The future perfect even occurs in the passive voice, e.g. *si\_ππē keik\_lēp\_prostittu* 'everything will have been forgiven you (sing.)', *leivād\_lēvāt\_senele\_πavva\_πē pantu* 'the breads will have been put on this/that table'.

Since in Votic both the future and future perfect are merely parallel forms alongside of the present tense functioning as the future, they will be omitted from the verbal paradigms to be given below.

#### Moods

§ 86. The Votic language has four moods, namely, the indicative, conditional, imperative, and the potential. The indicative has no special marker. In both the present and the imperfect tense of this mood the personal endings are simply added to the present or imperfect stem.

§ 87. The representation of the conditional is quite varied in the Votic sub-dialects. The existing markers for the conditional

are as follows. In the majority of sub-dialects the conditional marker is *-isi-* : *-izi-* in accordance with the rules of gradation, e.g. *jät-täizin* 'I would leave behind', *e\_πeiziD* 'you (sing.) would be', *menei-zimmā* 'we would go', *e\_πeizi* 'he would be', *t\_πeizivaD* 'they would come'. In some sub-dialects (Lempola) the relation is such that an open syllable has *-issi-* and a closed syllable has *-izi-*, e.g. *e\_πeizin* 'I would be', but *e\_πeissi~e\_πeis* 'he would be', *ehtizin* 'I would be able, would manage', but *ehtissi* 'he would be able, would manage', *pitäizin* 'I would have to', but *pitäis* 'he would have to'. Dialectally the conditional marker is *-issi-* : *-isi-*, e.g. *antaisimma* 'we would give', *antaisi* 'he would give'. The last possibility is, by the way, characteristic of Eastern Votic. Some of the sub-dialects have *-isi-* in the third person singular, e.g. *antaisi*.

Monosyllabic verbs that end in a vowel usually have a double marker for the conditional, e.g. *sais\_εizin* 'I would get', *jeis\_εiziD* 'you (sing.) would drink', *leiseizimmā* 'we would hit', *jäiseizittä* 'you (pl.) would stay, remain'. The conditional mood with a double marker can also occur in other instances, such as *etti\_εepettaisi-zivat\_ε\_εā* 'that they would end the war' (Lempola).

§ 88. In Votic the imperatives of the verbs *ε\_ππa* 'to be', *jättā* 'to leave behind', and *tširjottā* 'to write' are as follows:

	Singular		
1. person	πa_ε_πen	πa_jätän	πa_tširjotan
2. person	ε_πe~ε_πeG	jätä~jätäG	tširjota~ tširjetaG
3. person	ε_πkō~ πa on	jättägō~ πa_jätäB	tširjottagō~ πatširjotaB
	Plural		
1. person	ε_πemma~ ε_πemmaG	jätämmä~ jätämmäG	tširjotamma~ tširjotammaG
2. person	ε_πkā	jättägā	tširjottagā
3. person	ε_πkō~ ε_πkōD~ πa omaD	jättägō~ jättägōD~ πa_jättäväD	tširjottagō~ tširjottagōD~ πa_tširjottavaD

Forms ending with the stop *-G* are characteristic of Eastern Votic.

If the syllable bearing main stress is immediately followed by the imperative marker, the latter is always in the strong grade,

i. e. -kā, -kō. Farther on in the word the imperative marker is in the weak grade, (i. e. -gā, -gō), if it is added to a vowel stem, and in the strong grade if added to a consonant stem, e. g. tšüzü-telkā 'question! quiz! (pl.)', tšüzütelkō 'let him question, let him quiz'.

The third person plural marker -kōD~-gōD appears in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect.

The markers for the imperative mood are back-vocalic even in front-vowel words.

The first person plural of the imperative has no special marker. The first person plural of the present indicative can also serve as the first person plural of the imperative, e. g. nēm̄ma mäntši-mä! 'let's start to play!', lähemmä tält tširēp vällä! 'let's get going away from here faster!'.

The forms sōkō and ja sōB, 'let him eat', antagō and ja antavaD 'let them give' occur alternatively. However, the analytical form using the auxiliary verb, which has been taken from the Russian, is more common in present usage. The first person singular has only the analytical imperative.

§ 89. The potential mood is not an infrequent mood in Ahlqvist's grammar, e. g. wöttanen 'I probably take', wajeltanen 'I probably change', tulenen~tulnen~tullen 'I probably come', sönenen 'I probably eat', jõnenen 'I probably drink'. The potential marker is -ne- which can be added to both the vowel and consonant stems. It is probable that the potential mood offered by Ahlqvist was popularly used. This fact, by the way, is indicated by potential forms having double markers, which are found in Votic folksongs even today. This author must, nevertheless, state that in present day Votic the potential mood occurs very seldom. Perhaps this mood has only survived in folksongs.

#### Passive (or impersonal) voice

§ 90. In Votic there is no special marker for the active voice. The passive voice, however, does have special markers, the representation of which is very varied in the different dialects. The present tense of the passive has the following markers:

pesässē 'it is (being) washed', pannassē 'it is (being) put', jaskeassē 'it is (being) permitted', sevettässē 'it is (being) dressed' (Pontizõöküla);

kuttsuasē 'one calls, invites', ᵐauᵐasē 'it is (being) sung, one sings', rikkoasē 'it is (being) damaged', tšüntäsē 'it is (being) plowed' (Eastern Votic);

süvvässä 'it is (being) eaten', ripussässa 'it is (being) hung', repiässä 'it is (being) torn', ahtässa 'grain is (being) put to dry in

a threshing barn'. Alongside the passive marker an apocopated form can occur in sandhi, e. g. meil jo lämmittäs ahjuu 'our stove is already being heated' a siäl keikkēa tšüsüäs 'but there everything is asked', ᵐauᵐās vanoī virsi 'old alliterative verses were sung' (Kattila and vicinity);

jüvvaZ 'it is (being) drunk', süvväZ 'it is (being) eaten', ᵐauᵐāZ 'it is (being) sung', itkeaz 'one cries', vettāZ 'it is (being) taken'. In the same region a passive marker ending in a vowel occurs parallel to the marker just given, e. g. pannaze 'it is (being) put', lüvvāze 'it is (being) hit' (Mati and vicinity).

Thus, one marker for the present passive (or impersonal) is -ssē/-ssē, -sē/-sē, -ssa/-ssä~s; -Z~ze/-ze. These variants of one and the same marker are added to the first infinitive of the verb.

The Jõgõperä sub-dialect has a different type of marker for the present tense of the passive, e. g. süvvä 'it is (being) eaten', tuᵐᵐā 'one comes (lit. it is come)', gmmēᵐᵐā 'it is (being) sewn', ᵐauᵐotā 'it is (being) sung', tšüzütā 'it is (being) asked', kutsutā 'it is (being) called, invited', idgetā 'one cries (lit. it is [being] cried)'. In Jõgõperä, the present tense of the passive, like the present passive of Ingrian and Finnish, is formed, first of all, by the marker -ta/-tä, which is added to the vowel stem. Before this marker, the stem vowel -a becomes -e and -ä becomes -e. The stem itself is in the weak grade. Secondly, the lengthened final vowel of the first infinitive of the verb under consideration can serve as the present passive marker, e. g. tuᵐᵐā 'to come': tuᵐᵐā 'one comes (lit. it is come)'.

§ 91. The general Votic marker for the past tense of the passive is -ti or -tti, e. g. tuᵐti 'one had come, it was come', panti 'it was put', sōti 'it was eaten', neisti 'one rose, one began (lit. it was risen, it was begun)', viliselti 'it was whistled', tehti 'it was done, made', veiti 'one was able (lit. one had been able)', annetti 'it was given', kerjautti 'one hid (intr.) (lit. one had hidden himself)', nesetti 'it was lifted', tširjotetti 'it was written', vetetti 'it was taken', püvveti 'it was caught', pietti 'it was held'. The past passive marker -ti occurs after a long vowel or diphthong carrying main stress, and after any consonant, irrespective of its position. Otherwise -tti occurs. -a/-ä usually changes to -e/-e before the past passive marker.

§ 92. The marker for the conditional mood of the passive is -taissi/-täissi~-ttaissi/-ttäissi or -taisi/-täisi~-ttaisi/-ttäisi, according to the sub-dialects, e. g. vetettaissi 'if it would be taken', pantaissi 'if it would be put', levvettäissi 'if it would be found', juteᵐtaissi 'if it would be said', annettaisi 'if it

would be given', vetettaisi 'if it would be taken', ihottaisi 'if it would be sharpened'. In sandhi the final vowel is rather generally omitted, e. g. vetettais~vetettais.

§ 93. The marker for the imperative mood of the passive is -tagō/-tägō~-ttagō/-ttägō, e. g. vetettagō 'let it be taken', levvet-tägō 'let it be found', juteJtagō~jueJtagō 'let it be said'. It should be noted that here also, the stem vowel -a/-ä becomes -e/-e in front of the passive imperative marker.

§ 94. Ahlqvist's grammar recognizes the passive potential mood as a living element of the language, e. g. kōrittanes 'perhaps it would be peeled', ihottanes 'perhaps it would be sharpened', ujuttanes 'perhaps one would swim (lit. perhaps it would be swum)'. The author has heard this potential mood only in folk songs.

§ 95. It was mentioned above (§ 78) that the passive may occur instead of the third person plural, e. g. keik kem rōtia eJti seza 'all three companies were in the war', linnud viliselti puiza 'the birds whistled in the tree tops', näväd JauJāZ 'they are singing' (Mati), nāmā vetettais 'they would take'. The younger the speaker of Votic, the more common is the occurrence of the passive in his speech.

In addition to the already mentioned possibility of attaching the passive marker to the verb stem, the passive voice in Votic can also be expressed syntactically, e. g. kuhē tātā huJJa vēD? 'where is that fool to be taken?', tāl on vasara, ešto paikaJt ed likuta 'he has a hammer so heavy that it cannot be moved from its place', et tā mitäiD, kui veib eJJa 'don't know anything about how it could be'. Thus, the second person singular can have a passive function also.

#### Infinitives

§ 96. Votic has two infinitives, the first and the second. In Western Votic the marker of the first infinitive is -a/-ä, -ā/-ā and -ta/-tä, e. g. süvvä 'to eat', juvva 'to drink', juteJJa 'to say', kōJJa 'to die', panna 'to put', mennä 'to go', ujua 'to swim', tšüsüä 'to ask', repiä 'to tear', suvata 'to love', upota 'to drown', üpätä 'to jump', vettä 'to take'.

In Eastern Votic the stop -G is added to the infinitive, e. g. sōäG 'to eat', tōaG 'to bring', pannaG 'to put', sitoaG 'to tie', väittäG 'to drag, pull', avataG 'to open'.

The occurrence of the first infinitive generally agrees with Estonian usage. Nevertheless, there are some instances where Votic has the first infinitive but Estonian uses the second, e. g. aJke tšüsüä 'he began to ask', piäp\_tehä 'he has to do, make', väsü mäntšiä 'he got tired of playing'.

The first infinitive can be declined. The occurrence of this infinitive in the inessive is quite general, e. g. eläzä 'while living', vetäzä 'while dragging, pulling', pitäzä 'while keeping', JauJāza 'while singing', nagrāza 'while laughing', tširjottāza 'while writing', repizä 'while tearing', tšiskōza 'while tearing, plucking', tšüsüzä 'while asking', puhūza 'while blowing'. Before the inessive marker the stem vowel of one-stem verbs is lengthened. In two-stem verbs -a/-ä changes to -e/-e before the inessive marker, e. g. juteJjeza 'while saying', panneza 'while putting', mennezä 'while going', suvateza 'while loving', üpätezä 'while jumping'.

First infinitive inessives such as eläizä 'while living', pitäizä 'while keeping', JauJaiza 'while singing' occur sub-dialectally.

In folksongs possessive suffixes can be added to the first infinitive, e. g. süvvezäzi 'in your eating (i. e. while you are eating)', antāzani 'in my giving (i. e. while I am giving)'. The author has not heard such forms used in everyday speech.

The first infinitive indicates simultaneous action as well as the manner in which the action occurs, e. g. eläzä en eJn nähnü nī tvā lehmä 'while I have been living (i. e. as long as I have been living) I have not seen such a good cow', JauJāza menti kotōsē '(while) singing, they went home', tötä tehezä eJn ain elännü 'I have only lived working'.

In folksongs the translative of the first infinitive occurs together with the possessive suffixes, e. g. anna tupa tuJasseni, rihi sōja eJmasseni, Jautad Jahti tšävvässeni 'give a room, so I would come, a room warm, so I would stay, barn open, so I would walk (in)'. This type of translative occurs as a usual form even with Ahlqvist. However, it is hardly probable that during his time this form could have been a general feature of the everyday living language.

§ 97. The marker for the second infinitive is -mä(sē)/-mä(sē) which is also added to the vowel stem of the verb, e. g. vättamä 'to look', jōnitteJemä 'to run', tempämä 'to pull', tšüsümä 'to ask', sōmā 'to eat'. Characteristically the second infinitive is actually the illative case, e. g. meni kaJā pütämä 'he went to catch fish', johsevad\_vättamä 'they run to look', issümma okauttamä jaJkoi 'we sit down to let (our) feet rest', neisti tšüsümä 'they (impersonal) began to ask (lit. it was begun to ask)'.

The second infinitive is also used with cases other than the illative, namely with the inessive, elative, and abessive, e. g. inessive: isä on sōmäzä 'father is eating', elimma spektaklia vättamaza 'we were watching a play', eJti tšäümäzä 'they (impersonal) went to make a formal proposal (of marriage) (lit. it was gone to make a formal proposal)'; elative: unohtin tšüsümässä 'I

forgot to ask (lit. I forgot from asking)', tulin tšüntämässä 'I came from plowing'; abessive: open on sōmättä 'the horse is without eating', peuto jäi tšüntämättä 'the field remained unplowed (lit. without plowing)', verkko on paratamattaG 'the net is not repaired (lit. without repairing)' (Eastern Votic).

In addition, the second infinitive occurs in such constructions as eb\_nāū tšāvelemā 'it doesn't appear as if (he) were walking', juenti tujemā tuhkapān 'it was said (he) would come on Monday', nāin tātā ejemā 'I saw him being (at a place)'. The use of this type of partitivus cum infinitivo is similar to Estonian dialectal usage (nāgin tulema). See also § 98.

### Participles

§ 98. There are two participles in the Votic language, the present and the past, both of which have an active as well as a passive voice. The marker for the present participle is -va/-vā in the active voice and -tava/-tävä, -ttava/-ttävä in the passive, e.g. kūntāva 'dutiful, submissive', tšihuva 'boiling', pejeva 'burning', sāva 'becoming', sōtävä 'eatable', mütävä 'sellable', suvattava 'lovable, loved one', pantava on pajatettava i naitettava on nagretta 'the one to be married off (i. e. speaking about a girl) is to be talked about and the one who is to take a wife is to be laughed at' (proverb).

The present participle is actually an adjectival nominal and is declined according to Declension VIII. This participle is not especially common in the active voice, its use being limited to a more or less definite group of verbs. In a rather general way this participle has the function of indicating the doer of an action (see § 102). In the passive this participle occurs more generally.

One usual possibility for the occurrence of the present participle is the partitivus cum participio, e.g. en tää (tätä) ejevā 'I don't know his being', nāin mēssä tujevā tētā mō 'I saw a man coming along the street'. See also § 97.

§ 99. The past active participle is -nnu/-nnū in Western Votic and -nnuG/-nnūG in Eastern Votic. In monosyllabic stems ending in a consonant, the consonant of the participle marker may be assimilated to the stem consonant, e.g. sōnnū 'eaten', arvannu 'guessed, surmised', jättännū 'left (trans.)', maskennu 'let', pagennu 'escaped', väsünnū 'tired', juojnu 'said', pässü-pāznū 'escaped, managed to get away', emmenū 'sewed'; Eastern Votic sānnuG 'gotten, obtained', peittännūG 'hidden', vasannuG 'answered'.

This participle is declined according to Declension XV. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect, alongside the paradigm kōjnu : kōnnū : kōjnujē 'dead (nom.) : dead (gen.) : dead (all.)', the paradigm kōjnu~kōnnū~

kōjnujē can also occur with individual speakers. This latter instance shows the influence of the Ingrian dialects.

§ 100. The past passive participle has the marker -tu/-tū, -ttu/-ttū in Western Votic and -tuG/-tūG, -ttuG/-ttūG in Eastern Votic, e.g. sātu '(been) gotten, obtained', sōtū '(been) eaten', tuju '(lit.) (been) come', pantu '(been) put', tehtū '(been) made, done', vetettu '(been) taken', esettu '(been) bought', tširjotettu '(been) written', tšēlettū '(been) forbidden'; Eastern Votic sātuG '(been) gotten', tehtūG '(been) done, made', vētūG '(been) taken', tukattuG '(been) stuffed, buried', tapettuG '(been) killed'.

The past passive participle is declined according to Declension II.

### Action noun

§ 101. The action noun marker is -min~-mine~-ming and -mīn~-mīne~-mīng. In some sub-dialects short -i- occurs in unstressed syllables, and long -ī- occurs in syllables with secondary stress, e.g. sōmin 'eating', but rukemīn 'reading', antamīn 'giving'. In other sub-dialects -i- is always short, e.g. terppimine 'suffering', tetšemiš 'doing (part.)', empejemin 'sewing'. In a third group of sub-dialects -ī- is always long, e.g. jōmīn 'drinking', makāmizejūā 'sleeping (adess.)', empejemin 'sewing'.

The action noun, in reality a deverbal noun, is declined according to Declension XII.

Special attention should be given to the adessive plus possessive suffix of the action noun, e.g. sōmizellā 'just eating', tujemizejūā 'just coming', antamizejūā 'just giving', elin tujemizejūā teile vērazī, kui poika tuli läsivāssi 'I was just coming to visit you when my son became sick', staruxa on kōjemizejūā 'the old woman is dying'.

### The agent

§ 102. The marker of the agent is -ja/-jä. In sandhi the Jõgõperä sub-dialect also has -je/-je. The marker is added to the vowel stem of the verb, e.g. juojaja 'singer', veittaja 'winner', tšūsüjä 'asker', nätšijä-mēZ 'witness'; in Jõgõperä juojaje 'singer', sāje 'receiver', tšūsüje 'asker'.

In all Votic sub-dialects, and especially in Jõgõperä, the agent also occurs attributively in place of the present participle, e.g. juojaje poike 'singing boy', autoje kana 'a hatching hen', kaļā pütäjä starikka 'a fishing old man'.

## Negation

§ 103. Except in the imperative, the Votic verb stem does not take any personal endings in negation. In Western Votic the verb stem as such is the negative marker; in Eastern Votic, however, the negative marker -G is attached to the stem. In Votic the negation itself is conjugated, e. g. en, eD, eB, emmä~emmäG, että~ettäG, eväd 'I don't, you (sing.) don't, he doesn't', etc. In the singular the negation verb also has a longer emphatic form eni, edi, ebi. As examples for the negative mood, the auxiliary verbs ejlīa 'to be' and liddä~lēäg 'to be in the future' for both Eastern and Western Votic will be offered here.

## Active voice

## Present tense

(miä) en ejlē~ejlēG	(mō~mū) emmä ejlē~emmäg~ ejlēG
(siä) ed_ejlē~ejlēG	(tō~tū) että ejlē~ettäg_ejlēG
(tämä) eb_ejlē~ejlēG~bejlē~bē	(nämä~nämäD~näväD) eväd_ejlē~ejlēG

## Imperfect

en ejlīu~ejlīuG	emmä ejlīūd~emmäg_ejlīūd
ed_ejlīu~ejlīuG	että_ejlīūd~ettäg_ejlīūd
eb_ejlīu~ejlīuG~bejlīu	eväd_ejlīūd

## Present perfect

en ejlē ejlīu~ejlēg_ejlīuG	emmä ejlē ejlīūd~emmäg_ejlēg_ejlīūd
ed_ejlē ejlīu~ejlēg_ejlīuG	että ejlē ejlīūd~ettäg_ejlēg_ejlīūd
eb_ejlē ejlīu~ejlēg_ejlīuG	eväd ejlē ejlīūd~ejlēg_ejlīūd

## Past perfect

en ejlī ejlīu~ejlīug_ejlīuG	emmä ejlīūd_ejlīūd~emmäg_ejlīūd_ejlīūd
ed_ejlī ejlīu~ejlīug_ejlīuG	että ejlīūd_ejlīūd~ettäg_ejlīūd_ejlīūd
eb_ejlī ejlīu~ejlīug_ejlīuG	eväd_ejlīūd_ejlīūd

## Future

en lē~lēG	emmä lē~emmäg_lēG
ed_lē~lēG	että lē~ettäg_lēG
eb_le~lēG	eväd_lē~lēG

## Future perfect

en lē ejlīu~lēg_ejlīuG	emmä lē ejlīūd~emmäg_lēg_ejlīūd
ed_lē ejlīu~lēg_ejlīuG	että lē ejlīūd~ettäg_lēg_ejlīūd
eb_lē ejlīu~lēg_ejlīuG	eväd_lē ejlīūd~lēg_ejlīūd

## Conditional mood

en } ejlēisi	emmä etc. } ejlēisi~
ed_ } ejlēissi	että etc. } ejlēissi~
eb_ } ejlēissiG	eväd_ } ejlēissiG

## Imperative mood

īa en ejlē~īāg_en ejlēg	īa emmä ejlē~īāg_eemmäg_ejlēG
elä~älä ejlē~eläg_ejlēG	elkā~älkā ejkā
elkō~älkō ejkō~īa eb_ejlē~ īāG_eb_ejlēG	elkō~älkō ejkō~elkōd_ejkōD~ īa eväd_ejlē~īāg_eväd_ejlēG

## Passive voice

## Present

ep\_ejlīa~ejlīaG

## Imperfect

eb\_ejlīu~ejlīuG

## Conditional

ep\_ejlīaisi~ejlīaisi~ejlīaisiG

## Imperative

elkō~älkō ejltagō

## Conjugations

§ 104. The Votic conjugations will be presented according to their most significant divisions. The sample words are conjugated

according to the West Votic sub-dialects. The differences found in Eastern Votic occur mainly in participles and in negation. These differences have already been considered in the respective sections above.

The first sample words are offered in all persons. Later on, only the necessary examples will be quoted. Likewise, later on, the negative mood will not be given.

#### One-stem verbs

§ 105. Conjugation I. Monosyllabic stems ending in either a long vowel or in a diphthong belong to this conjugation, e. g. sā-n 'I get, obtain', jō-n 'I drink', sō-n 'I eat', jā-n 'I stay, remain', vē-n 'I take, carry', lō-n 'I hit', veī-n 'I can, am able'.

#### Active voice

##### Present

Affirmative			Negative		
sān	jōn	lōn	vēn	en sā	jō lō vē
sāD	jōD	lōD	vēD	et_sā	jō lō vē
sāB	jōB	lōB	vēB	ep_sā	jō lō vē
sāmma	jōmma	lōmma	vēmma	emmā sā	jō lō vē
sätta	jōtta	lōttä	vēttä	ettā sā	jō lō vē
sāvaD	jōvaD	lōvāD	vēvāD	evāt_sā	jō lō vē

##### Imperfect

sain	jein~jein	lein	en sānu	jōnu	lōnnū
vein			vēnnū		
saiD	jgiD	leiD	et_sānu	jōnu	lōnnū
veiD			vēnnū		
sai	jgi	lei	ep_sānu	jōnu	lōnnū
vei			vēnnū		
saimma	jgimma	leimma	emmā sānnūD	jōnnūD	lōnnūD
veimma			vēnnūD		
saitta	jgitta	leittä	ettā sānnūD	jōnnūD	lōnnūD
veittä			vēnnūD		
saivaD	jgivaD	leivāD	evāt_sānnūD	jōnnūD	lōnnūD
veivāD			vēnnūD		

#### Present perfect

gJen	} sānu jōnu	en	} gJē sānu	
gJēD		eD		jōnu lōnnū
on		eB		vēnnū
gJemma	} sānnūD jōnnūD	emmā	} gJē sānnūD	
gJetta		ettā		jōnnūD lōnnūD
omaD		evāD		vēnnūD

#### Past perfect

glin	} sānu jōnu	en	} gJū sānu	
gliD		eD		jōnu lōnnū
gli		eB		vēnnū
glimma	} sānnūD jōnnūD	emmā	} gJūD sānnūD	
glitta		ettā		jōnnūD lōnnūD
glivaD		evāD		vēnnūD

#### Conditional mood

saisgizin	jeisgizin	leiseizin	en	} saisgisi-saisgissi
saisgiziD	jeisgiziD	leiseiziD	eD	
saisgissi	jeisgissi	leiseissi	eB	
saisgizimma	jeisgizimma	leiseizimma	emmā	
saisgizitta	jeisgizitta	leiseizittā	ettā	
saisgizivaD	jeisgizivaD	leiseizivāD	evāD	
		veiseizin		
		veiseiziD		

#### Imperative

Ja sān	jōn	lōn	vēn	Ja en sā	jō	lō	vē
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sā	jō	lō vē	elä	sā	jō	lō	vē
sākō	jōkō	lōkō vēkō	elkō	sākō	jōkō	lōkō	vēkō
~Ja sāB, etc.			~Ja ep_sā, etc.				
(Ja) sām̄ma	jōmma	lōmmā vēmmā	Ja emmā	sā	jō	lō	vē
sākā	jōkā	lōkā vēkā	elkā	sākā	jōkā	lōkā	vēkā
sākō	jōkō	lōkō vēkō	elkō	sākō	jōkō	lōkō	vēkō
~sākōD, etc.			~elkōt_sākōD, etc.				
~Ja sāvaD, etc.			Ja evät_sā, etc.				

## Participles

sāva	jōva	lōvā	vēvā
sānu	jōnu	lōnnū	vēnnū

## Passive voice

## Present

## Affirmative

sātassa~sāhassg~sāvvaZ~  
sāvvā, etc.  
juvassa lüvvässä viddässä

## Negative

ep\_sāta juvva lüvvā viddā

## Imperfect

sātī jōtī lōtī vētī ep\_sātu jōtu lōtū vētū

## Conditional

sātaisi~sātaissi jōtaisi ep\_sātaisi~sātaissi jōtaisi  
lōtäisi vētäisi lōtäisi vētäisi

## Imperative

sātagō jōtagō lōtagō vētagō elkō sātagō jōtagō lōtagō  
vētagō

## Participles

sātava	jōtava	lōtāvā	vētāvā
sātu	jōtu	lōtū	vētū

## Infinitives

sāta~sāha~sāvva~savva	juvva~jūvva	lüvvā~lüvvā	viddā
sāteza	juvveza	lüvvezā	viddezā
sāmā	jōmā	lōmā	vēmā

## Action noun

sāmin	jōmin	lōmin	vēmin
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## Agent

sāja	jōja	lōjä	vējā
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§ 106. Conjugation II. In this conjugation are those words that have -u, -ū, -i as the stem vowel, e.g. kutsu-n 'I call, invite', uju-n 'I swim', sūtu-n 'I get angry', kaugasu-n 'I am late', sünnü-n 'I am born', tšüzü-n 'I ask', säülü-n 'I am preserved, I remain', ehi-n 'I decorate, embellish', sovi-n 'I suit, fit', tēhi-n 'I may, am permitted'.

## Active voice

## Present

kutsuB	tšüzüB	tēhiB
kuttsuvaD	tšüsüväD	tēhtivaD

## Imperfect

kuttsu	tšüsü	tēhti
kuttsuzivaD	tšüsüzivāD	tēhtizivaD

## Conditional

kuttsuissi	tšüsüissi	tēhtissi
kuttsuizivaD	tšüsüzivāD	tēhtizivaD



	Imperative	
kutsu	tšüzü	tehi
kuttsugā	tšüsügā	tehtigā
kuttsugō	tšüsügō	tehtigō
	Participles	
kuttsuva	tšüsüvä	tehtiva
kuttsunnu	tšüsünnü	tehtinnu
	Passive voice	
	Present	
kutsuassa	tšüsüässä	tehtiassa
	Imperfect	
kutsutti	tšüzütti	tehitti
	Imperative	
kutsuttagō	tšüzüttägō	tehittagō
	Participles	
kutsuttava	tšüzüttävä	tehittava
kutsuttu	tšüzüttü	tehitu
	Infinitives	
kuttsua	tšüsüä	tehtia
kuttsüza	tšüsüzä	tehtiza
kuttsumā	tšüsümä	tehtimä
	Action noun	
kuttsumin	tšüsümin	tehtimin
	Agent	
kuttsuja	tšüsüjä	tehtija

In a few sub-dialects o-stem words also belong here, e. g. tahtozin 'I wanted', tahto 'he wanted'. However, in most sub-dialects, o-stem words are declined according to the conjugation which follows.

§ 107. Conjugation III. In this conjugation are the o-stem words and those disyllabic a-stem words that also have -a- in the first syllable, e. g. riko-n 'I damage', tago-n 'I hit, pound', tšizgo-n 'I tear, pull', taho-n 'I want', seizo-n 'I stand'; aja-n 'I chase, drive', kanna-n 'I carry', ajga-n 'I start, begin', javu-n 'I sing', java-n 'I grind, mill'.

## Active voice

## Present

tagoB	ajgaB
takovaD	ajkavaD

## Imperfect

take	ajke
takevaD	ajkevaD

## Conditional

takoissi	ajkaissi
takoizivaD	ajkaizivaD

## Imperative

tago	ajga
takogā	ajkagā
takogō	ajkagō

## Participles

takova	ajkava
takonnu	ajkannu

## Passive voice

## Present

takuassa	ajkāssa
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Imperfect	
tagottī	aṁgetti
Conditional	
tagottaisi~tagottaissi	aṁgettaisi, etc.
Imperative	
tagottagō	aṁgettagō
Participles	
tagottava	aṁgettava
tagottu	aṁgettu
Infinitives	
takua	aṁkā
takōza	aṁkāza
takomā	aṁkamā
Action noun	
takomīn	aṁkamīn
Agent	
takojā	aṁkajā

Sub-dialectally words of this conjugation can change like the words of Conjugation IV. Namely, the imperfect is anti 'he gave', aṁki 'he began, started'. This feature is particularly characteristic of the Jõgõpera sub-dialect.

§ 108. Conjugation IV. To this conjugation belong e-, e-, and ä-stem words, as well as a-stem words that have more than two syllables and those a-stem words that have -e- in the first syllable, e. g. nülle-n 'I skin, flay', idge-n 'I cry', ṁuge-n 'I read', ṁazge-n 'I let', elä-n 'I live', jätä-n 'I leave behind', isuta-n 'I plant', kaitsa-n 'I protect', gsa-n 'I buy'.

## Active voice

## Present

nülleB	ṁugeB	jätäB	gsaB
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nültševäD	ṁukevaD	jättäväD	essavaD
Imperfect			
nültši	ṁutši	jätti	essi
nültšiväD	ṁutšivaD	jättiväD	essivaD
Conditional			
nültšeissi	ṁukeissi	jättäissi	essaissi
nültšeiziväD	ṁukeizivaD	jättäiziväD	essaizivaD
Imperative			
nülle	ṁuge	jätä	gsa
nültšegā	ṁukegā	jättägā	essagā
nültšegō	ṁukegō	jättägō	essagō
Participles			
nültševä	ṁukeva	jättävä	essava
nültšennü	ṁukennu	jättännü	essannu
Passive voice			
Present			
nültšiässä	ṁukeassa	jättässä	essässa
Imperfect			
nülletti	ṁugetti	jätetti	esgetti
Conditional			
nüllettäisi	ṁugettäisi	jätettäisi	esgettäisi~ nüllettäissi, etc.
Imperative			
nüllettägō	ṁugettägō	jätettägō	esgettägō
Participles			
nüllettävä	ṁugettava	jätettävä	esgettava

nüllettü	Ꞥugettu	jätettü	Ꞥsgettu
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## Infinitives

nültšiä	ꞤukeꞤa	jättä	Ꞥssa
nültšezä	ꞤukeꞤza	jättäzä	Ꞥssäzä
nültšemä	ꞤukeꞤmä	jättämä	Ꞥssamä

## Action noun

nültšemin	ꞤukeꞤmin	jättämin	Ꞥssamin
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## Agent

nültšejä	ꞤukeꞤja	jättäjä	Ꞥssaja
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§ 109. Conjugation V. In this conjugation there is a group of u- and ü- stem words that have a long vowel in the present tense of the active voice. The majority of such words are conjugated according to Conjugation V throughout the Votic language. However, dialectally a part of them can also belong to Conjugation II (süttua 'to get angry', tekkua 'to fall'), e. g. murtü-n 'I break (intr.)', tarttū-n 'I stay, I grab hold of', umartū-n 'I get drunk', emehtū-n 'I grow moldy', kukertū-n 'I fall over', vipū-n 'I stay, linger', vāntū-n 'I twist, am twisted', eittū-n 'I am startled'.

## Active voice

## Present

murtūB	vāntūB
murtūvāD	vāntūvāD

## Imperfect

murtu	vāntū
murtuzivāD	vāntūzivāD

## Conditional

murtuissi	vāntūissi
murtuizivāD	vāntūizivāD

## Imperative

murtū	vāntū
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murtūgā	vāntūgā
murtūgō	vāntūgō

## Participles

murtūva	vāntūvā
murtunnu	vāntūnnū

## Passive voice

## Present

murtuassa	vāntūässä
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## Imperfect

murtūtti	vāntūtti
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## Conditional

murtūttaissi, etc.	vāntūttaissi
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## Imperative

murtūttagō	vāntūttagō, etc.
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## Infinitives

murtua	vāntūā
murtūza	vāntūzā
murtūmä	vāntūmä, etc.

In this conjugation the Eastern Votic forms are so different that the divergences have to be given separately.

## Active voice

## Imperfect

murtujē	vāntujē
murtujēvāD	vāntujēvāD

## Imperative

murtūG	vāntūG
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murtūskā	vāntūskā
murtūskō	vāntūskō

## Passive voice

## Present

murtūssa	vāntūssā
----------	----------

## Imperfect

murtūsti	vāntūstī
----------	----------

## First infinitive

murtūssaG	vāntūssāG
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The Jõgõperä sub-dialect also has the infinitive murtūssa, the imperative murtūskā, and the passive voice murtūssā, murtūsti.

§ 110. Conjugation VI. In addition to the words belonging to Conjugation IV, the Votic language has many a- and ä-stem words which in some forms contain a long vowel. These are mainly words with reflexive and momentaneous overtones, such as kum-martā-n 'I bow', ehtagoittā-n 'I eat supper', lentā-n 'I fly', vātahtā-n~vātastā-n 'I look once', laujahtā-n~laujastā-n 'I sing once, start to sing'. Such words are conjugated in the following manner:

## Active voice

## Present

laujahtāB	laujahtāvaD
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## Imperfect

laujahtī	laujahtīvaD
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## Conditional

laujahtaissi	laujahtaizivaD
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## Imperative

laujahtā

laujahtāgā

laujahtāgō

## Participles

laujahtāva

laujahtannu

## Passive voice

## Present

laujahtāssa

## Imperfect

laujahtātī, etc.

## Infinitives

laujahtā

laujahtāza

laujahtāmā

## Action noun

laujahtāmīn, etc.

Dialectally Votic can have a long-vowel imperfect in several other instances which do not fit into the conjugation being considered, such as kazvī 'he grew', kōlī 'he died', mätānī 'it rotted', vārizī 'it shook, trembled'. Concerning other conjugations, however, such words are conjugated according to the sample words in question.

§ 111. Conjugation VII. In this conjugation are reflexive verbs, such as laskeu-n 'I descend, come down', kōriu-B 'it casts off the shell', kasiu-n 'I tidy myself up', eittäü-n 'I get frightened', sepeu-n 'I get dressed', aveu-B 'it opens (intr.)', naisiu-n 'I get married, take a wife'.

## Active voice

## Present

laskeuB

eittäüB

laskeuvaD

eittäüväD

	Imperfect	
ᵛaskęuzi	eittäüzi	
ᵛaskęuzivaD	eittäüziväD	
	Conditional	
ᵛaskęuissi	eittäüissi	
ᵛaskęuzivaD	eittäüiziväD	
	Imperative	
ᵛaskęu	eittäü	
ᵛaskęugā	eittäügā	
ᵛaskęugō	eittäügō	
	Participles	
ᵛaskęuva	eittäüvä	
ᵛaskęunnu	eittäünnü	
	Passive voice	
	Present	
ᵛaskęutassa	eittäütässä	
	Imperfect	
ᵛaskęutti	eittäütti	
	Conditional	
ᵛaskęuttaissi	eittäüttäissi	
	Imperative	
ᵛaskęuttagō	eittäüttägō	
	Participles	
ᵛaskęuttava	eittäüttävä	
ᵛaskęuttu	eittäüttü	

	Infinitives	
ᵛaskęuta	eittäütä	
ᵛaskęuteza	eittäütezä	
ᵛaskęumā	eittäümā	
	Action noun	
ᵛaskęumīn	eittäümīn	
	Agent	
ᵛaskęuja	eittäüjä	

In Eastern Votic the corresponding words are conjugated like the sample words murtuaG and vāntüääG in the preceding conjugation, i. e. imperfect ᵛaskęujē 'he descended, came down!'; imperative ᵛaskęuG 'descend! (sing.)', ᵛaskęuskā 'descend! (pl.)', ᵛaskęuskō 'let him/them descend!'; passive voice present ᵛaskęussā 'it is descended, made to come down', imperfect ᵛaskęusti 'it was descended, made to come down', first infinitive ᵛaskęussaG 'to descend, come down', etc. Also in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect this type of paradigm can be found with reflexive verbs.

## Two-stem verbs

§ 112. Conjugation VIII. Verbs whose vowel stem ends in -e or -ę belong here, e. g. peze-n 'I wash', tē-n 'I do, make', pane-n 'I put', neize-n 'I start, rise', jutteņe-n 'I say', tuņe-n 'I come', berize-B 'it rattles, buzzes', vārize-n 'I shake, tremble'.

## Active voice

	Present			
pezeB	tēB	jutteņeB~juttēB	vārizeB	
pesevāD	tetševāD	jutteņevaD~ juttēvaD	vārizevāD	
	Imperfect			
pesi	tetši	juttęli	vārizi	
pesivāD	tetšivāD	juttęlivaD	vārizivāD	

Conditional			
peseissi	tetšeissi	jutteḡḡeissi	vārizeissi
peseiziväd	tetšeiziväd	jutteḡḡeizivaD	vārizeiziväd
Imperative			
peze	tē	jutteḡḡe	vārize
peskā	tehkā	juteḡḡkā	vāriskā
peskō	tehkō	juteḡḡkō	vāriskō
Participles			
pesevā	tetševā	jutteḡḡeva	vārizevā
peznū	tehnū	juteḡḡnū	vāriznū
Passive voice			
Present			
pesässä	tehässä	juteḡḡiassa	vārišässä
Imperfect			
pestī	tehtī	juteḡḡi	vāristī
Conditional			
pestäissi	tehtäissi	juteḡḡtaissi	vāristäissi
Imperative			
pestägō	tehtägō	juteḡḡtagō	vāristägō
Participles			
pestävā	tehtävā	juteḡḡtava	vāristävā
pestü	tehtü	juteḡḡtu	vāristü
Infinitives			
pesä	tehä	juteḡḡi a	vārišä
pesezä	tehezä	juteḡḡieza	vārisezä
pesemā	tetšemā	jutteḡḡemā	vārizemā

Action noun			
pesemīn	tetšemīn	jutteḡḡemīn	vārizemīn
Agent			
pesijä	tetšijä	jutteḡḡlija	vārizijä

In Eastern Votic the past active participle of words whose consonant stem ends in *-s* is the following: pešsüG 'washed', nešsüG 'risen, started', vārišsüG 'shook, trembled'; likewise the first infinitive is pešsäg 'to wash', nešsäg 'to rise, start', vārišsäg 'to shake, tremble'. Throughout the Votic language assimilation has occurred in words whose consonant stem ends in *-l*, *-r*, *-n*, e.g. tuḡḡlu 'came', emḡḡlu 'sewn', pannu 'put'.

Subdialectally words of this conjugation can have a long stem vowel, e.g. vārižēB 'it shakes, trembles', vārižī 'it shook, trembled'.

§ 113. Conjugation IX. In this conjugation are the so-called contracted verbs, e.g. lepā-n 'I lie, rest', vassā-n 'I answer', tšiusā-n 'I tempt, vex', peḡkā-n 'I kick', ḡḡskā-B 'it is aflame, blazes', ḡḡhkuā-n 'I depart', irmua-n 'I fear, am afraid', pöllüā-B 'it is dusty, gives off dust'.

Active voice	
Present	
tšiusāB	irmuaB
tšiusāvaD	irmuavaD
Imperfect	
tšiusazi	irmuzi
tšiusazivaD	irmuzivaD
Conditional	
tšiusaiissi	irmuiissi
tšiusaizivaD	irmuizivaD
Imperative	
tšiusā	irmua
tšiuatkā~tšiusāgā	irmutkā~irmuagā



Action noun	Agent
appangmīn	appangja

In addition to the imperfect appanī, pakenī, pimenī, the forms appani, pakeni, pimeni also occur in other sub-dialects. Even in this conjugation, Eastern Votic has -jē/-jē as the marker for the imperfect, e. g. appajē 'it became sour', pakjēvaD 'they fled', ehsejēttaG 'you (pl.) vomited'.

## Adverbs

§ 115. The following are some of the most usual adverbs of place in Votic:

akkunajā '(to) outside' — jahzed johsivad akkunajā 'the children ran outside', meil on akkunajā vanat kazgeD 'we have old birch trees outside', akkunajā tulti jo rihēsē 'they (impersonal) have already come into the room from outside (lit. from outside it was already come into the room)';

ajāZ '(to) down' — tämä tuli ähüpält ajāZ 'he came down from the top of the stove';

ajā '(to) down, under', — koira on javvā najā, meni ajā 'the dog is under the table, it went down', ajā on nituD, päll on pejmoD, tšehsinā tšülä üvā 'below are meadows, on the top are fields, in the middle a good village' (from a folksong), vetā linad ajā vällā 'take (sing.) the flax out from below';

ajetsē-ajettse-ajattsē 'from below, by means of below' — menemmā ajetsē 'we are going from/by way of below';

etezi-eteZ 'forward, onward' — ain oveš etezi aje 'he just kept driving the horse ahead' (Lempola), tšäütteleb etēZ tagāZ 'he is walking back and forth';

etē (~ettē-ettē) '(to) in front' — tetši rissjä etē 'he made the sign of the cross in front (of himself)', ezä einellē menijä, perällä pejmojē jājā 'in front the one who goes to eat, in back the one who stays in the field' (proverb), neiskā ešsā! 'get (pl.) out of the way! (lit. get away from in front!);

jūrē 'to, along' (Jõgõperä) — tšet tuvti jūrē? 'who came along, joined?', jūreze 'at, by' jūressē '(from) at, by';

kassenna 'here' — kassenna on eju tšivi-reukko 'a pile of stones has been here';

kaugaZ '(to) far' — ku seta meilt jo kaugaz meni 'when the war went far away from us', tāti eläp kaukanna 'the aunt lives far away', kaukā lidnassa 'far from the city';

kaukājē '(to) far', kaukāja 'far', kaukāta '(from) far';

kāsa 'along, with' — i tām kāsa kante trubā 'and he carried his horn along with him', ante kāsa kizā 'he gave a bag (to take) along'; kerkeajē '(to) high', kerkeajā 'high', kerkeajta '(from) high'; kokō-kokkō-kokkō 'together' — ajan lehmät kokō 'I will drive the cows together';

kotō-kotōsē-koittō-kottō '(to) home' — menevät kotō 'they are going home', jāi kotōsē 'he stayed at home', isā on kotonna 'father is at home', tuli kotua 'he came from home', kotontē '(from) home' (Jõgõperä);

kōza 'together, jointly' — siällä kahs perettä elävät kōza 'two families live there together';

kujaJē '(to) outside, onto the street' — mene kujaJē jōnitte-jemā 'go (sing.) out to run', kujaJā 'outside', kujaJta '(from) outside';

litši 'near, close by' — tšülä lēb litši 'the village is near'; mahā 'onto the ground', māza 'on the ground', māssa 'from the ground';

maitse~maittse 'along the land, on land' — aje maittse ja merittse 'he rode on land and on sea' (Jõgõperä);

mājē 'down, onto the ground' — mettsä pani māje 'the forest fell down', tahte mangeta māje 'he wanted to fall down', vāta, deggad on māja 'look (sing.) money is on the ground', vettäz mājta '(it) is taken from the ground' (Mati);

mān-ajetsē-mān-ajettse '(from) under the ground' — tē meni mān-ajettse 'the road went from under the ground';

meritse~merittse 'on the sea, along the sea';

muvvaJē-muvvaJē '(to) elsewhere', muvvaJā 'elsewhere', muvvaJta '(from) elsewhere';

evveJē '(to) outside', evveJā 'outside', evveJta '(from) outside';

peritse~perittse 'from behind' (Jõgõperä) — tuli (pejtoje) perittse 'he came from behind (the fields)';

pālē '(to) on top' — kasseñ on järtšü, pane sevat pālē 'here is a bench, put (sing.) (your) clothes on it'; pällä 'on top', pältä '(from) on top';

sihē-sihēsē '(to) there', sinä 'there', sitä '(from) there' (Lempola);

sihēsā 'up until there' — sihēsā on kem virstā 'up to there it is three versts' (Lempola);

sinne~ (Eastern Votic) sinneG '(to) there' — tämä jäi õzessi sinne 'he stayed there for the night', siällä 'there', siältä '(from) there';

sizessä '(from) inside' — sinizē merē sizessä 'from inside the blue ocean';



süämmē(sē) '(to) inside' — elä jазze süämmē 'don't (sing.) let (it) inside', süämmezä 'inside', süämmessä '(from) inside';

tagā~taggā '(to) behind, (to) in back', — empeli üpekad da paguat pani taggā 'he sewed peasant's sandals and put laces behind (them)' (Mati), vätšičä eli ezä i takanna 'there were people in front and in back', repo takā vetti i ülē sei 'the fox took from behind and ate the bark' (from a fairy tale);

tagāZ~tagaZ 'back' — täl tagāz bejnu antā rahā 'he didn't have money to give back', vellet tulivat tagāZ 'the brothers came back';

tšehsinā 'in the middle, amidst' — kassen on ijoza orko i tšehsinā on tšülä 'here is a pretty valley and in the middle is a village';

tänne~ (Eastern Votic) tänneG '(to) here' — tuje tänne 'come (sing.) here', tällä 'here', tältä '(from) here';

tüvä 'to, up to, along' — tulivat tüvē 'they came to (someone/ something)', mentī tüvē vätamā 'they (impersonal) went up to (it) to watch (lit. it was gone up to to watch)', tüvennä 'at', tüveä 'from';

vassā 'against, opposed to, towards' — püttu tellä vassā 'he happened to come toward us on the way', eb juojnu mitäid vassā 'he said nothing against (it)';

välī~välisē '(to) between', välizä 'between' — kahs mätšičä i välizä on orko 'two hills and between (them) there is a valley', välissä '(from) between';

vällä 'out, away' — aje emalt māt vällä 'he chased (him) away from/out of his land', vetä vällä 'take (sing.) (it) away';

vērāzi~vērāzi 'for a visit' — tulivad vērāzi 'they came for a visit', vērāziZ 'on a visit';

ühtē 'together' — pani emad azžad ühtē 'he put his things all together', semazi ühtē 'he tied (it) together', ühezä 'together' — soldattinna elimma ühezä samaza paikkaza 'as soldiers we were together at the same place';

ülē '(to) on' — šinelī ülē pani 'he put on a soldier's coat', üllä on kauniš tšiuuto 'he has on a red shirt', vetä sevad ültä 'take (sing.) (your) clothes off (lit. from on you)';

ülēlē '(to) up' — päivä beje ülēlē neiznu 'the sun has not risen (up)';

ülēZ~üleZ 'up, (to) above' — mene ülēZ, peremmēz on ülēllä 'go (sing.) up, the master is above/up', ülēltä '(from) above', ülēz eb ajannu 'he did not wake someone up';

ümperitsē~ümpärittse 'roundabout, around' — jeka paikkaza ümperitsē 'everywhere around';

ümpärikkua~ümperikkua 'around, roundabout'.

§ 116. The following adverbs of time are to be mentioned:

aikā 'for a long time' — aikā en eje Narvaza ejuu 'I have not been in Narva for a long time';

aina 'always, constantly' — sūri vihma ain eli 'always there was a big rain' (Lempola);

ajantā 'constantly, always';

ajezī 'always' — tām ajezī idgeB 'he always cries';

arvē 'seldom' — arvē on ejuu mokoma kuiva tševäd 'seldom has there been such a dry spring';

eglē 'yesterday';

ennē 'before';

enneglā~enneglē 'day before yesterday';

ellä (Lempola)~ellä 'before' — ellä ain pajatattī 'formerly, people always spoke (lit. before, it was always spoken)', miä ellä jevvū 'I arrived earlier' (Itšäpäivä);

elmuinā 'long ago, in old times' — elmuinā eli Kabrioza krē-posti 'in olden times there was a fortress in Kaprio';

ēspäi~ēssäi 'before, earlier' — lehmät tujevaD, a voho jo ēspäi johsi 'the cows are coming, but the goat has already run earlier';

ēstē~ēstā 'before' — ēstē piäb mitata 'first, it is necessary to measure';

ehtagonna 'in the evening';

illā 'late' — siä aina illā tujeD 'you (sing.) always come late';

jo~joh 'already' — jarvi jätu joh 'the lake was already frozen over';

jārestā 'immediately, right away' (Jögöpära);

järkiä~järkeässi 'immediately, right away' — siä järkeässi tahot sätä rahā 'you (sing.) want to get money right away';

kasēssā 'so far, as yet' — kasēssā terveüz on ejuu üvä 'so far (my) health has been good';

kaugāssi 'for a long time' — jäit kaugāssi 'you stayed long, were late';

kokonō 'the whole night' — sisava jaudje kokonō 'the nightingale sang the whole night';

kehamā 'immediately, right away' — tuje kehama tagāZ 'I shall return right away';

kēZ~kē (Lempola)~kens (Jögöpära) 'when' — kēs sūred rajuvihmad glivaD 'when the big tempest rains occurred', kēs kū paisaB 'when the moon is shining';

möhā~möhā 'late';

nūd~nüt~nüttä (Jögöpära) — lē nūd nōri perennain 'be (sing.) a young housewife/mistress now';

õmenna-õmenpän 'tomorrow';  
õmniz 'in the morning';  
õmetperä 'day after tomorrow' — siä tuje meilē vassa õmet-  
perä 'come (sing.) to our place only the day after tomorrow';  
para-iko 'now, nowadays' — para-iko että sä kuzaid mā-muneita  
'now you can't get potatoes anywhere';  
perä 'after, afterwards' — mene siä nüD, miä tujen perä 'you  
(sing.) go now, I will come afterwards';  
pigā 'soon, in a little while';  
siZ~size~siZ 'then' — sis\_tämä lenti akkunaš vällä 'then he  
flew out of the window';  
sütšüzē 'in the fall';  
tānē 'lately, recently' — tānē veimmä lidnäsē kaunita sšsari  
'recently we took red currants to town';  
tāZ 'again, once more' — tuli tāZ 'he came again', tāZ\_isuB  
'he sits again';  
tõnna 'lately, not long ago' (Jõgõperä);  
tõssa 'since this time, since that time' — meni tõssa kahss  
kūta 'two months passed since that time' (Jõgõperä);  
tuJavõnna 'next year', menä~menhä~menjävõnna 'last year';  
tänännä~tänävä (Jõgõperä) 'today';  
tänännöllä 'last night' — tänännöllä jumaJa jürizi 'last night  
it thundered';  
uzei 'often' — KattilaJ eli uzei viroJaisi meizaza 'in Kattila  
there often were Estonians at the manor';  
varai 'early' — varai õmniz 'early in the morning';  
vimeizessi~vimettē 'finally, at last';  
välä 'still, yet' — Jeggeperällä mā tšēli beje välä kõJtu 'at  
Jõgõperä the Votic language is not yet dead';  
vähänaikā 'a little while, a moment' — vähänaikā i eJti jo  
kassen 'a little while, and then (you) were here';  
välissä 'once in a while, sometimes' — tämä välissä on aivõ  
huJtu 'sometimes he is really crazy';  
õzēssi 'for the night' — meniväd õzēssi katušši 'they went  
into the shed for the night';  
üli-õmenna 'day after tomorrow'.

§ 117. Among the adverbs of manner the more common ones  
are:

aJassi 'naked' — Jahzed johsevad aJassi kujajJa 'the child-  
ren are running naked outside';  
irtä 'loose, open, free';  
kanni~kanniG (Eastern Votic) 'so, thus' — kanni on tara iJoza  
'thus is the garden pretty';

kattši 'broken';  
kui~ku~ko 'how' — ai ko miJ jagad väsüziväd 'oh, how my  
feet got tired', näütä, kui miä sinu ven 'show (sing.) (me) how I  
will take you (sing.)';  
jahti 'open';  
Jēhtši~Jēhki (Jõgõperä) 'asunder, in pieces';  
nenni 'so, thus, in this manner';  
nī 'so';  
rikki 'broken, out of order' — pata meni rikki 'the pot got  
broken';  
tšini~tšiniG (Eastern Votic) 'closed, shut, fast, fixed' —  
vetti tšini 'he grabbed hold (of it)', pani tšini 'he locked it up';  
vaiti 'quiet' — eJe vaiti 'be (sing.) quiet';  
ühtperä 'in succession' — vätšiä tuli ühtperä 'people came in  
succession'.

Very many adverbs of manner are formed by means of special  
derivational suffixes. Therefore, at this time there is sufficient  
reason to consider the derivation of adverbs of manner. The most  
usual suffix is *-ssi*, which is added to the adjective, e.g. aJassi  
'pitifully' (< aJea 'pitiful'), üvässi 'well' (< üvä 'good'), kehnessi  
'miserably, poorly' (< kehno 'miserable, poor'), pazgassi 'badly',  
pahassi 'badly', iJoza 'nicely', puhtāssi 'in a clean manner',  
tširēssi 'fast'.

A second derivational suffix is *-ttā*, e.g. sajamittā 'secretly',  
illakkōttā 'late'.

Quite a few cases can also occur as adverbs. The inessive,  
for example, can occur in the following instances: Jukkoza 'locked',  
naiziza 'married', umajaza 'drunk'. The allative occurs in instances  
like (haizep) pahaJē, üvälē '(it smells) bad, good'. The adessive  
is a very common case that occurs as an adverb, e.g. õllä 'during  
the night', taJveJta 'in winter', päivällä 'during the day'. The  
adessive together with the possessive suffixes (which no longer  
convey a meaning of their own) is quite a widespread adverb of  
manner, e.g. irvillä 'half-open', sellällä 'on its back', ragoJta  
'ajar', JokkoJta 'slouching, hanging down', JahgoJta 'spread  
out', ürvällä 'stooped'.

As in Estonian, the ablative often has an adverbial function,  
e.g. älēltä 'with a loud voice', süvältä 'deeply', nimeltä 'by name'.  
Usually the ablative occurs together with possessive suffixes,  
which no longer have meanings of their own, e.g. tšihvältä 'hotly',  
allāntä 'freshly, greenly', elävältä 'living, alive', nimeltä 'by  
name'. As an adverb, the translative designates the language that  
is being spoken, e.g. vadđassi~vaissi~vadđakossi 'in Votic', maissi

'in Votic, in Ingrian', venäissi 'in Russian', virossi 'in Estonian', sõmõssi 'in Finnish'. Several examples have already been given above showing how the essive occurs as an adverb of place or time. The essive plus possessive suffix occurs as an adverb of manner, e. g. ülleüdnä 'at all, altogether, in general' (Itšäpäivä), aivonä 'only, solely, merely'.

As was mentioned above (§ 37), the instructive has become an unproductive case. In the living Votic language, the instructive occurs precisely as an adverb, and above all, an adverb of manner, e. g. tšäzi 'by hand', mēli 'on purpose', üvi mēli 'gladly', saJamī 'secretly', peJvi 'on one's knees', kevi 'hard, very', üvi 'well', vätšizi 'by force', paITai päi 'bareheaded', aJassui 'overturned'. Genitival adverbs are also common, e. g. tširē (~tširē kautē-tširē perässi) 'fast', rinnä 'side by side', JaJkazē 'on foot', avē 'open, wide open', tarkä 'carefully', tšiuza 'out of spite'.

The former comitative (see § 38), whose meaning has become lost, occurs nowadays solely as an adverb, e. g. tšäsinä 'with the hands, by hand', serminä 'with the fingers', peJvinä 'on one's knees'.

Likewise, the former prolativ (§ 39) occurs as an adverb, primarily as an adverb of place, e. g. maitsē 'by land, along the land', meritsē 'by sea, along the sea', aJetsē 'from below', peritsē 'around from behind', ümperitsē 'all around'. The prolativ adverbs are contextually very close to the adverbs of manner, for they indicate both the place of action as well as the manner of action.

Still another possibility for deriving adverbs of manner is by adding lēB, (the third person singular, active voice of the verb liddä), to some other adverb, e. g. kuilēB~kuileB~kuleB~kuile 'how, somehow' — johsi kuileB\_voimä 'he ran according to the strength he had'.

§ 118. The adverbs of quantity are the following:

ohto 'enough' — ohto on sinü itkeä 'you (sing.) have cried enough', eli ohto nörīta pojaita 'there were enough young boys';

pallo 'many, much';

peittši : kussa peittši 'from where';

pölitä 'into half, up to the half';

sohsem~sofsem 'entirely';

tolko 'only, just';

vaitēZ~vaiten (Jögöperä) 'but, only, alone'.

Such adverbs are also derived quite productively by means of several case markers, first of all by the instructive, e. g. aivō

'very', rehgä 'very', üvi 'very', keiki 'all', vähüzi~vähükkeizē 'little', keJmē (vellehsē) 'three together (brothers)', seittsemē (naizikō) 'seven together (women)', vizi (päivi) 'in groups of five (days)', kahē tšezzē 'two together'. In the comitative there is ühsinä 'alone', keikkinä 'all, completely'; pōJēssä 'up to the half, half way' is in the terminative.

Having a special derivation (the former elative + genitive) are the adverbs of quantity kahisē 'two times', kelmisē 'three times', nellisē 'four times', etc.

§ 119. The Votic adverbs of purpose are:

vajā~vajaga 'needed, necessary';

tarviZ 'necessary';

vaJmiZ~valmiZ 'ready, completed'.

§ 120. The following are the emphatic adverbs:

i~i 'even' — eJezin antannu i siJmē 'I would have even given to you (sing.)', kase i eli 'that was the one';

jo 'already, any more' — emä meil jo beJmu 'we didn't have a mother anymore';

kāZ 'also' — ženix kāZ\_issüb\_Jaütä 'the groom also sits down at the table' (Jögöperä);

kül 'indeed, to be sure, surely' — nätši kül 'to be sure he saw (it)';

te 'but, yet, for all that' — miä te elin 'but, I was' (Jögöperä);

tōže~tōže~tōž 'also, even' — kuttsu meddet\_tōže verkkaiJē 'he also asked us to go fishing (with a net)', Kukkuziza tōž\_māssi pajattäs 'Votic is also spoken in Kukkuzi';

xot~xot '(so)ever, no matter which' — xot kummä tütärē vetad\_naizeš 'take (sing.) whichever (no matter which) daughter for a wife';

vait 'but' — kuttsu keikē väjē, mitä on vai tšüläzä 'called (sing.) all the people that are but in the village';

veD~veD 'after all' — ved miä eJen nōri 'after all I am young'.

Some emphatic affixes also produce emphatic adverbs, as for example -tši, e. g. mōtši 'even we', saintši 'I did get it', elitši 'it was after all', sevetettiši 'people did get dressed (lit. it was after all gotten dressed)', omattši 'they are after all', tuneptši 'he is coming after all'. In Eastern Votic this emphatic affix appears as -tšiG, e. g. elitšiG 'surely it was', nitšiG 'even so'; or in some sub-dialects it also appears as -tšiD, e. g. elitšiD, nitšiD. The negative emphatic affix is -iD in all Votic sub-dialects, e. g. ei mitäiD 'absolutely nothing', ei kuzaiD 'but nowhere', ei ühtäiD 'not a one'.

Another though less frequently occurring emphatic affix is -ko e. g. tō että mene, emmäko mō 'you (pl.) are not going, and we aren't going either', lähekkō 'be (sing.) on your way'!

Likewise, *-že* also is an emphatic affix that occurs seldom, e.g. *müöže* 'even we, we yet' (Lempola).

§ 121. The following are affirmative and negative adverbs:

*dā-da* 'yes';

*muiteštši* 'of course';

*nī* 'so, thus, that way';

*eb\_ijällä* 'never';

*ep\_kēzniD* 'not ever, never'.

§ 122. The following are interrogative adverbs:

*kuza* ? 'where?', *kuhē* ? '(to) where?', *kussa* ? '(from) where?';

*kui* ? 'how?';

*kēZ* ? ~ *kenZ* ? 'when?';

*mihē* ? ~ *mihsi* ? ~ *missi* ? 'why?';

*mi* ? 'why?', 'what for?' (Mati);

*minē-peräs* ? 'what for?'.

In Votic a special interrogative affix *-ko* also occurs, e.g. *onko üvä issua* ? 'is it good to sit?', *pesiko tšäet\_puhtāssi* ? 'did he wash his hands clean?'.

§ 123. The comparison of adverbs is of the same type as for adjectives, e.g. *miä eJen enāp vāsunnū* 'I am more tired', *pajata vaddakkāpassi* 'speak (sing.) more in the Votic way', *tšedrätti Jaugupassi* 'they (impersonal) spun so that the thread had a looser twist (lit. it was spun with a looser twist)', *lenti kerkeapant* 'it flew higher', *meni tagepassi* 'he went farther', *on tagepaza* 'he is farther', *üppä tširēpi* 'jump (sing.) faster!', *tuli ēzepi* 'he came earlier, before', *panetko aJapajūē vai ülepällē* ? 'are you (sing.) putting (it) more downward or more upward?'.

#### Prepositions and postpositions

§ 124. Many prepositions and postpositions are adverbs as well, for the pertinent words can occur independently as well as with nominals. In the latter instance, they can occur with various cases.

§ 125. The following prepositions of the Votic language occur with the genitive:

*aJā* 'under, below' — *pani pā aJā Javvā* 'he put the clay pot under the table'. The same preposition also occurs as a postposition.

*läpi* 'through' — *läpi metsā menevād* 'they are going through the woods';

*ülē* (Lempola) ~ *üli* 'over, across' — *vetti pūsū ülē pihā* 'he took the gun over his shoulder', *meni üli sūrē jēgē* 'he went across a big river'.

§ 126. Occurring with the partitive are the prepositions *aJatsē* 'under, below' — *aJatsē vettā menemmā podvodnoi Jodgākā* 'under water we will go with a submarine'; *ēzā* 'before' — *ēzā Junta eli jo jarvi jättünnü* 'before the snow the lake was already frozen', *konna ēzā jānessā üppi* 'the frog jumped before the rabbit'; *enne-ennē* 'before' — *enne setā* 'before the war'; *litši* 'near' — *litši lidnā* 'near the city', (see also postpositions);

*perältä-perā* 'after' — *perā päivā Jaskua* 'after sunset', *perält Jēunā* 'after noon, after lunch';

*takan* 'behind, on the other side' — *takan lidnā jaJkazē menevād* 'they are going on foot on the other side of town';

*tšehsi* 'in the middle of' — *tšehsi evvea seizattu* 'he stopped in the middle of the yard';

*vassā, vasō, vašsō, vassō* 'against, towards' — *vassā mä-tšiä* 'uphill', *vassō päivā* 'counter-clockwise (lit. against day)' (Jögöperä), *vašsō kupolua* 'on Mid-Summer Night';

*ümpäri-ümpär-ümper* 'around' — *kazvivat kukkād ümpär Jassa* 'the flowers grew around the child', *panēb\_rätē ümpär pätā* 'she puts the scarf around her head'.

§ 127. With the abessive occurs the preposition *iJmā-iJma* 'without' — *jāi iJmā pillittä* 'he was left without the instruments', *iJmā rahatta* 'without money'; in Jögöperä *iJma* occurs with the partitive, e.g. *iJma leipā* 'without bread'.

§ 128. The following prepositions require the comitative:

*kāsa* 'with, along' — *lähs kāsa tämäkä* 'he went along with him'. This same preposition can also occur as a postposition.

*kōza* 'together', *kokō* '(to) together' — *elāp\_kōza nännēkā* 'he lives together with them', *sain kokō tämäkä* 'I got together with him'. The same word can also occur as a postposition.

*ühezā* 'together, jointly' — *ühezā Jahsikā* 'together with the children'.

§ 129. The following postpositions of the Votic language occur with the genitive:

*aikā* 'in the presence of' — *elkā minua nagragā rahvā aikā* 'don't (pl.) laugh at me in the presence of people';

*aJā* '(to) below, under', *aJā* 'below', *aJta* '(from) under' — *pani pā Javvā aJā-Javvānā* 'he put the clay pot under the table', *jaJgā aJā* 'under the foot', *vetti tširvē asti aJta* 'he took the axe from under the vessel'. In front of this postposition, *-n*, the marker for the former genitive, can be preserved (see § 21). At the same time, the nominal and the postposition have become one whole, as, for example, in *akkunnaJā* '(to) outside', *JavezenaJā* 'under the bench'.

ajetsē 'from below' — krotta johsi mā ajetsē~māajetsē 'the mole ran from under the ground'. Even here the genitive marker -n can occur.

bokkā 'to the side, to', bokkaza 'at the side, at, on', bokassa 'from the side, off' — tšen sgizob rattī bokkaza? 'who is standing at the side of the barn?';

etē '(to) in front', ēzā 'in front', ēssā '(from) in front; for' — vätši tuli minū etē 'people came in front of me', mō sinū ēs vas-samma 'we will answer for you'. The genitive marker -n can also occur before these postpositions, e. g. rehenetē 'into the front room, entrance hall'.

ettsā 'to the end', ettsaza 'at the end', etsassa 'from the end' — mene tšülā ettsā 'go (sing.) to the end of the village';

jūrē 'to, toward', jūreza 'at, by', jūressa 'from' — Mitro on Trifona jūrgZ 'Mitro is at Trifona's place' (Jõgõperä);

kāsa 'with, along' — meni tāmā kāsa 'he went along with him'. This postposition can also occur as a preposition with the comitative.

kautta 'by way of' — Narvā kautta 'by way of Narva';

kervajē 'to the side, (to) aside', kervajja 'at the side', kervajta 'from the side' — issū minū kervajē 'sit (sing.) at my side, next to me' (Jõgõperä);

litši 'near' — tuli pedra tšülā litši 'the elk came near the forest'. Usually this word occurs as a preposition.

perässä~perältä 'for the sake of, because of' — senē perässä 'because of that';

pōjē 'towards, in the direction of, on the side of', pōjessa 'from the direction of' — tāmā lenti metsā pōjē 'it flew towards the woods', elin sgaza kaunī pōjēs 'I was on the side of the Reds in the war';

pālē '(to) on top, (to) upon', pällä 'on top, upon', pältä '(from) on top, (from) upon' — vätši tāmā pālē suttūB 'the people get mad at him', tuli meddē riki pālē seta 'the war came upon our nation', sevad on pantu kazgē pālē 'the clothes have been put on the birch tree', vätši koppiuš tšülā pālē 'people gathered into the village (lit. onto the village)', panin mavvā pālē 'I put (it) on the table', mā pällä tiijā täl eb\_lē 'he will not have a place on the earth', neisi kōrmā pält vällä 'he got down from the top of the load'; ahjō pālē, etc. have become one word: ähüpālē 'onto the stove', etc.;

servā 'to the edge', servazā 'at the edge', servässä 'from the edge' — meddē koto on tē servāZ 'our house is at the edge of the road';

süämmē(sē) '(to) inside', süämmezā 'inside', süämmessä '(from) inside' — lōti kurahsēkā kapusā süämmēsē 'they (imper-

sonal) stabbed the cabbage with a knife (lit. it was hit into the cabbage with a knife)';

tagā '(to) behind', takana 'behind', takā '(from) behind' — issū mavvā tagā 'sit (sing.) (to) behind the table', gvvē takana 'behind the yard';

tšätē 'into the hands of, to', tšäezä 'in the hands of, with, by', tšäessä 'from the hands of, from' — annen rahā naizikō tšätē 'I gave the money to the woman';

tšültšē 'to the side, to', tšüllezä 'at the side of, attached', tsüllessä 'from the side, off';

tüvē 'to, towards', tüvennä~tüvenä 'at, by', tüveä 'from' — ahjō tüvē 'to the stove', dvortsā tüven 'by the castle', susi johsi jautā tüveä 'the wolf ran from the cattle shed';

vassā 'against' — meni seinā vassā 'he went against the wall'; välī(sē) '(to) between', välizä 'in between', välissä '(from) between' — jaika jäi ghsī välisē 'the foot got caught between the branches';

ärē 'to the edge', ärezä 'at the edge', äressä 'from the edge' — karja seizop tē ärezä 'the herd stands at the edge of the road'.

§ 130. The following postpositions occur with the partitive: mō (=mū) 'along, by' — tētā mō 'along the road', rätua mō 'in succession, in order';

vart~vartē 'for, on behalf of' — meitä vartē 'for us, on our behalf', mitä vart trubā kannāD? 'for what purpose are you (sing.) carrying the trumpet along with you?'.  
§ 131. With the allative occurs the postposition

vassā 'toward' — tulin izälē mettsazā vassā 'I came to meet (lit. towards) father in the forest'.

§ 132. The relative is required by läpi 'through' — meni taras läpi 'he went through the fence'; mötä~mötä 'by, past (someone)' — jäneZ johsi minus mötä 'a rabbit ran by me'. Dialectally this postposition can occur with the partitive, like the word mō, e. g. meneb emi velli mötä 'he goes by his brothers'.

#### Conjunctions

§ 133. The Votic co-ordinating conjunctions are ja, i, da, dai 'and', which occur interchangeably. However, in the West ja is predominant, and in the East i or da — java i jō pimā 'grind (sing.) and drink (sing.) milk', vetan rätē ja sermuhsē 'I take the scarf and the ring', susseda tuli da juttēB 'the neighbor came and says'; i...i 'both...and' — siällä on i kereta i pangeD 'both the cross-beam (for carrying pails) and the pails are there; en...enko, eD...

etko, etc. 'neither... nor' — emmä mō, ettäko tō 'neither we nor you (pl.)'.

§ 134. The separating conjunctions are vai 'or, or else' — tšen tširēp johzēB, siä vai miä? 'who runs faster, you (sing.) or I?'; dali~dalisko 'or' — vetatko jampā dalisko vohō? 'are you taking the sheep or the goat?'; ehtsi 'or, or else' — miä tužen tänävä ehtsi ōmen 'I am coming today or tomorrow' (Jõgõperä).

§ 135. Reciprocal and concessive: a 'but, on the other hand' — kaja etsiB, kuza süvep, a inimin, kuza parep 'the fish searches where it is deeper, but man where it is better' (Jõgõperä, proverb); vait 'for, because'; ito 'still, nevertheless, yet' — jänez, on pēni, ito pikkarazē ännā kannaB 'the rabbit is small, yet it carries a little tail'; ato 'otherwise, in other respects' — tšäüsi tämä rikkāna, ato meni kerājāssi 'he went around as a rich man, in other respects he was a beggar' (from a fairy tale), ato täl teddet süvvässä, menkā 'otherwise you (pl.) will be eaten here, go (pl.)' (from a fairy tale); taki 'still, nevertheless, yet' — tšēlettü eli, tämä taki meni 'it was forbidden, nevertheless he went'; xo! 'although, no matter how' — tulkō, xo! ku vana eJko, xo! ku lāsivä 'let him come, no matter how old, no matter how sick'; ain 'still, moreover' — kuttsuzin doxtari, tām ain kōli 'I called the doctor, still he died'; vaikka 'even though' — tužen, vaikka eJei si tuisku 'I will come, even though there would be a blizzard'.

§ 136. Substantiating: etti, jotti (Jõgõperä), što, ešto 'so, that' — dūmazi, što sussedā koirā 'he thought that (it was) the neighbor's dog'; kūli etti isä on tuJtu 'he heard that father had come', isä tahoB, jo! miä üvässi eppēizin 'father wants me to learn/study well'; senē perässä~senperäs (Jõgõperä) 'because, for the reason that' — mū tuli m kottō, senperäs jo! neisi satamā vihmā 'we came home because it started to rain (Jõgõperä); sillā 'since, because' — johzin, sillā minua ajetti takā 'I ran, since I was being chased' (Lempola); štobj~štoB 'so that, in order that' — pani uhzē tšini, štob jahzēd ep pāseisi vällä 'he shut the door, so that the children would not get outside'.

§ 137. Conclusive: siZ~siZ 'then' — ēstā mittā, siz Jēikkā 'first measure (sing.), then cut (sing.)'; i 'then' — kui tuJēB, i juttēn 'when he comes, then I will tell'.

§ 138. Explanatory: veD 'after all' — tämä ved on huJtu 'after all he is crazy'; senē perässä~senperäs 'therefore, for this reason' — bē aikā, senē perässä en mene 'I don't have time; therefore, I am not going'.

§ 139. Adverbial: kui~ku~ko 'when' — äddä se ko tuli 'the father-in-law, when he came'; kunni~kunniG (Eastern Votic) 'until' —

ōtteJen, kunni sigad lēvāt sönnūd 'I will wait until the pigs have eaten'.

§ 140. Comparative: niku 'like' — mēz niku ärtšä 'a man like a bull'; tämä niku ep kūtē üvi 'it looks like he does not hear well'; kui~ku 'than' — muna palto tarkep ku kana 'the egg is much smarter than the hen' (proverb); mi...mi 'like...like; so' — mi lintu, mi JauJtu 'like the bird, so the song'; to...to 'once...once, then' — to eli lühūd, to pittšä 'once it was short, then it was long'; mit~toma~sittoma 'as many...so many' — mittoma sōjā, sittoma Juzikkā 'as many eaters, so many spoons'.

§ 141. Interrogative: vai? question particle — vai siä karjuššin eJēD? 'are you (sing.) the herdsman?'. Concerning the interrogative suffix -ko see § 122.

#### Interjections

§ 142. The following are the interjections of the Votic language. They express 1) joy — hā! ahā! urrā!; 2) grief, vexation — ah! ahha·h! aija·i! oi! voi! oh! uf~uf!; 3) wonder — a·a! ai! ei! oi~ai!; 4) fright — oi! ah! aivo·i! nah! noh! vot! vāt!; 5) thanks, gratitude — passibo!; 6) shouting, hailing — ei! noka! ē! hei! hoi!; 7) asking — ā? hā?; 8) offering — na! nā! nāe!; 9) fatigue — oh! oih!; 10) disgust — tfu! oi! sē!; 11) gloating over someone's misfortune — voti! üvi~üvi!; 12) threat — nuka! kā~kā!; 13) frightening away — se~se! seh!.

## DERIVATIONS

§ 143. Those derivational suffixes that have not yet been mentioned in connection with nominals, verbs, and post- and prepositions will be presented below.

The following noun derivations are to be mentioned:

-uZ/-üZ: ṡadduZ 'width' (<ṡadda 'wide'), ṡakeuZ 'flatness' (<ṡakea 'flat'), nōruZ 'youth' (<nōri 'young'), nōrepuZ 'being younger' (<nōrepi 'younger'), iṡozuZ 'beauty' (<iṡoza 'beautiful'), ṡaiskuZ 'laziness' (<ṡaiska 'lazy'), terveüZ 'health' (<terve 'healthy'), pēnüZ 'smallness, pettiness' (<pēni 'small'). This suffix is used to form the majority of the abstract substantives in Votic. The derivative is declined according to Declension XV.

-(u)Z/- (ü)Z: kagṡuZ 'collar; neckpiece' (<kagṡa 'neck'), kannuZ 'spur' (<kanta 'heel'), rinnuZ 'horse-collar strap' (<rinta 'breast'), sermuZ 'ring' (<sermi 'finger'), jätüZ 'waste, refuse' (<jättä 'to leave behind'). These derivatives are declined according to Declension XI. Having the same meaning is the suffix -Z, e. g. arjaZ 'bristle', jaṡgaZ 'runner (on a sled)', teräZ 'steel' (<arja 'brush', jaṡka 'foot', terä 'edge, blade').

-me/-mē: veti : vettimē 'key : key (gen.)' (<vettä 'to take'), vöti : vöttimē 'ridge band : ridge band (gen.)' (<vöttä 'to gird'), vedde : veitemē 'ointment, salve : ointment, salve (gen.)' (<veitä 'to anoint, salve; grease'), jaṡgō : jaṡkomē 'stirrup' (<jaṡka 'foot'), viē : vitemē 'swingle, scutching blade : swingle, scutching blade (gen.)'.

-e/-ē: jave 'grind, grinding' (<javā 'to grind, mill'), kase 'dew' (<kassā 'to water'), kate 'covering' (<kattā 'to cover'), siē 'band, tie' (<situa 'to tie'), tirke 'icicle' (<tirkua 'to drip'). In Eastern Votic this derivational suffix ends in the stop -G, e. g. paiseG 'boil, abscess', kaseG 'dew'.

-o: nitto 'meadow' (<nittä 'to cut grass, to mow'), vetto 'taking' (<vettä 'to take'), mahso 'payment' (<mahsā 'to pay'), sato 'rain-, snow-, etc. fall' (<satā 'to rain, snow, etc.'), kaivo 'well' (<kaivā 'to dig'), javo 'flour' (<javā 'to grind, mill'), katto 'roof', (<kattā 'to cover'), tšitto 'praise' (<tšittä 'to praise'), mänko 'game' (<mänṡšä 'to play'). As will be seen below, this suffix can also form the diminutive, e. g. lehto 'leaf', tšako 'cuckoo', päsko 'swallow', pojo 'boy', emo 'little mother, mother dear'.

-u/-ü: nittu 'meadow, hayfield' (<nittä 'to mow'), lauu 'song' (<lauiā 'to sing'), nagru 'laughter' (<nagrā 'to laugh'), itku 'crying' (<itkeā 'to cry'), tšülvü 'sowing' (<tšülvā 'to sow'), tšüntü 'plowing' (<tšüntā 'to plow'), suuku 'dam' (<suukeā 'to close, shut'), puru 'pre-chewed food' (<purra 'to bite, chew').

-lain/-läin: vaddalain 'a Vote' (<vadda 'stake, pole'), virolain 'an Estonian' (<virola 'Estonia'), venäläin 'a Russian' (<venäi 'Russian'), sõmalain 'a Finn' (<sõmē 'Finnish'), pakolain-pake-lain 'refugee, exile' (<pako 'flight, escape; exile'), sukulain 'relative' (<suku 'kin, stock'), tšimolain 'bee' (<tšimo 'bee'), öröläin 'wasp, hornet', rantalain 'coastal dweller' (<ranta 'coast, shore').

-lein: tätšälein 'of this place, local (inhabitant)', sitšälein 'of that place (inhabitant)'.

-llin: tšihollin 'fiancee' (<tšihla 'engagement, betrothal'), kervallin 'ear tassels' (<kerva 'ear'), pelvillin 'knee decoration, ornament' (<pelvi 'knee').

-nikka: õnikka 'night lodger' (<õ 'night'), lidnanikka 'city dweller' (<lidna 'town, city'), kaanikka 'fisher' (<kaā 'fish'), tõnikka 'worker' (<tõ 'work'), vokkinikka 'spinning wheel craftsman' (<vokki 'spinning wheel'), puimanikka 'wedding guest'.

-ntima/-ntimä: izintimä 'stepfather' (<isä 'father'), emintimä 'stepmother' (<emä 'mother'), pojintima 'stepson' (<poika 'son').

-Z: sesareZ 'sister' (<sezar 'sister'), velleZ 'brother' (<velli 'brother'), tšälüz 'sister-in-law, wife's sister' (<tšälü 'sister-in-law, wife's sister').

-(i)kko: kotikko 'bag (dim.), little bag' (<kotti 'bag'), tšiuikko 'shirt (dim.), little shirt' (<tšiuutto 'shirt'), sänikko 'sleigh (dim.), sled' (<sāni 'sleigh'), tüttärikko-tütterikko 'girl' (<tütär 'daughter'), naizikko 'woman' (<nain 'woman'), vanapikko 'elder' (<vanapi 'older'), päivikko 'sun (dim.), little sun' (<päivä 'day'). As can be seen from the examples given, this derivation has above all a diminutive quality. This is true also of the next two suffixes. The derivational suffix can, however, occur without this shade of meaning, e.g. tätäjikko 'sage, wise man' (<tätäjä 'one who knows'), vaddakko 'a female Vote' and also 'a Vote' (<vadda 'stake, pole'), virakko 'a female Estonian' (<virola 'Estonia'), venakko 'a female Russian' (<venäi 'Russian'), karjakko 'an Ingrian', vitsikko 'small (banded) tub' (<vittsa 'switch, twig'), lännikko 'small covered tub' (<läntü 'sour milk'), varzikko 'high boot' (<varsi 'stem'), vänikko 'drill' (<vāntā 'to wrest, wring'), tšēlikko 'talebarer, telltale' (<tšēli 'tongue'), pāzikko 'area of limestone' (<pāsi 'limestone'), sarvikko 'plow handle' (<sarvi 'horn'), vaigetikko 'twilight' (<vaikeā 'white; light'), pimetikko 'twilight, dusk' (<pimiā 'dark'), ämärikko 'twilight, dusk' (<ämärā 'dim, dusky').

-ikke — either in certain words or dialectally -ikke occurs instead of the derivational suffix -ikko: tšiuutikke 'shirt (dim.)', kāzikke 'singer of wedding songs' (<kāsa 'along, with'), nōrikke 'fiancee' (<nōri 'young'), ummikke 'long piece of linen formerly used by women as a skirt', nāpikke '(small wooden) bowl (dim.)' (<nāppa 'small wooden bowl').

-ikka: kāzikka 'singer of wedding songs', vazikka 'calf', penikka 'puppy', saunikka 'bath house (dim.)' (<sauna 'bath house'), musikka 'blackberry' (<mussa 'black'), ratikka 'storehouse (dim.)' (<ratiZ 'store house').

-kkein: tšivikkein 'stone (dim.)' (<tšivi 'stone, rock'), rahvukkein 'person' (<rahvaZ 'people'), ätikkein 'smallpox scar', tüttärikkein 'girl (dim.), daughter (dim.)' (<tütär 'daughter'), neitsükkein 'daughter-in-law (dim.)' (<neitsüd 'daughter-in-law'), kaajakkein 'fish (dim.)' (<kaā 'fish'), tallikkein 'lambkin', jarvukkein 'lake (dim.)' (<jarvi 'lake'). This derivational suffix is the most common one for forming diminutives.

-uD/-üD: tšätšüD 'cradle', emüD 'mother (dim.)' (<emä 'mother'), izüD 'father (dim.)' (<isä 'father'), lehüD 'leaf (dim.)' (<lehto 'leaf'), päivüD 'sun' (<päivä 'day, sun'), tõmuD 'bird-cherry tree (dim.)' (<tõmi[ppü] 'bird-cherry tree'), süämüD 'heart (dim.)' (<süä 'heart'), vellüD 'brother (dim.)' (<velli 'brother'). This derivational suffix is especially characteristic of the language of folksongs.

-ška, -ško: nāpuška 'finger (dim.)' (<nāppu 'finger'), kandaška 'treasure-bringing goblin' (<kantā 'to carry'), sarviško 'horned (animal); one with tousled hair' (<sarvi 'horn'), irviško 'one who sneers' (<irvillā 'half-open; bared [teeth]'). This derivational suffix has primarily a pejoratively humorous aspect.

-jain — this forms a diminutive derivative which occurs primarily in folksongs: tütijain 'one who lulls someone to sleep' (<tütia 'to lull to sleep'), laukojain 'washer woman (dim.)' (~laukopäivä 'Saturday [i. e. wash day]'), väljain 'guardian' (<vālia 'to roll, mangle').

-ri: jōmari 'drunkard' (<jōmā 'to drink'), sōmāri 'big eater' (<sōmā 'to eat'), itkuri 'one who cries a lot' (<itkeā 'to cry'), paturi 'pot smith, pot maker' (<pata 'clay pot'), ampuri 'shepherd' (<ammaZ 'sheep').

-zikko: tammizikko 'oak tree grove, graveyard' (<tammi 'oak'), petāzikko 'Pine grove' (<petājā 'pine tree'), sārnizikko 'ash tree grove' (<sārni 'ash tree'), leppāzikko 'alder grove' (<leppā 'ash tree'), kahtšizikko 'birch grove' (<kahtši 'birch tree'), rōkozikko 'bed of reeds' (<rōko 'reed'), ezdezikko 'area growing with horse-tails' (<ezza 'horse-tail').



-eJmo/-eJmo: kadgeJmo 'fragment' (<katkemā 'to break off, be disrupted'), eddeJmo 'pollen' (~edditšäB 'it blooms'), ahēJmo 'narrowness, a narrow place' (<ahaZ 'narrow'), sūeJmo 'wart'.

-ttši: lühzettši 'milk pail', imettši 'some sort of plant', maka-uttši 'sleeping place', päivä neizuttši 'sunrise'.

§ 144. The following are the more common adjective derivations:

-kaZ: tšivvokaZ 'fibrous' (<tšiuto 'fiber'), rōjakaZ 'muddy' (<rōja 'mud'), täikaZ 'full of lice' (<täi 'louse'), sūnnikaZ 'sinful' (<sūnti 'sin'), razvakaZ 'fat, greasy' (<razva 'fat, lard'), verekaZ 'bloody' (<veri 'blood'), jumekaZ 'snowy' (<jumi 'snow'), ghzikaZ 'branchy' (<ghsa 'branch'), veimakaZ 'powerful, full of strength' (<veima 'power, strength').

-(k)kein: tšebjukkein 'light, not heavy (dim.)' (<tšebjä 'light, not heavy'), ümmärkein 'round, circular' (~ümpäri 'around').

-va/-vä: enneva 'happy' (<enni 'happiness, luck'), mēlevä 'smart' (<mēli 'mind'), vätševä 'mighty, powerful' (<vätši 'might, strength, force'), ōlveva 'careful, painstaking' (<ōli 'care'), itšävä 'tedious, dull, boring' (<itšä 'age, lifetime').

-za: iloza 'beautiful', vēroza 'rolling', ruttoza 'quick, rapid' (<rutto 'speed'), irmuza 'awful, frightful' (<irmu 'fear'), ejoza 'alive, living' (<ejo 'life').

-in: verin 'bloody' (<veri 'blood'), vimin 'last', viJmain 'woolen' (<viJma 'wool'), vähäin 'little, slight, scanty', kahtšin '(made) of birch' (<kahtši 'birch'), katagein '(made) of juniper' (<kataga 'juniper'), gūtšin '(made) of straw' (<gültši 'straw'), sukkein 'with feathers' (<sukka 'feather').

-llin~-llin: sütšüzellin 'autumn-like' (<sütšüzü 'autumn'), armollin 'merciful; gracious' (<armo 'grace, favor; mercy'), aukollin 'full of holes' (<aukko 'hole').

-Jain~-läin: emaJain 'one's own' (<ema 'own'), üheJain 'uniform; even' (<ühsi : ühē 'one : one [gen.]'), täütelläin 'complete', ühessämeJain 'ninefold'.

-mein~-mein: takumein 'last', tšehtšimein 'middle, central', vassumein 'new', esimein 'first', aJumein 'lower'.

-tō (: -ttomā): leivātō 'breadless' (<leipä 'bread'), ennetō 'unhappy' (<enni 'happiness, luck'), pehjatō 'bottomless' (<pehja 'bottom'), irmutō 'fearless' (<irmu 'fear').

-ga, -iä: vankega 'white', kerkega 'high', sekega 'blind', pimiä 'dark', seltšiä 'clear', jämiä 'thick'.

§ 145. The following verbal derivational suffixes are to be mentioned:

Frequentative verbs are derived by means of the affix -ele-/-eJē-, e.g. aigutteJēn 'I yawn', ringotteJēn 'I stretch myself',

pilvisseleB 'it is (intermittently) cloudy', ōtteJēn 'I wait', aivas-seJēn 'I sneeze', jōnitteJēn 'I run', jutteJēn 'I say', pureJēvaD 'they bite'. In the majority of verbs having the frequentative marker, the element -ele-/-eJē- no longer really expresses frequentative action. Dialectally -ē-/-ē- occurs instead of -ele-/-eJē-, e.g. juttēB 'he says'.

The derivational suffix for momentaneous verbs is -hta-/-htä-, e.g. örtšähtä 'to wake up', vizgahtä 'to throw once' (<vizgata 'to throw'), vingahtä 'to whine once' (<viņkua 'to whine'), vātahtä 'to look once' (<vättä 'to look'), ṽauṽahtä 'to begin to sing, to sing once' (<ṽauṽā 'to sing'). Some Votic dialects have ht>st, hence, the corresponding verbs are nagrastä 'to smile', örtšästä 'to wake up', etc.

Causative verbs are derived by the suffix -tta-/-ttä-, e.g. sevettä 'to clothe' (<sepa 'clothing'), vähättä 'to make less', tühjettä 'to empty' (<tühjä 'empty'), vivüttä 'to linger' (<vipüä 'to stay, to live'), vaihattä 'to trouble, burden' (<vaiva 'trouble, burden'), tukehtuttä 'to smother, suffocate' (<tukehtua 'to suffocate [intr.], choke'), tšülvettä 'to wash' (<tšülpiä 'to wash oneself'), tiJKuttä 'to make drip' (<tiJKkua 'to drip'), avittä 'to help' (<api 'help').

-goittä can likewise be used to derive causative verbs, e.g. apagoittä 'to make sour' (<apata 'to become sour'), paizegoittä 'to get rid of abscesses, boils' (<paize 'abscess, boil'), paJie-goittä 'to catch cold', kahnugoittä 'to freeze', seizagoittä 'to make stop' (<seisua 'to stand').

The derivational suffix for reflexive or intransitive verbs is -u-/-ü-, e.g. Jaskeun 'I descend, come down' (<Jaskea 'to let'), tempaun 'I am pulled, drawn' (<temmata 'to pull'), antauB 'he gives himself' (<antä 'to give'), sättiüB 'he adjusts himself, fixes himself up' (<sättiä 'to set, adjust'), itšävüä 'to feel boredom, be bored' (<itšävä 'boring, dull'), tukehtua 'to be suffocated; to choke', turzottua 'to become swollen'.

Dialectally a diphthong that has come into the word can be replaced by a long vowel, e.g. eittäün and eittään 'I become frightened', tšülpeün and tšülpēn 'I wash myself'.

Among the other derivational suffixes -ttsä should yet be considered, e.g. eJKottsä 'to bloom' (<eJKko 'blossom'), imottsä 'to desire, crave' (<imo 'lust, [sensual] desire, greed').

§ 146. In Votic, as in other Balto-Finnic languages, a very common method for deriving new words is that of forming compound words, e.g. einä-rēukko 'haystack', einä-sätto 'haycock', taJō-poika 'peasant', raju-vihma 'tempest rain', tširja-mēZ 'educated person', tuli-mēkka 'sword of fire', siJta-šiška 'cloth for the floor, rug', tappura-kōntaJō 'a bunch of tow on the distaff', tšäsi-värttänä 'hand spindle', rauta-nagJā 'iron nail', seta-mēZ

'soldier', poikka-sojdati 'regiment soldier', sarvi-pilli 'clay musical instrument, clay duck', vähä-voimang 'weak, without strength' (Lempola).

The compound word can consist of more than two components, e. g. tajo-poika-nain 'peasant woman', tšäsi-tšedrä-pü 'handle of the hand wheel', kujta-sarvi-pedra 'golden horned elk' (from a fairy tale), kukkui-pä-kunikä-poika 'round headed prince (lit. king's son)' (from a fairy tale).

In the majority of compound words the joining together of the components is not strictly carried out. Not only the complex word, but its individual components can be declined, e. g. kujta-sarvet-pedraD 'golden horned elks'. Usually, however, only the last component is modified.

In compound words apocope of the first component often occurs, e. g. rehtel-kakku 'pancake' (~rehtelä-rehtilä 'pan'), raut-ampäD 'iron teeth' (~rauta 'iron'), tamm-open 'mare, female horse' (~tamma 'mare'), aigassaika 'year' (~aigassa 'time [elat.]'), ait-seiväZ 'fence post' (~aita 'fence'), ahj-aukko 'oven/stove opening' (~ahjo 'oven, stove'). Those words that have -n (~-ne/-ne) in the nominative and -zē/-zē in the genitive have the consonant stem in compound words, e. g. naiz-rahvaZ 'women folk', naiz-erokaZ 'woman, female', tülistä 'scatterbrain'.

In Votic, the words combined are usually in the nominative case, as was seen from the foregoing examples. However, the first component can also occur in some suitable oblique case, as was already seen in aigassaika 'year', where the first component is in the relative. Side by side with combining of words in the nominative, genitival combinations are comparatively frequent, e. g. kervä-taguZ 'back of the ear', konnä-näppa 'shell', koirä-närä 'sty (in the eye)', rehenneüZ 'front room, entrance hall'.

As was stated above, in Votic the attaching together of components of compound words is not strictly carried out, so that in the mind of the speaker there still occurs the separation of the individual components. However, there are a few compound words whose components are definitely joined together, e. g. gunappü 'apple tree (guna + pü), asetturvaZ 'small ladder with which one climbs on top of the oven' (<ase 'step, degree' + turvaZ 'ladder'), orjamarjappü 'briar' (<orjamarja 'briar berry' + pü), perzem-mauttši 'rectum', (<perze 'seat, rear end' + mauttši 'gut'), taitšim-marjappü 'insipid currant' (taitšina + marja + pü).

Finally, there are compound words where one's consciousness of the separate components has become dimmed or is completely lost, e. g. ahnaüZ 'area under the oven' (<\*ahjon 'oven [gen.]' +

amuZ 'base, foundation', emätännä 'hostess, mistress of the house' (<\*emätä 'mistress, lady' + nain 'woman'), ähüpää 'area on top of the stove (oven)' (<ahjo 'oven/stove' + pää 'head, end').

Superlative words are formed by adding an alliterative pseudo-affix in front of the adjective, e. g. upi-üsi 'completely new', puri-puhaZ 'completely clean, very clean', eto-äl(1)ä 'in very olden times'.