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## ESTONIAN AND KARELIAN (IZHORIAN) LANGUAGE CONTACTS

On the territory to the east of the river Narva live Votes and Izhorians whose languages are closely related to that of their Estonian neighbours. These three Baltic-Finnic peoples have also had close ties with one another. The town of Narva was an important trading centre for the Estonians, Votes and Izhorians already in the Middle Ages. When the Narva textile mills were established at the beginning and in the first half of the 19th century, the workers included Estonians, Votes and Izhorians together with Russians. Votes and Izhorians have continuously made their way even farther west into Estonian territory as temporary workers, tradesmen or permanent settlers (Ariste 1962 : 11—18; A. Moora 1964 : 24—32, 39—43; H. Moora, A. Moora 1964 : 188—209). Some Estonians have also moved eastward among the Votes and Izhorians. The number of such Estonian settlers was especially great in the 19th century. Archeologists, ethnographers, historians, folklorists and linguists have ascertained that Estonian, Vote and Izhorian contacts have been prolonged and diverse in character.

The Votes and Izhorians call the Estonians *virolain* and the land of the Estonians — *Viro*, just as the Finns refer to the *virolainen* and *Viro*. Originally the toponym *Viro* designated only the area immediately to the west of the River Narva in the northeastern part of the present Estonian S.S.R., and it was only the inhabitants of this territory that were called *virolaiset*. In present-day literary and standard Estonian the Votes are known as *vadjalased*. This ethnonym came into Estonian from Finnish (Finnish *vatjalaiset*) as recently as the 19th century. In earlier literary Estonian and in some dialects even today there occurs the native Estonian equivalent *vadilane*. In the vicinity of Narva the Votes are called *vailased* and their territory on the shores of Luga Bay is known as *Vainurk* (Votic *Vaipooli* and Izhorian *Vaimpooli*). The name *vadilane* occurs even in the eastern part of South Estonia where this word, originally an ethnonym, has become a term of good-natured abuse applied mainly to children (Pall 1970 : 16). The Izhorian ethnonym *isurid* or *isorid* is current in Northeast Estonia. On the same territory the places where Izhorians live are called *Isori*, *Isuri* or *Isurimaa*. The ethnonym *isur* has been borrowed from Russian (Russian *ижора*, *ижорец*). This term is in general use in literary Estonian today. At the end of the 19th century, the Izhorians were designated also by the ethnonym *ingerigod* borrowed from Finnish (Finnish *inkerikot*). In Estonian dialects *isur* ~ *isor* is a rather old loanword as it has been completely accommodated phonologically to the rest of the Estonian vocabulary. On the erstwhile territory of the Izhorians there is Lake *Somero*, called *Сапро* in Russian. The Izhorians living in villages near this lake were great traders. They went

to East Estonia to buy cattle, poultry, pigs and horses. The livestock they bought was taken along the highways to St. Petersburg and the St. Petersburg guberniya. The author of this paper remembers seeing such Izhorian tradesmen in his childhood. They were dressed in grey woollen coats, they spoke a mixed Estonian-Izhorian language, and were called *somrakud* or *sombrakud*. Near Lake Peipsi all Izhorians were by extension referred to as *somrakud*. In earlier times the Estonians had another name for the Izhorians. This is known from old folk songs which have, on the whole, retained many words that have entirely disappeared from or become rare in the literary language and dialects. In old songs the Izhorian is called *karjalane*.

During a dialect study expedition a century ago, in 1875, the Estonian linguist Mihkel Veske met a 74-year-old folk singer at Lügänuše in Northeast Estonia. Her songs included some that were very old in content and language. One of them refers to a war either between Novgorod and the Livonian Order or between Russia and Sweden. At any rate the song must be older than the Northern War of the early 18th century. In the war described in the song the Russians with their allies are opposed to the Estonians with their foreign rulers. The song contains the verses *Veneläine vei minu veljä, karjalaine vei minu kaasa* 'The Russian took away my brother, the Izhorian took my darling' (Weske 1877:77). It is not plausible that the word *karjalaine* in the song refers to the Karelians who lived far from the Estonians. It is much more likely that the reference is to the Izhorians who lived together with Russians on the eastern bank of the R. Narva, on the R. Luga, and even farther to the east. The names *karjalaine* or *karjalane* occur in other songs as well. Suffice it to mention another song from Lügänuše which says *Ooda üva venaku, kannatele karjalaine* 'wait (my) good Russian woman, wait patiently (my) Izhorian' (from the folklore collection of J. Hurt, Literary Museum of the Estonian S.S.R. Academy of Sciences = H III 1, 694 (2)). The toponym *Karjala* also occurs in old songs. A song from Viru-Jaagupi, likewise in Northeast Estonia, contains the words *Vii vihma Vigala poole, kannaa hood Karjalaie* 'Bear the rain towards Vigala, bear the showers towards the Izhorians' (H II 10, 621 (117)). It might also be mentioned that there are farmsteads in Northeast Estonia which are called *Karjala* and that this name in all probability refers to the ethnic origin of the former non-Estonian owners of the farms.

The Votic language, which is the nearest to Estonian, helps to prove that the *karjalane*, *karjalaine* of old Estonian folk songs denotes an Izhorian and not a Karelian. Estonian and Votic are so close to one another that at least a northeastern Estonian and a Vote can converse, each using his own mother tongue. Old songs together with their vocabulary have passed from the Estonians to the Votes and vice versa. In the extinct East Votic dialect an Izhorian was called *karjalainõ*. In the West Votic dialect an Izhorian is likewise called *karjalainõ* or *karjalain*. An Izhorian woman is called *karjakko*. To speak Izhorian is *pajattaa karjalaizõssi, karjakkoa* or *karjalaisii tšeeltä, karjalaizõõ tšeeltä*. The majority of the last Izhorians live on the Sojkino (*Soikkola* in Votic and Izhorian) peninsula. Owing to this, the Izhorians are also known as *soikkolaizõd* and their language as *soikkolaa tšeeli* among the Votes living on the shores of Luga Bay.

The Votes have adopted the old ethnonym that the Izhorians used when speaking of themselves. Nirvi's dictionary (1971:137) registers the Izhorians' own name *karjalaišt* only from the Oredež dialect. From other dialects the dictionary gives *karjala* solely with the meaning of Izhorian: *hää lägäjää karjalaa* 'he speaks Izhorian'. The ethnonym *karjalain*, plural *karjalaišt* is, nevertheless, known almost in all the Sojkino



villages, but the Russian loans *ižora* and *ižoran keeli* are more common in present-day usage alongside the words *soikkolain* and *soikkolan keeli*.

In his doctoral dissertation Porkka (1885 : 2) also points out that the Izhorians formerly called themselves more generally Karelians. At the end of the 18th century some peasants from the western territory of the Izhorians on the R. Luga moved to Siberia where even today a peculiar Izhorian dialect is spoken in the Omsk Region (Злобина 1971 : 87—91; Zlobina 1972 : 86—92; Nirvi 1972 : 92—95). The Russian name for these Izhorians is *корлаки*. This fact likewise is evidence that the Izhorians living on the R. Luga were called Karelians in the 18th century as *корлак* and *karjalain* are obviously of the same etymology. About 1500 an inhabitant of the Sojkino peninsula was known in Russian as *копельнин* (Гадзяцкий 1940 : 125).

The essence of the Izhorian language has been the subject of much controversy. It has been considered to be a dialect of Karelian, a dialect of Finnish, or an independent language. In present-day Finno-Ugric studies Izhorian is regarded as having originally been a Karelian dialect which in the course of time developed into an independent Baltic-Finnic language (Ariste 1956 : 32—52; Лаанест 1966 : 18).

We shall now dwell briefly on the question of whether there have been any contacts between the Izhorian and Estonian languages and on the nature of such contacts. At Vaivara on the western bank of the R. Narva in Northeast Estonia a dialect of Estonian was formerly spoken which differed markedly from other Northeast-Estonian dialects. Nowadays this dialect has almost disappeared due to the spread of literary Estonian. The Vaivara dialect was so close to Izhorian that Izhorians living on the eastern bank of the R. Narva understood it better than Estonians living farther from Narva. Rather many Izhorian words have entered the Vaivara dialect. They include, e. g. *jamakka* 'sourish milk' (Izhorian *jamakka* 'curds'), *kehno* 'bad, miserable' (*kehno*), *milttine* 'what kind of, which' (*milttine*, *mlttine*), *männä* 'to go' (*männä*), *riehtilä* 'pan' (*reehtilä*), *sää* 'storm' (*sää*), *vaake* 'stake, post' (*vaace*). There are many Russian loans in Izhorian which have also entered the Vaivara dialect: *kaasku* 'fairy-tale' (*kaasku*), *suurpäätuitsä* 'Good Friday' (*päätuitsä* 'Friday'), *sässünä* 'chapel' (*sässünä*), etc.

The Vaivara dialect also contains some phonetic and phonological phenomena that are not characteristic of Estonian but typical of Izhorian, e. g. the occurrence of *ö* in nonfirst syllables: *tüttö* 'girl', *näkö* (literary Estonian *nägu*) 'face' (Izhorian *nägö*), *männö* '(he) goes' (*männö*), *männöt* '(they) go' (*männööv*). In the Estonian language long vowels do not occur before *h*; *maha*, Finnish *maahan* 'down', *suhu*, Finnish *suuhun* 'mouth (illative)'. In the Vaivara dialect long vowels can occur before *h*: *maahha*, *suuhhu* (Izhorian *maahhaa*, *suuhhu*). The equivalents of literary Estonian *me* ~ *meie* 'we', *te* ~ *teie* 'you (pl.)' in the Vaivara dialect are *müö*, *tüö* (Izhorian *möö* ~ *müö*, *töö* ~ *tüö*). In Estonian one has *teada* : *tean*; in some dialects also *täada* : *tään*, whereas in the Vaivara dialect the corresponding forms are *tiitä* : *tiijen* ~ *tiijän* 'to know: (I) know' (Izhorian *tiitä* : *tiijän*). A very peculiar feature of the consonant system of the Vaivara dialect are the cases of gemination caused by a long vowel or diphthong in a following syllable: *linno* 'flax (partitive pl.)', *lukke* 'to read', *küssü* '(he) asks', *pimme* 'dark' (Izhorian *linnoi*, *lukkia*, *küssüü*, *pim mee*). In literary Estonian and in most of the North-Estonian dialects one has *linu*, *lugeda*, *küsib*, *pime*. In the Vaivara dialect *n* has disappeared in the pronouns *mie* 'I', *miu* 'mine', *sie* 'thou', *siu* 'thine' (Izhorian *mie* ~ *miä*, *miun*, *sie* ~ *siä*, *siun*). The corresponding literary Estonian forms are *mina*, *minu*, *sinu*, *sinu*. In addition to the Izhorian peculiarities mentioned above there are a number of other



phonetic and phonological features in the dialect which cannot be dealt with in this short paper.

There are also some Izhorian morphological peculiarities such as the entirely un-Estonian form of the third person of the verb: *tunto* (literary Estonian *tunneb*) '(he) knows', *kuulo* (*kuuleb*) 'hears', *näkköt* (*näevad*) '(they) see', the Izhorian forms being *tuntoo*, *kuuloo*, *näkkööv*, etc. Owing to Russian influence the impersonal can be used instead of the third person plural in the Vaivara dialect just as in Izhorian: *mehet tulti* (in literary Estonian *mehed tulid*) 'the men came', in Izhorian *meehed tultiin* ~ *tultii*.

The considerable Izhorian influence on the phonetics and morphology of the Vaivara dialect can be accounted for by two reasons. In the first place, large numbers of Izhorians settled among Estonians and in the course of time they became Estonianized. Secondly, Estonians and Izhorians have continuously worked together, sailed together in the same ships, and fished together.

An obvious Izhorian influence on Estonian may be observed only over a very limited area. The influence of Estonian on Izhorian is more widespread territorially, but it does not affect every aspect of the language. A. Laanest, who has thoroughly studied the Izhorian dialects, has pointed out that an Estonian influence is noticeable for the most part only in the lower reaches of the R. Luga and even there it is of a lexical character (Лаанест 1966 : 153). The Izhorian villages near the R. Luga had particularly close ties with Narva and its vicinity. It is therefore only natural that lexical elements of Estonian could occur in the Izhorian dialect of this region. The following are some pertinent examples: *jaani* (Estonian *jaanipäev*, *jaan*) 'St. John's Day', *johvikka* (*jõhvikas*, *jõhvik*) 'cranberry', *luhti* (Estonian dialectal *luht*) 'air', *ühtpuhkuu* (*ühtepuhku*) 'all the time', etc. (Mägiste 1925 : 98—123). Quite a number of Estonian loanwords, however, have come into use also in the Izhorian villages on the Sojokino peninsula, the inhabitants of which had fewer contacts with Estonia. These words belong mainly to the fields of culture, technology and navigation, and many of them came into Estonian from Low German (in the 13th—18th centuries) or Swedish. They include, e.g. *jaht* (Estonian *jaht*) 'hunting', *kriipsuttaa* (*kriipsutada*) 'to draw a line, underscore', *laatta* (*laat*) 'fair', *linkki* (*link*) 'door-handle', *plekki* (*plekk*) 'spot, stain', *riikki* (*riik*) 'state, country', *vokka* (*vokk*) 'foremast', *vokki* (*vokk*) 'spinning-wheel', *vööri* (*vöör*) 'fore part of a ship, prow; foremast', etc. Izhorian and Estonian are closely related languages. It is therefore sometimes difficult to establish whether a given Baltic-Finnic word is Izhorian or whether it entered Izhorian from Estonian. There are, however, some typically Estonian words which must have been borrowed into Izhorian from Estonian, e.g. *kena* (*kena*) 'fine, nice, pretty', *tere* (*tere*) 'how do you do?', *elävessä*, with a parallel form *eläessä* (Estonian *elades*, dialectal *elädes*) 'while living, during one's lifetime, in the past', etc. Some presumable loanwords of Estonian origin may be quite old. In 17th-century literary Estonian the word for paper was *kirjanahk* (literally 'writing-leather') which originally probably denoted parchment. This word was adopted by Votic and Izhorian: Votic *tširjanahka*, *tširnahka*, Izhorian *kirjanahka*, *kirnahka*. The greatest authority on the Izhorian vocabulary R. E. Nirvi (1972 : 95) has stated that quite old Estonian loanwords, at least such that occur already in the 18th century, may be met with in Izhorian.

As there were no such close Izhorian-Estonian contacts on Izhorian territory as there were formerly on Estonian territory at Vaivara in Northeast Estonia, it is not possible to ascertain any Estonian morpho-phonological influence on Izhorian.

The Baltic-Finnic languages have had complicated internal contacts. The need to investigate these contacts has been emphasized (Ariste 1975: 196—199). The present short paper has endeavoured to show how the Izhorian language, originally a dialect of Old Karelian, and the Estonian language have influenced each other.

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ПАУЛЬ АРИСТЭ (Тарту)

#### ОБ ЭСТОНСКО-КАРЕЛЬСКИХ (ИЖОРСКИХ) ЯЗЫКОВЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЯХ

Ижорский язык является близкородственным карельскому языку. Поэтому эстонцы называли, а вода называет и до сих пор ижорцев карелами. Несмотря на то что эстонский и водский принадлежат к южной, а ижорский, бывший диалект карельского языка, к восточной подгруппе прибалтийско-финских языков, в них очень много общих лексических элементов более позднего происхождения. Так, в некоторые северо-восточные говоры эстонского языка разные русские заимствования вошли через ижорский язык. В течение последних веков ижора была непосредственным соседом эстонцев. Как у воды, так и у ижоры были более древние тесные связи с новгородскими русскими, чем у северных эстонцев. Поэтому водский и ижорский заимствовали из русского языка многие слова, которые обозначали новые экономические и культурные понятия. На говоры ижорского языка оказал довольно сильное влияние эстонский язык г. Нарвы и его окрестностей. В ижорском языке встречаются эстонские заимствования, из которых многие восходят к нижнемецкому языку.

В эстонском и ижорском языках имеются и многие исконно общие лексические элементы прибалтийско-финского происхождения, а также древние взаимные заимствования этих элементов.