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LANGUAGE ATTRITION AND DEATH:
LIVONIAN IN ITS TERMINAL PHASE

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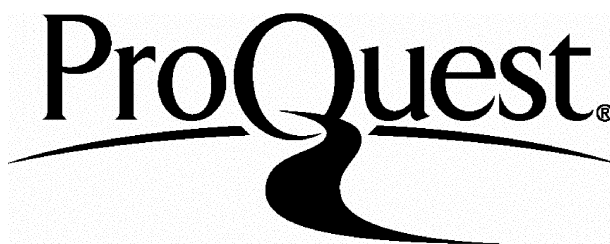
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INTRODUCTION

This study of the present state of the Livonian language, a Baltic-Finnic tongue spoken by a few elderly people formerly resident in a dozen fishing villages on the coast of Latvia, consists of four main parts.

Part One gives an outline of the known history of the Livonian language, the history of research into it, and of its own relations with its closest geographical neighbour, Latvian, a linguistically unrelated Indo-European language. A state of Latvian/Livonian bilingualism has existed for virtually all of the Livonians' (or Livs') recorded history, and certainly for the past two centuries.

Part Two consists of a Descriptive Grammar of the present-day Livonian language as recorded in an extensive corpus provided by one speaker. The description conforms to the framework suggested in the Lingua Descriptive Series Questionnaire (Comrie and Smith 1977). The headings and subheadings in Part Two are thus numbered to correspond with the items in the Questionnaire (on the basis of which the volumes in the Lingua Descriptive Series were prepared).

To extend the range of informants and to analyse features of discourse, Part Three provides a transcription of passages of speech by ten informants, with a literal interlinear translation, an English paraphrase and footnotes.

Part Four consists of conclusions about the present state of survival of this fast-atrophying language, considered in the light of other studies of language attrition, and offers a

tentative prognosis for its future in a country currently in a period of political, economic and social transition, on the western edge of the former Soviet Union.

By every sociolinguistic criterion, the Livonian speech community in the last decade of the twentieth century is a defunct one. (1) Among the published studies in the field of inquiry into language contraction and death, it is difficult to find a language situation exactly parallel to that of Livonian. The most striking similarities are found in the East Sutherland Gaelic-speaking community in Scotland, as studied by Dorian (1982) (2). Like the Livonians, this community is coastal, with an economy based on fishing. Both have experienced slow erosion from the surrounding majority language since the twelfth century. Both communities speak dialects of a once-widespread language which have been isolated for centuries. In both cases the shift to the majority language is now almost complete, with most residents nowadays being monolingual in the majority language, and bilingualism found only in the oldest inhabitants. The numbers of speakers are also also roughly comparable: Dorian speaks of about two hundred 'fisherfolk descendants' in 1963, and under a hundred 'at present' (1982).

Dorian's findings suggest, however, that the process of assimilation has gone further in East Sutherland Gaelic than in the Livonian case. She comments on the frequency of 'semi-speakers': those who, despite self-assessments to the contrary, find it difficult to construct a grammatical Gaelic sentence. Their bilingualism is more passive than active. Two relevant differences from the Livonians should be borne in mind here.

First, the East Sutherland community was being studied on its own territory, and therefore the sense of group cohesion would be greater. Secondly, there can be said to be a Gaelic standard to which the community can refer if it wishes; no such standard exists for the Livonians, who are the last speakers of their language as well as of their dialect. This fact is of ambiguous significance, however, and Dorian makes little reference to other Gaelic-speaking communities. In fact, she even points out that defensiveness against 'variant characteristics' is one of the few signs of any control over the language:

regional variation is the obsessive interest of East Sutherland Gaelic speakers, not social variation. Every East Sutherland Gaelic speaker is on the alert at all times for the intrusion of a variant characteristic of one of the other villages. (3)

She attributes the absence of social evaluation to the uniform occupational status of the speakers. The same might well be said in accounting for the absence of 'high' and 'low' variants of Livonian. Dorian acknowledges the presence of passive bilinguals in the speech community, but does not estimate their numbers or assess whether they can be described as part of the ethnolinguistic community.

Published studies of language contraction have in recent years tended to concentrate either on the speech community or on the language itself. As Livonian has virtually ceased to function as a community language, this study concentrates on evidence for atrophy and change provided by the language itself. Evidence for this has been sought on four levels: syntactic, morphological,

lexical and phonological. With the lapse of memory and loss of opportunities for discourse among the surviving speakers, one might naturally expect a shrinkage in the available range of expression at the first three of these levels, and under the influence of the majority language, a merging of the minority language's phonological features with it. There is a large body of evidence to suggest that syntactic simplification, specifically co-ordination at the expense of relativisation, is a feature of language attrition. Hill (1989) summarises the findings of other scholars in the introduction to her own statistical study of relativisation in two languages of Mexico:

Reduction in the frequency of relative clauses in the usage of speakers in late stages of language death has been identified in languages of diverse genetic and typological affiliations: Cupeño and Luiseño (Hill 1973, 1978), Trinidad Bhojpuri (Durbin 1973), Tubatulabal (Voegelin and Voegelin 1977), East Sutherland Gaelic (Dorian 1981, 1982) and Dyirbal (Schmidt 1985). Relative clauses, along with other complex sentence phenomena, have also been reported as absent in pidgin languages, developing only upon creolization of a pidgin (Sankoff and Brown 1976). Low frequencies of complex sentences have been identified also in working-class (as opposed to middle-class) usage in British English (Bernstein 1972), American English (Wolfram 1969) and French (Lindenfeld 1972). Van den Broeck (1977) identified the phenomenon in some speech contexts for working-class varieties of Flemish. A low rate of relativization in oral, as opposed to

written, language in Western languages has also been frequently noted. (4)

Among the studies of morphological change resulting from attrition are several that offer ready comparison with the Livonian/Latvian pairing, as the languages involved have similar origins. Cases in point are Gal's studies (1979, 1989) of Hungarian-German bilingualism in Austria and Maandi's (1989) observation of Estonian among immigrants in Sweden. With a statistically significant number of speakers at her disposal, Gal (1989) has collected and quantified examples of lexical innovation and loss that show some similarities to Livonian: more particularly in the use of separable Hungarian prefixes with verbs in new combinations based on German patterns. Unlike the Livonian case, the prefixes are translated rather than borrowed.

(5) In her earlier study (1979), Gal notes:

as both Hungarian and German have separable verbal prefixes, many of which indicate direction of motion and often correspond in the two languages, some prefixes on borrowed German verbs are translated into the Hungarian equivalents ein (G) = be (H), aus (G) = ki (H), auf (G) = fel (H), 'in', 'out', 'up'. So for instance, belodul (H) from German anlodn (G) 'invite', and küzeccül (H) from German aussëtzn (G) 'stop or discontinue'. (6)

Gal's observations concerned both morphological and lexical borrowing. She notes the particular semantic fields in which borrowing occurs:

Borrowings are not limited to new technology or new semantic

domains. On the one hand, recently introduced machines, Austrian political-bureaucratic titles and institutions, as well as obligations and privileges which Oberwarters have as Austrian citizens are named with German nouns and their Hungarian equivalents are known by few if any Oberwarters ...But there are also many German nouns and verbs now in use for which Hungarian direct equivalents do exist and that are often used side by side with the Hungarian forms. (7)

Both of these phenomena observed by Gal can also be found in Livonian, and have spread as the language gives way to Latvian. The Livonian language shift, however, has brought with it not merely lexical but also morphological innovation, as such prefixes are not native to the language.

By contrast, Maandi's (1989) findings for Estonian morphology under the influence of Swedish do not apply in the Livonian case, even though both the sociolinguistic circumstances and the structures of the threatened and the dominant languages are markedly similar. Her study of the use of genitive and partitive forms in objective case marking, which might well have applied to Livonian, showed a 'case-marker collapse' but no conclusive proof that the process was externally motivated. (8) In this regard, Livonian appears not to show the influence of Latvian.

What degree of attrition or pressure from the majority language might we expect to find at the phonological level? Campbell and Muntzel, in their article 'The structural consequences of language death', (9) which examines features attributable to attrition in American Finnish and a number of

almost-extinct Central American languages, quote three hypotheses from Andersen (1982) which are borne out in their own findings:

(1) the bilingual speaker of a threatened language (dying, for purposes of our discussion) will make fewer phonological distinctions in his or her use of the language than a fully competent (dominant or monolingual) speaker of the same language would. (2) However, he or she will preserve distinctions common to both his/her languages even while making fewer of the distinctions found only in the threatened language. (3) Distinctions with a functional load which is high (in terms of phonology and/or morphology) will survive longer in the speaker's use of his/her weaker language than distinctions which have low functional load.

Phonological reduction is by no means an automatic concomitant of language death, as Hamp (1989) testifies for Breton and Gaelic dialects. (10) There is great variability in evidence in the numerous studies that have been made of phonological accommodation and adjustment by threatened languages, but the underlying principle seems to be the retention of function-bearing distinctions.

As far as the analysis of the discourse of a necessarily limited range of informants is concerned, there is of course a danger that a personal feature or lapse might be taken to be typical of the former speech community as a whole. No claim is made here to have assembled a 'statistically significant' body of speakers for the corpus; that would not be possible at this very late stage in the contraction of the language. Likewise,

inconsistencies in the texts (such as non-agreement in number or case), few as they are, are not taken to be indicative of anything more than lapses of memory or attention. Sensitivity must always be exercised by the linguist in distinguishing between unintentional errors and genuine intentional innovations. In this respect I sincerely hope I have done justice to the speakers.

Since some confusion may arise about the terms 'Baltic' and 'Baltic-Finnic', which refer to two entirely different linguistic units, I use the term 'Baltic' in this work to refer to the precursor of the later Latvian, Lithuanian and Old Prussian languages and their speakers, and the term 'Baltic-Finnic' to refer to the north-western branch of the Finno-Ugric language family (comprising Finnish, Karelian, Votic, Vepsian, Ingrian, Estonian and Livonian).

This work could not have come about without the willing and patient co-operation and assistance of several people. I would like to record my special thanks to Professor Seppo Suhonen of the University of Helsinki for his advice and encouragement during the early stages of its preparation, to Professor Eduard Vääri of the University of Tartu for his helpful suggestions, to Kristi Salve, also of Tartu, for making available much of the recorded material, and to the late Oskar Stalte of Riga for his hospitality, good humour and his vast fund of Livonian information. I am most grateful to Professor Michael Branch and Mrs Hannele Branch, as well as Peter Sherwood, of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, for their guidance and help with many knotty linguistic questions;

for advice on the preparation of the Descriptive Grammar and for many useful comments I am grateful to Professor Bernard Comrie of the University of Southern California; and last but not least my thanks go to my wife, Kristiina, for her great forbearance and patience with me in the preparation of this volume.

The ideas expressed in this work are, unless otherwise stated, my own, and I therefore accept full responsibility for any errors which may appear in it.

NOTES

1. Such criteria might be the three parameters cited, for example, by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor in Giles (ed.), Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations (1977), namely Status, Demography and Institutional Support.
2. Nancy C.Dorian, 'Defining the speech community to include its working margins' in S.Romaine (ed.), Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities (1982).
3. Dorian 1982, pp. 31-2.
4. J.H.Hill, 'The social functions of relativization in obsolescent and non-obsolescent languages', in Dorian (ed.), 1989, p.149.
5. S.Gal, 'Lexical innovation and loss: The use and value of restricted Hungarian', in Dorian (ed.), 1989, pp.313-31.
6. S.Gal, Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria, 1979, p.82.
7. See note 6.
8. K.Maandi, 'Estonian among immigrants in Sweden', in Dorian (ed.), 1989, pp.227-42.
9. L.Campbell and M.C.Muntzel, in Dorian (ed.), 1989, pp.181-97.

10. Eric P. Hamp, 'On signs of health and death', in Dorian (ed.),
1989, pp.206-10.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in Parts Two (Descriptive Grammar) and Three (Texts):

AB ablative

AC active

AD adessive

AJ adjective

AL allative

AV adverb

CA causative

CJ conjunction

CP copula

CT comitative/translative

DM diminutive

DT dative

EL elative

EM emphatic (particle)

GN genitive

ID indicative

IE imperative

IF infinitive

IL illative

IM impersonal

IN inessive

IP infinitive of purpose

IT intensifier

N noun

NG negative

NM nominative
OB oblique
OG (infinitive of) obligation
P past
PE participle
PL plural
PN pronoun
PO postposition
PP past participle
PPP past passive participle
PR present
PS passive
PT partitive
Q interrogative
RE relative
SG singular
SJ subjunctive
V verb

Part One

The historical background

1.1 Theory of the linguistic development of Livonian

1.1.1 Definition of 'Livonia' and 'Livonian'

Of the peoples speaking Baltic-Finnic languages, it is possible that the forerunners of the Livonians arrived earliest in the area of their permanent settlement, probably in the first half of the first millennium AD. (1) They probably migrated there along the Daugava (or Western Dvina) River. The term Livland was coined by the German knights to refer to the Livs, the speakers of Finnic languages whose territory they conquered at the beginning of the thirteenth century, as we know from the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia (2), the earliest documentary source of information about the Livonians.

The author of the Chronicle does not enter into a discussion of the origin of the name Liv or Livonia, and the etymology of the name has not been satisfactorily explained. Aside from Nestor's Chronicle (see p.41), few early chroniclers mentioned a people identifiable as the Livonians, and there is the additional complication provided by a Bavarian geographer who named the Liudi as a Finno-Ugric nation in 890 A.D., as opposed to the later Danish historian Saxo's mention of Liui or Livi. (3)

At the time the Chronicle was written, the Livonians were settled on the coast of the Gulf of Riga, from the present border of Estonia to the Daugava and beyond the site of Riga, and also on the Courland peninsula on the opposite side of the Gulf. The Courland peninsula was also occupied by the Curonians, of whose

language no positively identifiable trace remains. Whatever the case, either or both peoples left behind numerous place-names on the peninsula which are clearly of Baltic-Finnic origin. The linguistic evidence of the enduring presence of speakers of Baltic-Finnic languages on the peninsula lives on in the so-called Tamian dialects of Latvian, which show clear Baltic-Finnic traces. (4)

At the time of the Chronicle, most of the Livonians lived on the eastern side of the Gulf. Gradually this branch merged with the Latvian-speaking population which moved into Livonian coastal territory. Information about the pace of assimilation and the recession of the Livonian language is scanty, but we do know that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were speakers of a separate Eastern dialect of Livonian living in villages around the Salis River. But when A.J.Sjögren visited the area in 1846 (5), he found only twenty-two Livonian speakers; twelve years later Wiedemann (5) reported only eight old people who understood the language, the last of whom died in 1868.

The speakers of the Western dialect have lived, during their recorded history, on a strip of land some sixty kilometres long, along the Courland peninsula, spread through twelve villages. Statistical evidence can be gleaned from various sources (6):

1835 (Köppen)	2,074
1852 (Sjögren)	2,324
1858 (Wiedemann)	2,390
1888 (Setälä)	2,929

Census figures, when they acknowledge the existence of the Livonians at all, have not provided an accurate picture. In both

Tsarist and Soviet times, the Livonians were not distinguished from the Latvians in census statistics, yet an official figure of 866 Livonians given in 1920 differs widely from Kettunen's estimate of 1,500 Livonian speakers, (7) which itself would seem a conservative estimate compared with the figures given above. Of course, what constituted a 'Livonian' for official purposes may not have had a linguistic basis, and we must also bear in mind that in 1915 the whole population was forced into temporary exile for the rest of the duration of the First World War. The vast majority, however, returned to their villages after the war. Dispersal has been made necessary in recent decades by the Soviet government, for whom the peninsula was a strategic area.

1. The evidence for this is archaeological rather than linguistic; see Moora 1956, pp.70-3, 102-4, Manninen 1929, p.151.
2. The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, tr.J.A.Brundage, Madison, Wis., 1961.
3. See discussion in Saks 1960, p.226.
4. A.Gāters, Die lettische Sprache und ihre Dialekte, Wiesbaden 1974.
5. Sjögren, ed.Wiedemann, 1861, p.IX; Setälä 1888, p.1.
6. Cited in Manninen 1929, p.152.
7. Kettunen 1925, p.VIII.

1.1.2 History of the Livonian-speaking area

Our knowledge of the people who spoke Livonian before the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia is sketchy. Archaeological studies have been able to throw some light on their early development, however, and findings from prehistoric times indicate roughly with whom the Livonians had dealings and thus the likely sources of influence on their language.

The origins of Livonian within the Baltic-Finnic framework have been hypothesised not only on the basis of archaeological evidence but also by reconstructing the ancestral Proto-Finnic language on the basis of evidence from Finnish, its dialects and the other Baltic-Finnic languages, Votic, Veps, Estonian and Karelian. The Finnish scholar Setälä created the school of thought which assumed that the present-day Baltic-Finnic languages derive from Late Proto-Finnic, which, it claims, was spoken in Finland two millennia ago (by which time Lapp had diverged from an earlier form of Proto-Finnic). Drawing on the work of previous scholars such as Posti, Setälä and Koivulehto, the Finnish linguist Terho Itkonen has in the past two decades developed a theory that the present-day languages are not direct vertical descendants of this late Proto-Finnic, but rather of a mixture of Proto-Finnic dialect types which he designates as Northern, Southern and Eastern Proto-Finnic, referring to their locations on either side of the Gulf of Finland. (Proto-Lapp was presumably spoken in an area north of these, in southern Finland.) Itkonen attributes to another Finnish linguist, Heikki Ojansuu, the observation that the Baltic-Finnic linguistic region can be divided into two main groups, Eastern and Western, on

account of certain common features, especially in vocabulary. The eastern group comprises eastern Finnish dialects, Ingrian dialects, Karelian, Veps and Ludic dialects; the remainder, western Finnish dialects, Vote, Estonian and Livonian, Itkonen does not automatically assign to a western group because the influences on the southern side of the Gulf were by no means incontestably unidirectional. Rather, Itkonen takes account of Setälä's 'vertical' division into a northern and a southern group, once again mainly on lexical evidence, but also demonstrating phonological parallels. Later research by Koivulehto, cited by Itkonen, supports this division, largely on the basis of dating Germanic loanwords that are respectively present in and absent from the two groups. Further, on the basis of both archaeological and linguistic evidence, Itkonen dates this late Proto-Finnic phase to a period somewhat earlier than his original hypotheses claimed; the northern group had reached the shores of Finland during the Bronze Age, namely at the beginning of the first millennium BC. This leaves the southern group in place on the southern shores of the Gulf: that proto-language from which derived later Estonian, Livonian and Vote. The dating of many Germanic and Baltic loanwords is left open to question by Itkonen, but it has been tackled more exhaustively by Seppo Suhonen; this is a topic to which we shall return in more detail later. (See pp.54ff.)

Research into Livonian prehistory may be said to begin after the flooding of the Daugava River in 1837, which left exposed some burial mounds at Aizkraukle. These were investigated by a local priest, K. Neuenkirchen, and were the subject of a letter

to the Riga Society of Antiquaries. His observations were extensively used by Fr.Kruse, who attributed the graves to Swedish Vikings (or Rus) in his book Necrolivonica (1842). This dating has been refuted in later research, which assigned these and similar graves at Sigulda to the Livonians.

The most thorough nineteenth-century survey of Livonian prehistory was that of R.Hausmann (Einleitung zum Katalog des X arch. Kongresses, 1896), but he, like other scholars, was concerned only with the last stage of Livonian national culture, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. The lack of more ancient findings would suggest that the Livonians were latecomers to Latvia who, like the Courlanders or Curonians (assumed to have spoken a Baltic-Finnic language), subordinated the surrounding Latvian tribes. Of the more ancient sites, those attributed to the Livonians include the dwellings on the Sarnate marsh, dated to about 1000 - 800 BC. The inhabitants of these dwellings are thought to have been fishers and hunters who also practised primitive pastoralism. The ceramic items found on the settlement sites show affinities with the Comb Ceramic culture. (1) As no intermediate form has been found in Latvia, it appears that the Livonians were invaders whose original homeland, judging from various observations, was in the northern part of Central Russia. These invaders settled among the ancient Baltic tribes (in northern Courland, and also southern Courland and possibly even Prussia), in regions unsuited to the Courlanders' and Prussians' agriculture, on the coasts and lakesides. It has not yet been possible to establish a connection between this culture and sites from a later period, which appear to be from the first and second

centuries AD. By this time the Livonians had made the transition to agriculture and herding; sparse Livonian colonies in the south were absorbed by the Balts, but a dense mass of them remained in northern Courland. Here Livonian settlements have been found dating from the early and middle Iron Age (second to eighth centuries), with fireplaces and cremation sites typical of the Finnic tribes. They have been unearthed and examined at Roceži in Laidze pagasts (2), Reinas in Kandava pagasts, and Osuturzes in Dundaga pagasts, among other sites. Contemporary with the cremation sites there existed shallow, sandy hill-graves, discovered at Pasiiekste in Varve pagasts and Laugali in Laidze pagasts. In contrast to the graves of other Finnic tribes, but in common with those of Baltic tribes, is their wealth of weapons, tools and jewellery.

Around the middle of the late Iron Age (about a millennium before Christ) important changes took place in the life of the Livonian people; for reasons that are unclear a large part of the tribe emigrated from northern Courland to present-day Vidzeme, where they settled on the almost completely uninhabited banks of the Gauja river, and on those of the Daugava, thinly populated by the Baltic Semigalian, Selonian and Latgalian tribes. The supposition that the Livonians entered western Vidzeme is corroborated by the fact that while the more ancient burial vaults in the area are exclusively of Balt provenance, the Livonians' vaults are identical with those in northern Courland, at least as regards the form and ritual of burial, if not entirely as to contents. This can be explained in that simultaneously with the colonisation of Vidzeme there were

significant changes in Livonian material culture; the Scandinavian influence became so important that one may speak of a permanent Scandinavian settlement. There is Scandinavian influence in weapons and women's ornaments, although in other respects Livonian tradition and Balt influence continued. It seems that the chief's role in cultural life was centred on Turaida and Sigulda (names thought to be of Scandinavian origin) (3), where extensive and rich vaults have been found. But no less important were other centres on the Daugava, notably Uexküll (Latv. Ikšķile). On the other hand, in Idumea the Livonians mixed with the Latgalians, and they influenced each other culturally. (See map.)

Contents of burial vaults also reveal trade links. Among deposits of silver and gold found in vaults along the Daugava, coins have been found. Evidence of prosperity among the Livonians continues up to the thirteenth century, when the Knights of the Sword subjugated them while seeking to open the trade route to Russia. In northern Courland, their old homeland, the Livonians fared differently. Depleted by emigration, they fell into political dependence on the Courlanders, who gradually colonised the Livonian lands from the eleventh century onward. Thus the Livonians came to absorb the Curonian material culture totally. It is possible that the Livonians adopted the Curonians' language at the same time; the Tamian dialect of Latvian may be the result of this. Economic troubles and political constraints promoted their departure southwards to the regions of Courland and Prussia not yet conquered by the Germans.

By the beginning of the present millennium we know that the

Livonians were trading not only eastwards with Polotsk and Smolensk, but also westwards through Visby to Lubeck. Their main imports were weapons, metals, salt and cloth; their exports wax, furs and slaves. They paid for goods in silver ingots and foreign coinage. But as their fortunes changed, in the twelfth century, the Daugava settlements were paying tribute to the Russian prince of Polotsk. Only in 1212 did Bishop Albert (the Albert of Henry's Chronicle) pay off Polotsk with a single payment, by the Treaty of Jersika. On the other hand, there is no evidence of the Gauja settlements being under tribute.

Nearly fifty years before Albert's treaty, in 1164, Meinhard of Holstein arrived as an emissary from Lübeck and began to preach the Catholic faith to the Livonians. In 1186 the Archbishop of Bremen appointed him Bishop of Livonia with his seat at Uexküll. His assistants, Cistercian monks, worked around the Gauja settlements, mainly at Turaida and Krimulda, where the most powerful and wealthy Livonian chief, Kaupo, entered the Catholic faith in 1191 and became the Germans' loyal ally. This was a fateful step in Livonian history. After the death of Meinhard in 1196, the Pope (Celestine II, succeeded in 1198 by Innocent III) proclaimed several campaigns against the 'apostate' Livonians, and the second Bishop, Berthold, arrived with a military force to introduce a mission of 'fire and the sword' in Livonia. This violent campaign was completed by the third bishop, Albert. Within ten years the Livonian land was subdued. In January 1208 Pope Innocent III announced officially that all Livonians had embraced the Catholic faith, as well as the Idumeans and the Wends of Cēsis.

From 1207 the Livonian lands were divided between the Bishop of Riga and the Order of the Brothers of the Sword, the Bishop taking the greater share, including Kaupo's estates. In 1223 Albert had a castle built at Metsepole to replace the wooden Livonian one. This was the origin of the later town of Limbaži, and was the administrative centre of Livonia. This thinly populated area was gradually colonised by Latvians. In the fifteenth century, it was divided into Latvian and Livonian parts, but Latvian infiltration of the centre of the Livonian 'estate' meant its gradual assimilation. What part the Church administration played in this we cannot know, but there is strong evidence that preaching was in Livonian in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (3) At the Second Provincial Council of Riga in 1428, priests were reminded that they had to understand and use non-German languages. But it is likely that by the fifteenth century Latvian had taken over as the Church's language of instruction in mixed communities. This process had certainly happened in Riga, which had been established in 1201 as a Livonian settlement near the site of an old Scandinavian trading station. In the twelfth century, Livonian fishermen and beekeepers were living in settlements on the banks and islands of the Daugava. The Bishop put St. James' Church at their disposal. But during the thirteenth century the Livonians' numbers appear to have shrunk rapidly, when they were forced to fight in the Order's battles against the Estonians, Samians, Semigalians, Curonians and Lithuanians. This process of decrease continued into the fourteenth century. Loyal Livonians were also settled in Western Latvia, where they were assimilated. When a great

rebellion broke out in Estonia in 1343, unrest spread to the Livonians of Sigulda, who elected a king and called on the Lithuanian chieftain Algirdas for help (1345). But, as in Estonia, the revolt was soon suppressed. The decline of the Livonians and their language had begun. (4)

NOTES

1. See map in article by V.Luho in Hajdú 1976, p.121.
2. Pagasts is a Latvian administrative district or civil parish.
3. Latviešu enciklopēdijs (1955), p.1459.
4. For further information about early mediaeval Livonian history see Alvre 1984, p.335 and 538; Moora in Moora (ed.) 1956; Tarvel 1983, p.223; Tõnisson 1982; Tõnisson 1970, p.461; Tõnisson 1977, p.446; Linnus 1982, p.85; Ariste in Moora (ed.) 1956, p.5.

1.2 Cultural determiners of Livonian

1.2.1 The study of Livonian in modern times

The study of the Livonian language and culture was, until the nineteenth century, exclusively the province of outsiders, representatives of a cosmopolitan and educated class to which no Livonian serf could hope to aspire. Even among scholars, the kinship of the Livonians with other peoples was something that was only very slowly established. By the late seventeenth century it was generally accepted that Estonian, Finnish and Livonian formed a linguistic group. (1) By about 1730 the concept of Finno-Ugrian affinity as we know it today had been established by scholars working in Germany, Russia and Sweden, and in 1770 Sajnovics produced his "Demonstratio" of the relationship between Hungarian and Lapp, which was to pave the way for further comparative-historical studies, beginning with Schlözer's work the following year, which did actually take account of Livonian and its affinity with other Baltic-Finnic languages. Several decades were to pass, however, before the serious linguistic study of the nature and taxonomy of that affinity was started by A.J.Sjögren. (2)

In the eighteenth century, interest increased in Livonian as an object of study, when priests and others working in the spirit of the Enlightenment, notably among the Baltic German nobility, began to collect and publish samples of Livonian speech. Notable among these were A.L.Schlözer, A.W.Hupel, L.J.Börger, H.Jannau and F.Kruse. The first publication of a Livonian text was by G.Bergmann (Das Gebeth des Herrn oder

Vaterunersammlung in hundert zwey und fünfzig Sprachen, Ruien 1789).

Despite this accumulation of material, study of the Livonian language was, until the mid-nineteenth century, of a haphazard and 'philanthropic' character, which did not allow a systematic survey of Livonian, incorporating phonology, grammar and vocabulary. In the middle of the last century, however, the Livonian language came into the orbit of study of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences, thanks to which the systematic study of the language by specialist linguists began.

On the basis of much more extensive research, the Finnish scholar M.A.Castrén presented a more detailed account of the taxonomy of the Finno-Ugric linguistic relationship in his lectures delivered at Alexander's University (Helsinki) in 1851 and published posthumously in 1857. He regarded only the southern Finns (hämäläiset) as forming a linguistic group with the Vepsians, Votes, Estonians and Livonians within the larger Finnic family. Castrén's taxonomy owed a debt to Sjögren. But later scholars disagreed as to the closeness of relationship within the group. Hunfalvy in Hungary saw Veps and Livonian as especially close, whereas Y.Koskinen in Finland aligned Livonian with Karelian. Another Finn, Otto Donner, traced the movement of the Finnic peoples through a comparison of phonology, morphology and vocabulary. His claim that Livonian was closely related to both Lapp and Veps was later refuted by E.N.Setälä and Lauri Kettunen.

The exhaustive fieldwork carried out by these latter scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has served to establish the fairly general agreement that exists

today on the nature of the relationship between the Baltic-Finnic languages. Kettunen, in particular, paid attention to the results of interaction between the Finnic and Baltic peoples, as seen in the phonology, morphology and vocabulary of the Livonian language of the present day.

In the early nineteenth century the Livonians themselves began to contribute to the recording of their language. At the time of Sjögren's (1846 and 1852) and Wiedemann's (1858) field trips among the Livonians, there was no generally agreed orthography. But the Livonian language, in both its eastern and western dialects, was soon to appear in printed form. Unlike the Vepsians and Ingrians, for example, who had to wait until the twentieth century for any kind of 'literary language' to be formulated, the Livonians had their first book printed as early as 1863. (3) This was the Gospel according to St Matthew, published in London by the British and Foreign Bible Society at the instigation of Louis Bonaparte. The translators were the schoolmaster of Koštrõg village, Nika Pollmann (a speaker of the eastern dialect) and Jan Prinz and his two sons, of Piza village (western dialect). These latter had in fact served as informants to Sjögren and Wiedemann, who probably inspired them to take on the work of translating. (4) Wiedemann certainly assisted with the editing of the text. The total edition in the eastern and western dialects was 250 copies. Not surprisingly, the orthography follows that of Wiedemann, using a system of 36 letters, including use of diacritical marks.

This was not to signal the flowering of a Livonian literary language, however. Sjögren had already died in 1855, Wiedemann's

interests turned elsewhere, Nika Pollmann was forced to leave the coast, and the Prinz family split up, with some moving to Ventspils. (5) However, there was another edition of Matthew's Gospel in 1880, this time with a German-based orthography (like that of contemporary Latvian), which was nowhere near as faithful to the phonetic system of Livonian as Wiedemann's method. Not until the publication of the first Livonian reader in 1921 was Wiedemann's influence restored.

NOTES

1. Setälä, 'Lisiä suomalais-ugrilaisen kielitutkimuksen historiaan', quoted in Ariste 1956.
2. Branch 1973; see especially pp.23 - 33.
3. In fact a mass in Latvian, Estonian and Livonian had been printed in Lübeck as long ago as 1525, but had been destroyed by order of the authorities. (Kirby 1990, p.94)
4. Väveri 1965, p.209.
5. Väveri (1965) notes that Nika Pollmann (1817 - 1903) was still a well-known historical figure to some living Livonians, and that the last of the Prinz family known in the district had left as recently as 1956. (Väveri 1965, p.213)

1.2.2 Livonians in the twentieth century

The Livonians of modern times have lived in twelve villages on the Courland peninsula (see map): Vaid, Sānag, Pitrõg, Koštrõg, Īre, Sīkrõg, and Ūžkila belonged to the Dundaga manorial estates, and are now incorporated in Talsi rayon in Latvia; whereas Ira, Piza, and Lūž formed part of the Pope estates; their administrative centre is now Ventspils (Vānta in Livonian), further to the south. The age of these villages has not been determined precisely, but Ūžkila ('New-village'), Vaid and Koštrõg appear to be the most recently established. (1) Lauri Posti, in his Grundzüge der livischen Lautgeschichte, pointed out that the name Yrwa is recorded from 1387, and the names Gro Irwen and Klein Irwen from 1583 (Latv. Lielirbe and Mazirbe respectively). (2) Kūolka and Mustanumm are at the northern tip.

The topography of the peninsula is characterised by a sandy coastline, with some woodland further inland. Beyond that the land is somewhat marshy. The main livelihood of the villages was fishing, and the cultivation carried on in the villages was purely for subsistence, in the modest gardens and fields that surrounded most of the houses. Beyond the confines of the villages, pine-forests grew.

Much of what is known of the social life and amenities of the Livonian villages has been recorded by linguistic researchers - for instance the description of Kostrog village given by Katriń Zēberg (1877 - 1964) and reproduced by Eduard Vääri (3). Further glimpses of everyday Livonian life are to be found in the readers produced in Tartu between 1921 and 1926.

The remaining villages are virtually deserted now. Since the

incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union in 1940 and the socio-economic reorganisation that that implied, two major factors have brought about the rapid decline of the Livonian villages. The collectivisation of the fishing industry centralised fishing activity (on the villages of Ire and Kolka). Moreover, the area took on strategic importance for the Soviet defence forces in the Baltic, and the peninsula was depopulated.

The forced removal of the Livonians from their home villages is nothing new in this century. Deportations also took place during the First and Second World Wars, though with a high rate of return after the First War. This disruption to their way of life in turn restricted the amount of material gathered, not only by linguists, but also by ethnographers such as the Finn Ilmari Manninen and the Estonian Oskar Loorits. During the inter-war period, however, much material of ethnographic interest was gathered in field trips by the Estonian ethnographer Ferdinand Linnus of Tartu University. His last trip was in 1939, in conjunction with the opening of the Livonian House, a centre for Livonian culture which enjoyed a very brief existence before the outbreak of the war. Linnus and other researchers were conscious that they were dealing with a culture that was fast disappearing, and with that in mind they attempted to record as much as possible of contemporary Livonian material culture. Linnus and another Estonian, V.Parvel, even made a film about everyday Livonian life in 1939, called Päevi liivi rannikuil (Days on the Livonian coast) (4), aimed at a general audience.

Under the difficult circumstances that have prevailed since the Second World War, little of modern Livonian material culture

has been preserved. Some of the linguistic informants who have assisted in research (notably Pētõr Damberg and Hilda Cerbach, living in an entirely Latvian-speaking environment) have been active in the cultural sphere, but the preservation of relics of the Livonian way of life has fallen mainly to outsiders such as Eduard Vääri and Dr F. Linnus, as well as Jüri Linnus, from Estonia - though one Livonian, the former director of the Ventspils Folk Museum, August Šulcs, should be mentioned in this connection. Jüri Linnus has made a detailed study of Livonian domestic life and architecture. (5)

In the field of folklore studies, there is a relative wealth of material from Sjögren onwards, through notes by Setälä, E.A.Saarimaa and Kettunen from Finland, but particularly in the solid work of the Estonian scholar Oskar Loorits, in his Liivi rahva usund (Lore of the Livonian People), based on material collected between 1920 and 1936. More recently there have appeared some shorter studies, such as the account by the Estonian Herbert Tampere of the custom of "waking the birds". (6) In this account he observed that when the accompanying songs were first recorded, in the twenties and thirties of this century, it was already the case that only the older generation had a full enough command of the language to be able to perform the few genuine surviving Livonian songs, nearly all the sung repertoire being in any case translated from Latvian. Tampere notes a direct correspondence between the form of more recent Livonian songs and that of the Latvian ziņģes or short ballads. He also records details of songs intended to invoke success in fishing. Latvians of North Kurzeme (Courland, around Ventspils and in the Tamian

dialect area adjacent to the Livonians) are also known, according to Tampere, to have sung songs for "driving the birds" (putnu dzišana). (7) The parallels between these apparently quite ancient Latvian and Livonian ritual songs have provided rich material for ethnomusicological study.

The systematic collection of ethnographic material from the present-day Livonian area was only resumed in earnest by Estonian scholars in 1967, under the aegis of the Ethnographic Museum of the former Estonian SSR. The work mainly involves photography and drawing of buildings and objects and collecting material of cultural interest; the ethnographer Jüri Linnus has recently advocated extending the scope of research by providing all known surviving Livonians with a detailed questionnaire about their family connections, social contacts, linguistic knowledge and habits, beliefs and other relevant information. This could indeed be an invaluable aid to the preservation of our knowledge of the Livonians.

NOTES

1. Vääri in Linnus & Peterson (eds.) 1970, p.170.
2. Posti 1942, p.267.
3. Vääri, op.cit., p.171.
4. J.Linnus 1982, p.85.
5. J.Linnus in Linnus & Peterson (eds.) 1970, pp.176-92.
6. Tampere in Linnus & Peterson (eds.) 1970, pp.193 - 219.
7. Tampere, op.cit., p.208.
8. J.Linnus 1982, p.86.

1.2.3 Social structure of the Livonian community

At the beginning of this century, the twelve Livonian villages were quite isolated. (1) There was intercourse virtually only with the inland Latvians (with whom they exchanged fish for grain) and with two towns (fish was sold in Riga and Ventspils) - as well as occasionally with the Estonians of Saaremaa. Such contact did not involve the presence of Latvians in the Livonian villages. In 1850 the Latvians made up only 0.27% of the total population. Most of the Livonian villages were situated on the Dundaga estate lands, except the three westernmost, which formed part of the Pope estates. But economic changes in Latvia in the second half of the nineteenth century - part of the development of the Russian Empire in general after the emancipation of the serfs - affected the Livonians too. Changes in the marketing of fish particularly affected the Eastern Livonian villages. Income increased appreciably with the new methods, not only for the fisherfolk themselves but for the Dundaga estate-owners. Rent agreements were oral and for short terms. This made it possible for the landowners to raise rents freely. The coastal Livonians paid three times as much rent as peasants in adjacent State-owned lands, and in 1859 it was raised further. This led to a sharp conflict between peasants and landowners. The peasants refused to pay the higher rents and turned to the Tsar for help. Despite rumours of a proposed agrarian reform, the Dundaga estate owners resettled them among Latvians in inland villages. Latvian families took over their holdings. Thus an ethnic mixture appeared in the east Livonian villages. Latvians, with their own tools and artefacts, lived amongst the Livonians. The movement

of Latvians to these villages was not uniform. At the beginning of this century there were more Latvians in Pitrog, Ire and Ūžkila villages than elsewhere. In the villages belonging to the Pope estates, resettlement had not occurred and therefore there were fewer Latvians. At the beginning of the century there was an appreciable number of them only in Piza.

Rented homes were about a hundred in number, spread fairly evenly among the eastern and western villages. Since most of these included their own grazing or arable land, they were self-sufficient and could be worked by family members. Hired help was rare. They also had their own fishing-boats, and the catch was, as mentioned earlier, sold or bartered to Latvians from inland. More recently established homesteads had smaller areas of arable land, thus increasing the necessity to supplement the domestic economy by fishing.

Another social group was the owners of smallholdings, called in Livonian piški-tubanik ('small-house-owner') in the eastern villages, where they predominated, or ūd-budnik ('new-tenant') in the western villages. At the beginning of this century there were over a hundred such households. Land was granted to them by the estates, and they provided useful labour for forestry work.

There was also a third social grouping, the korternik ('house/block-dweller'). In these larger dwellings, up to six families might live under one roof. Each family had a separate agreement with the owner, providing not only living space and shelter but also a plot for cultivation, and grazing land for the animals which many of the tenants owned. Each family was obliged to do a set amount of work in rotation. These families, too,

generally possessed fishing equipment. They also provided labour when necessary on other people's land at harvest time, or for other tasks. But this group was dwindling by the beginning of this century, as most aspired to own or rent their own homes and work separate plots of land. Seasonal workers from the Estonian island of Saaremaa visited the Livonian villages in considerable numbers in summer, and helped, for example, with the fishing catch. The isolation of the Livonian vilages helped to maintain well into the present century a social structure which elsewhere in Latvia and Estonia had already become obsolete.

Relations between the Livonians and surrounding nations (Latvians, Estonians, Finns) have during this century largely reflected the changing political features of those nations. They are chronicled in Väinö Kyrölä's book Suomalaiset liiviläisten asialla (Finns in the Livonians' cause), written from the point of view of those Finns who were trying to promote the preservation of Livonian culture through such organs as the Heimoklubi ('Kindred Nations' Club'). (2) When the German army arrived in the Courland poeninsula in July 1915, driving out the Russian administration, some Livonians remained in their homeland. After repelling the Russian attack during the autumn, the Germans fortified the coastline and ordered the Livonians to move inland. It was only after the declaration of peace between Russia and Germany in spring 1918 that those Livonians who remained alive had a chance to return. They found their homes burned, pillaged and looted, and their fishing equipment broken or stolen. Later that year, in November 1918, the independent state of Latvia was created, although some of the exiled

Livonians were prevented by the civil war from returning.

In the summer of 1920 Professor Lauri Kettunen of Tartu University, together with Oskar Loorits, paid his first visit to the Livonians. Kettunen later recalled that it was his meeting with Karl Stalte that provided the inspiration for his zealous work on the Livonians' behalf. (3)

Karl Stalte had studied and worked in Riga, but had returned to take over the family farm on his father's death. He began writing poetry in Livonian and making active efforts to preserve Livonian culture - something which has become a family tradition, as the Stalte family ensemble is still touring and performing traditional Livonian music to this day.

As a result of Kettunen's visit, the Tartu Academic Society for the Mother-Tongue (Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts) made the intellectual and material support of Livonians one of its objects. It undertook to subsidise the education of young Livonians and to publish literature in Livonian. A Livonian Association (Līvõd Ìt) held its inaugural meeting on 2 April 1923. Later that year permission was given by the Ministry of Education to provide one hour's tuition in Livonian a week as an optional subject in the five schools.

Thanks to the efforts of Professor Kettunen on his return to Finland, interest in the Livonian cause was being fostered, and funds were provided through the Finnish Embassy in Riga for the Livonian Association to build a cultural centre, the 'Livonian House'. Further preparations for its construction were delayed by the development of intense Latvian nationalism, especially after Ulmanis' seizure of absolute power in 1934. The

Livonian cause became a political issue when the Suomalaisuuden Liitto (Finnish Culture League) tried to intervene with the Latvian Government on the Livonians' behalf in 1937. Apart from Uli Būntik-Kīnkamāg, nicknamed 'King of the Livonians', who single-handedly carried on a campaign of passive resistance to the authority of the Latvian Government and died in prison in 1932, there was not much active opposition to Latvian government policy from Livonians themselves. In fact, despite a certain degree of harrassment and censorship, from 1931 onwards a Livonian-language periodical, Livli ('The Livonian') appeared. This was a duplicated monthly newsletter, edited (from September 1933) by Stalte. It contained some creative writing, including adaptations of hymns, local news, and occasional articles encouraging the fostering of the language. From 1934 to 1937 its contents was closely monitored and censored by the Latvian Government, who insisted on a translation of each issue into Latvian. The journal was distributed free among the Livonians, and relied on subsidies, mainly from the Finnish Literature Society (Helsinki). The last issue appeared in August 1939.

Fund-raising for the Livonian House was also initiated in Finland, but some of the money was provided by the Latvian Government in 1933, and by 1935 funds were arriving from Hungary, thanks to the publicity work of Suomalaisuuden Liitto, followed by further grants from the Estonian and Finnish Governments in 1936 and 1937. The foundation stone was laid in October 1938, and the official inauguration ceremony was held on 6 August 1939. An inscription on the building read, in the five relevant languages, "This house was built by the Livonians with the help of their

fatherland Latvia and the related nations of Finland, Estonia and Hungary."

The outbreak of the Second World War, however, prevented any opportunities for the Livonian community to make use of their new focal point. The ensuing German and Soviet occupations dispersed the population from their native villages once again, many of them going abroad never to return. The Livonian House subsequently became a meeting-house for the local (Latvian) fishing collective, but fell into disuse and disrepair for a long period. In 1982 it was acquired from the collective by the Slītere Nature Reserve, and major restoration work was carried out in time for the 50th anniversary of its inauguration, in August 1989, the ceremonies being attended by representatives of the by now much depleted and dispersed Livonian-speaking population of Latvia.

The cultural life of the Livonian community, despite its dispersal, is by no means definitely at an end. At the time of writing, the recently constituted Livonian Cultural Association (Līvōd Kultūr Īt) has resumed publication of annual Livonian almanacs, last produced in 1939, and late in 1991 radio programmes in Livonian and Latvian, produced by the Association, began to be heard on the first network of Latvian Radio on a regular basis.

NOTES

1. T.Linnus, 'Kuramaa liivlaste sotsiaalne struktuur 20. sajandi algul', LSEK 1982, pp.67-9.
2. Kyrölä 1979, p.1.
3. Kettunen 1948, p.141.

1.3 Livonian in the context of Latvian

1.3.1 History of the Latvian-speaking area

Latvian is one of the Baltic group of the Indo-European language family. The Baltic and Slavonic languages are sometimes grouped together under the common term 'Balto-Slavic' owing to their similarities, but these similarities may be due more to later mutual influence than to a close genetic affiliation. There was once a Western and an Eastern branch of the Baltic group, but the sole member of the West Baltic branch, Old Prussian, became extinct some three hundred years ago. Both East Baltic languages, Latvian and Lithuanian, survive to this day. The standard literary languages of both Latvia and Lithuania have developed as a synthesis of various dialects. In the case of Latvian the principal ingredient was the language of the Lettgallians (in eastern Vidzeme and Latgale provinces), who gradually expanded beyond their original settlements and absorbed elements of the languages of the closely related Selonians (or Selians) and Semigallians (or Zemgallians) and the Curonians. On the provenance of the Curonians see chapter 1.1; their language may have been either a Baltic or a Baltic-Finnic one. The process of expansion seems to have taken place by the late thirteenth century; according to Velta Rūķe-Draviņa, the Latvian language occupied more or less the territory of present-day Latvia by the seventeenth century. (1)

We know from runic inscriptions found on Latvian soil that there was contact between the Scandinavians and the Balts. They are found near the Daugava (Western Dvina) and Venta rivers, as well as in Zemgale province. One example, dated around 1030,

mentions 'Livonia'. These contacts, and the later Swedish rule in the seventeenth century, account for two strata in the Scandinavian-based vocabulary of Latvian. Excavations made at Jersika on the Daugava, a settlement dating from the tenth to thirteenth centuries, have revealed relics of an almost purely indigenous nature, indicating that although the area was under Russian administration at the time, cultural influences from the east were slight.

On purely linguistic evidence it is difficult to date the first contacts between speakers of Baltic and Finnic languages, but whereas it was once thought that Baltic loans in the Finnic languages first appeared about 500 BC, some linguists have more recently claimed that they may be a thousand years older. (2) Naturally in the case of Latvian and Livonian, though, where continuous contact has lasted up to the present day, we may expect the bulk of the borrowed vocabulary to be much more recent.

Baltic influence on Finnic languages can be seen on other levels too, notably in grammatical structure and the phonetic system, as Ancitis and Jansons point out. (3) These authors attempt to demonstrate that, for instance, stress on initial syllables, the avoidance of initial consonant clusters and of voiced initial consonants, and the weakening or conversion of sibilants to aspirants in certain environments ($s > h$) were simply phenomena which occurred despite, rather than because of, Balt influence. (In fact, in the case of initial syllable stress, which is also found in modern Latvian, the influence may well have come the other way.)

In mediaeval times, when contacts between Latvian- and Livonian-speaking populations are first documented with any certainty, the Livonians occupied the four territories mentioned in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia: the banks of the Daugava, Thoreida, Metsepole and Ydumea. Toponyms in these areas suggest strongly that Latvians and Livonians were at that time already living in close proximity.

That the Livonian-speaking territory did not extend to the borders of Novgorod is suggested by the fact that the Russian word *Либѣ* - mentioned in Nestor's Chronicle - contains the *l* of Latvian *lībietis*, and is thus apparently a borrowing from Latvian rather than from Livonian. These *Либѣ* are mentioned as living among *Лѣтъгола*, and thus presumably included the Livonians of Vidzeme. These 'Latgalian' were the Baltic-speaking inhabitants of the territory known as Ydumea. The northern boundary of the Livonian-speaking territory, as already suggested, is not precisely known, but probably extended to the borders of Estonian-speaking territory.

Generally speaking, then, mixed communities of Latvian and Livonian speakers can be said to have existed since mediaeval times, and this is confirmed by census details from the seventeenth century. By the time of the survey of 1638 (4), the Latvians were very much in a majority in Vidzeme, yet place-names of apparent Livonian provenance were still numerous, and Livonians were widely, though sparsely, settled in the region.

The reasons for the decline of Livonian in Vidzeme may not be purely sociolinguistic. During, and even before, the Northern Crusades (from the late twelfth century), plundering raids by

other peoples (for instance Scandinavians and Lithuanians) seem to have reduced the population, followed by large-scale conscription into the armies of the Brothers of the Sword, which took a heavy toll. Natural disasters played a part too: we know that plague swept through Vidzeme in 1551, 1606, 1657 and worst of all in 1710, with a particularly heavy loss of life in the Livonian-speaking region, where, however, by that time Latvian speakers also lived. (5)

Nevertheless, the reasons why Livonian lost ground must have been primarily social. We have seen some of the effects of the feudal system on the Livonians of Courland; but in Vidzeme, too, social conditions must have hastened the demise of Livonian. For instance, when the estate owner at Svetciems had divided up 260 Livonians among Latvian farmers, the priest at Lielsalaca forbade from the pulpit the speaking of Livonian or teaching it to children. Instances like this are recorded in the notes of observers such as Sjögren, too. Ancitis and Jansons observe that such a ban could only be effective among an already bilingual population. That the German landowning class was indifferent to the cause of the Livonian language among the peasants is demonstrated, they argue, by the absence of corresponding catechisms and religious texts in Livonian at a time when the Lutheran church was propagating its message in the peasants' Latvian. (6)

NOTES

1. Rūķe-Draviņa 1977, p 1. The names of the peoples given in brackets are those favoured by her.
2. See chapter 1.1.2.

3. Ancītis & Jansons, in Rakstu krājums 5, Rīga 1963, p.40.
4. Ancītis & Jansons, op.cit, p.41.
5. Ancītis & Jansons, op.cit, p.46.
6. ibid.

1.3.2 Livonian and its neighbours

From the foregoing it will be evident that the Livonian-speaking area was once far more extensive than it has been during the recorded history of the language, and that there have been complex interethnic relations over a long period. The linguistic evidence for these relations has only been sought relatively recently, however.

Contact between Latvian and Livonian has been most intensive in the so-called Tamian dialects of Kurzeme province. Ruke-Dravina gives the following examples of the ways Livonian has, through these dialects, influenced the standard language:

1. In the vocabulary, by a number of Livonian loanwords (such as bojā iet 'to perish', bojāt 'to ruin', kāzas 'wedding' laulāt 'to marry', bura 'sail', launags 'noon, noon meal', karaša 'bread, flat loaf of coarse dark flour', kāls '30 pieces'.

2. In grammar, by developing some characteristic features which are absent in Lithuanian, for example, the syntactic model for expressing possession, as in man ir grāmata 'to me is book' instead of the model on old Latvian es turu grāmatu 'I have book'; compare Lithuanian aš turiu knygą.

3. In phraseology, where many peculiarities have survived (such as ģerbt mugurā 'to put on (a dress)', lit. 'dress on (the) back', likt cepuri galvā 'to put on (a) hat', lit. 'put hat on (the) head', vilkt cimdus rokā 'to put on gloves,, lit. 'draw gloves on (the) hand', kert rokā 'to catch', lit. 'catch in (the) hand'.

Latvian has been slow to standardise, and differences between dialects have been very marked until recent times.

Latvian linguists have traditionally distinguished between two broad groups of dialects: High and Low. Low Latvian consists of the Central and the Tamian dialects (see map). For geographical, cultural and commercial reasons, the standard language of today is based heavily on the Central dialect. Purists have also favoured the Central dialect for the relatively slight Finnic and Slavic influence on it. The Central dialect includes the important cultural centres of Jelgava and Riga.

The Latvian vernacular has always existed under pressure from the language of the dominant political and cultural powers in the country's history. The earliest traceable influences are Baltic-Finnic (their age is open to debate, but archaeological evidence for the first contacts suggests the second millennium BC). Later came, in their turn, Latin, Low German, Standard German, Russian, Polish, Swedish, and most recently, Russian again. All these languages have left their mark on Latvian vocabulary, phraseology and syntax. Normative influences did not begin to appear clearly before the publication of the first grammars and dictionaries in the middle of the seventeenth century. Shortly thereafter the Bible was first published in Latvian (New Testament in 1685, Old Testament in 1689 and the Apocrypha in 1694). Little else appeared in Latvian for the next century and a half; thus, Biblical language provided the written norm, including the orthography. Not until 1856 did a literary work appear which attempted to establish a literary norm of its own. The folk tradition consisted of oral poetry.

In his book Die lettische Sprache und ihre Dialekte, Alfreds Gätters uses the terms Dialekte and Mundart to distinguish between

two kinds of geographical variant of Latvian. (2) Such a distinction is difficult to make in English, but for want of better, the terms 'dialect' and 'subdialect' respectively will be used here for Gaters' basic classification of Latvian variants (dialekts and izloksne respectively in Latvian).

Latvian falls into three main dialects: Central (vidus dialekts), Tamian (tāmnieku dialekts) and High Latvian (augšzemnieku dialekts). The Tamian dialect includes the subdialects spoken in western Kurzeme and northwest Vidzeme. Very close to these subdialects are those spoken in the vicinity of Rujiena. (See the accompanying map of Latvian dialects.)

In the Tamian dialect one can observe, to a greater extent than in other Latvian dialects, the influence of Baltic-Finnic languages, because Livonians lived for many centuries among Latvians in this region. Even in very recent times there have been speakers of Livonian in Ance and Dundaga.

At the time when Latvian, Livonian and possibly also Curonian were spoken on the present territory of the Tamian dialect, and later, too, when Latvian superseded Livonian, certain features of the Livonian language were transferred into Latvian. This is one reason, apart from the geographical one, why some linguists refer to the Tamian dialect as the 'Livonian'.

Marta Rudzīte says in Latviešu dialektoloģija of the Tamian dialect:

The subdialects spoken in northwest Vidzeme are not quite like the subdialects of north Kurzeme. This can be explained by the fact that the basis for each group of subdialects consisted of different groups of Latvian

subdialects crossed with the Livonian language, which likewise had its own peculiarities in Vidzeme and Kurzeme.

(3)

In general, there are fewer differences between the Central and Tamian dialects than between either of these and High Latvian, which uses a markedly different sound system, and has distinct grammatical and lexical features. Endzelins and Rudzite therefore both speak of 'High' and 'Low' Latvian in general terms. It should be borne in mind that this is a geographical and not a sociological set of terms.

There are historical reasons for these sharp differences. The period of Polish administration (1629 - 1772) caused the administrative separation of the High Latvian area from the rest of the Latvian-speaking territory. The social organisation of Latvia in past centuries also restricted the intermingling of peasant populations and was thus conducive to the preservation of dialect features. In the eighteenth century, peasants lost their own land and the right to leave feudal estates - a process we have already seen in microcosm among the Livonian speakers.

No description will be attempted here of the variations from the standard literary language of any dialects other than the Tamian. The Tamian dialect, though, is worth investigating in more detail, for it contains features which are characteristic of Livonian rather than Latvian.

The term 'Tamian', in the strict sense, applies to the group of subdialects spoken in Kurzeme province. It derives from a characteristic word for 'until now' (tām), used instead of the standard phrase līdz tam or līdz šim. Research by Endzelins and

Grisle indicates that the Courlanders, the putative original speakers of this dialect, lived not only on the Courland peninsula but also in western 'Livonia', Riga and the Lielvarde and Skriveri areas along the Daugava river.

Tamian and Livonian share many features of phonology and intonation. The Tamian subdialects contain the same consonants as the Latvian literary language: b, c, č, ʒ, ž, d, f, g, ģ, k, ķ, l, ļ, m, n, ņ, Ņ, p, r, s, š, t, v, z, ž. In addition, one group of Tamian subdialects has the palatalised consonants ć, ź, á, í, ń, ń́, ń́́, ń́́́ (ń, ń́, ń́́, ń́́́ are at least functionally, if not phonemically, distinct from ļ, ņ, Ņ, š in the standard language, occurring in particular environments).

Livonian possesses nearly all the same consonants, including the palatalised ones, though some are lexically infrequent. [f] is found only in loanwords in both languages. (See Part 2, note 3.1.1.)

In the Tamian subdialects, partly voiced consonants are also recognised, apparently under the influence of Livonian (for examples siš < sitiš '(he) will strike' in Dundaga. (For the occurrence of partly voiced consonants in Livonian see Part 2, note 3.2.1.1.)

Studies of individual subdialects have tended to concentrate on features of phonology and intonation, as these exhibit the most marked variation from the standard language. Lexical features indicating links with Livonian are only mentioned in reference to phonological features: for instance, in his study of the Svētdciems subdialect (4), Putniņš notes the relative frequency of the sound [o] (not native to standard Latvian), and

several of his examples indicate Baltic-Finnic borrowings (koñ 'frog', kotk 'sea-eagle').

Other phonological features of those subdialects which are adjacent or near to present-day Livonian territory include gender reduction or apocope, weakening of unstressed vowels, lengthened unvoiced final consonants or compensation before voiced final consonants with lengthened stressed vowels - all features attributable to Livonian.

The studies of individual subdialects (Stende, Svētciems, Dundaga, Pope, Vainaži, Puze; for details see bibliography) reveal that all of them possess at least two, and those closest to present-day Livonian territory possess all, of the following three types of intonation; extended, broken and broken-falling. They are known in Latvian as stieptā, lauztā and (lauzti) krītošā intonācija. The 'extended intonation', characteristic of the Central dialect (basis of the standard language) is in most cases weakly rising. The 'broken' intonation, which corresponds to both the broken and the falling intonation in the Central dialect, is rising-falling with a weakening of voice in the middle of the vowel (in diphthongs generally during the course of transition). The weakening of voice, which usually begins the falling part, is accompanied by an abrupt fall in tone. In slow and precise enunciation, the weakening of voice can be replaced by a momentary occlusion of the glottis. The weakening or occlusion is followed by a new strengthening of the voice, accompanied by a less abrupt descent than during the weakening.

Broken-falling is a type of intonation caused by a fall in the following syllable. It arises from broken intonation before

a voiced consonant, and differs only in having a longer falling part. (5)

These observations apply generally to word-initial syllables, for two reasons: a. Latvian shares with Livonian and the other Baltic-Finnic languages (and some other Uralic and Altaic languages) the feature of stress on the first syllable; b. apocope and vowel-weakening in unstressed syllables mean that non-initial syllables have little or no scope for variation in intonation types.

Standard Latvian and most Latvian dialects use a binary system of intonation: rising versus falling or broken; that is rising/non-rising. But in the Tamian dialects the opposition is rather extended versus broken. More specifically, though, in Dundaga and Pope, four types can be distinguished: rising, broken, broken-falling and rising-falling. These two latter types occur in words where a final vowel has been lost, in long and (originally) short syllables respectively, for example (broken-falling:) Dundaga lā'v, Liv. lō'v 'bench in a steam bath'; (rising-falling:) Dundaga tūm, Liv. tu'm 'oat porridge'. The Livonian feature of lengthened vowels under stress before the voiced consonants [l], [m], [n], [r] occurs extensively in the Dundaga subdialect as well.

It is these four types which are also encountered in Livonian. Because of the similar stress patterns of Latvian and Livonian, the correspondence between intonation types in Dundaga and Pope Tamian and Livonian is so close that with their help Suhonen was able to identify precisely the source of some loans. He thus concludes that the intonation system of Livonian is

borrowed from Latvian (Talian), as were many lexical loans. (6)
In a wider context, Lehiste (1988) has perceived the parallel development of the Latvian and Livonian stress and tone systems as evidence of their inclusion in a Baltic Sprachbund, one whose existence had been posited, on phonological grounds, by Jakobson in 1931 (7).

It is interesting to note that the only other language in Europe that possesses 'broken tone' (or stød) is also spoken in the Baltic littoral region, namely Danish. This coincidence was first noted by the Danish linguist Vilhelm Thomsen; his observations will be considered in more detail in the next chapter. In a study comparing the Danish and Livonian phenomena of stød, Wiik (1989) comments:

The general conditions of occurrence for the stød in Livonian and Danish are similar: It should have the "stød basis" (i.e. the sounds carrying the stød should be voiced) and the syllable carrying the stød should be long; in addition, the stød is more likely to occur in distinctly articulated speech and in words having primary sentence stress. (8)

In his study Wiik compares seven previous accounts of the possible origin of Livonian "stød", starting with Kettunen's work of 1925, and propounds his own "Syllable Boundary" theory as to its origin:

According to this theory the stød is a "remnant of a syllable boundary". This means that originally (i.e. in Late Proto Finnic and Proto Germanic) there was a syllable boundary in front of each CV sequence. If there was a sound

change that altered the CV sequence, the phonetic manifestations of the syllable boundary remained in the original position but they were no more perceived to function as a syllable boundary; when originally between the first and second syllables, the old syllable boundary became a *stød*. The five most common sound changes that had this effect in Livonian are (1) loss of the second syllable vowel (apocope and syncope), (2) loss of the consonant at the beginning of the second syllable, (3) gemination of the consonant between the first and second syllables, (4) the palatalization and velarization of the consonant between the first and second syllables becoming an independent vowel segment, and (5) the metathesis of the vowel and consonant in the second syllable. (9)

For each of these sound changes Wiik compares modern Livonian words with their reconstructed Late Proto-Finnic counterparts. Thus it is possible to account for many of the phonological phenomena that are characteristic not only of modern Livonian, but also to varying degrees of the contiguous Latvian dialects, in terms of a continuous process of sound change reaching back to Proto-Finnic.

NOTES

1. Rūķe-Draviņa 1977, p.18.
2. Gāters 1974, p.13.
3. Rudzīte 1964, p.149.
4. Putniņš 1935, pp. 55 - 79.
5. For a graphic representation of these features, see the 'kymographic' reproduction from Kettunen 1925.

6. Suhonen 1973, p.16.
7. Lehiste 1988, pp.67 - 69.
8. Wiik 1989, p.114 (English summary).
9. Wiik 1989, p.116 (English summary).

(Following page:) Kymographic plates reproduced from Kettunen 1925, plates I - III. I. 'Broken voice' ('Der Stimmbruch'). Ia: in long vowels. Fig. Ib: between vowels. Fig. Ic: before a voiceless stop. Fig. Id (containing the words pu'dden ff., notation not visible in the photographic plate) before a voiced stop. Fig. Ie: before a liquid. Fig. If: elsewhere within a word. II. Final stops. Fig. IIa (commencing within the word kurk): voiceless ('tenuisklusile'). Fig. IIb: voiceless ('mediae'). III. Geminates. Fig. IIIa - IIIb: after a short syllabic sonant. Fig. IIIc - IIIe: after a long syllabic sonant and after a consonant. Fig. IIIf: after a vowel with 'broken voice'.

1.3.3 Lexical borrowing

The gathering of evidence of mutual influence between Latvian and Livonian is hampered by some serious omissions in the material available on the subject, and by the difficulty of determining the direction of borrowing. A major obstacle to a balanced survey of the lexical and phonological links between them is that few studies of the lexical elements, and hardly any of the phonological, have been conducted by scholars with a sufficient grasp of both languages to identify such links.

The published studies of individual Latvian dialects, notably those in the journal of the Philological Society of the inter-war period in Latvia (*Filologu Biedribas Raksti*), do not acknowledge interaction with Livonian in any detail. The authoritative survey by Rudzīte, Latviešu dialektoloģija, makes frequent reference, in its treatment of the 'Livonian' dialect, to possible influences from Livonian on the adjacent subdialects, but even here no Livonian-language examples are given.

On the Baltic-Finnic side, there is a considerable amount of documentary material dealing with borrowings into Livonian and Estonian. The largest study is Seppo Suhonen's Die jungen lettischen Lehnwörter im Livischen (1973), dealing with lexical borrowings.

At one time it was generally held that Thomsen's Berøringer mellem de finske og de baltiske (litauisk-lettiske) Sprog (1891) had dealt exhaustively with the question of the mutual borrowings in the Baltic-Finnic and Baltic languages. Thomsen's work is one of the most thorough in its field and has remained until now the most important of the great studies of the relations between the

Balt and Baltic-Finnic languages; but many additions have been made to Thomsen's list of loans subsequently, by Latvian, Finnish and Estonian linguists, and reassessments have been made of many of Thomsen's claims. Thomsen was inclined to believe that, in the development of relations between the Baltic-Finnic and Balt peoples, one direction has prevailed: that is, the donor, the active side, was the Balt, and the recipient, the passive side, the Baltic-Finnic peoples, with only one exception: the Latvian language has accepted numerous Livonian loans. (1)

Generally speaking, the oldest Baltic-Finnic/Balt cognates are the most difficult to unravel in terms of direction of borrowing. Suhonen (1984) gives as an example the word cluster associated with Finnish heimo and kaima. (2) In his article Suhonen sets out to survey statistically the distribution and semantic features of attested Balt loanwords in the eight Baltic-Finnic languages. The number of words examined was 142 definite loans (179 including some examples in doubt). The distribution of the words among the languages is as follows: 35% were known in all eight languages; 10% in seven; 10% in six; 12% in five; 7% in four; 6% in three; 10% in two and 10% in one. Roughly the same number of borrowings is attested north and south of the Gulf of Finland, 68% on average.

Some apparent cognates have been discredited. The purported Balt borrowing into Baltic-Finnic, Est. mets, Liv. metsa, Finn. metsä, Kar. mečä, Vepsian mets, Vote mettsa cf. Lith. mėdis, Old Pruss. medjan, Latv. mežs has been discredited by J.J.Mikkola, J.Kalima and others, as has Finn. perkele 'devil', cf. Lith. perkunas, Latv. pērkons 'thunder', contrary to the earlier claims

of Thomsen.

Baltic borrowings into Livonian in particular encompass a fairly broad spectrum of reference, but Suhonen has been able to isolate certain particular areas in which Balt loans tend to cluster in the Baltic-Finnic languages generally. They are (in decreasing order of frequency): 1. Objects and implements; 2. Fauna; 3. People and human activities; 4. Flora; 5. Cattle and agriculture; 6. Weather phenomena; 7. Food; 8. Colours; 9. Belief systems.

This is admittedly a very broad range altogether, and taking into account the number of loans involved, is statistically insignificant. However, if we compare this with attested borrowings in the other direction, we find examples in rather more specific fields. K. Aben's article 'Eesti ja liivi laene läti sonavaras' (Estonian and Livonian borrowings in the Latvian vocabulary) specifies the terms of reference of Estonian and Livonian loans in Latvian in numerous sub-groupings under the following five broad heads: 1. Seafaring and associated fields; 2. Peasant life; 3. Society and the person; 4. Nature; 5. Pejoratives and insults. This also covers a fairly broad spectrum, and the number of borrowings (especially considering that relatively few of the words have been accepted into standard Latvian) hardly lends itself to statistical analysis. However, the nature of the loans does tend to bear out what we already know: that Balt loans in Finnic are mostly older than Finnic loans in Balt languages.

Some of the more recent Finnic loans, moreover, came through an external cultural intermediary. Aben notes the linguistic

evidence of the impact of Christianity:

That the conquering German 'Kulturträger' brought Christianity with fire and sword to the eastern coast of the Baltic, beginning with the Livonians, the first to accept Christianity, and that this activity only extended among the Latvians later, becomes more evident if we list the numerous Livonian loans in Latvian referring to Christian ritual and general Christian concepts. The German missionaries, living for an extended period among the Livonians, presumably learned their language to some extent, and later, continuing their activity among the Latvians, probably needed to refer to several Livonian terms. There may even have been some Livonian missionaries among those preaching the new faith to the Latvians. In any case, the Latvians adopted Livonian religious terminology along with Christianity. Thus Latv. laulāt 'marry' < Liv. lôlatte. (3)

Aben also notes, however, that the adoption of customs and the borrowing of words should be distinguished carefully; the loanword does not imply that the Livonians introduced church marriage to the Latvians.

In examining the list of Livonian and Estonian lexical loans in Latvian, one is first struck by the frequency of concepts dealing with seafaring and fishing. This is also understandable, since we know that the Livonians lived in the coastal area of Latvia, and were occupied with a maritime life. Naturally the Latvians, being inland dwellers, would have learned about seafaring and fishing through the Livonians, adopting Livonian

terminology in these fields of activity. That cultural influence has been deepest and most extensive in these particular fields is demonstrated by the large number of loanwords from them that have entered standard and literary Latvian. Though this number is not great in a relative sense, by far the greater proportion of those Estonian-Livonian words that have entered standard Latvian have been accepted to such an extent that they are no longer felt to be loanwords.

These words are interesting semantically, firstly because among them we find everyday concepts that evince far-reaching cultural contacts. A possible explanation for their presence in the Latvian language may be that the majority of Livonians were assimilated among the Latvians. The reason for the adoption of a word like maksāt may be that trade with payment became a general need with the establishment of estates and the institution of church tithes, which extended from the Livonian into the Latvian areas.

If we consult Suhonen's list of over two thousand loans, we find at least indications that borrowing in the other direction, Latvian into Livonian, has taken place in fields other than those referred to here, with Latvian borrowings into Livonian being fewer in the fields of seafaring, fishing and to some extent social customs than in other fields.

Church records can also help in tracing the Livonians' relations with other peoples, and giving us a glimpse of intermarriage. According to the Piltene vakuraamat (Piltene parish register), Estonian-speaking islanders had moved to settle in Livonian coastal villages as early as the second half of the

sixteenth century. A number of attested examples of this trend are to be found in church records, though only about those islanders who were registered for marriages, baptisms or funerals. (4)

The Livonians' social relations with other Baltic-Finnic peoples in more recent times have been restricted, but some of the words recorded by Suhonen in Die jungen lettischen Lehnwörter im Livischen are also known in the west of Saaremaa island, and especially on the Sorve peninsula in the dialect of Jämäja and Anseküla. It is known that the islanders and particularly the inhabitants of the Sorve peninsula had very close connections with the Livonians and the Latvians of Kurzeme, working for them in the summer, right up to the present century. Numerous common borrowings are attested, such as Liv. bro'utše 'travel, go', cf. (Jämäja) prautsima 'go', (Anseküla) proutsima 'wander around' < Latv. braukt 'travel, go'; Liv. duńts 'knife', cf. (Jämäja) tuńts, gen -i < Latv. duncis (same).

Estonian and Livonian exhibit, in fact, a fairly small common Baltic-Finnic vocabulary. In the material assembled by H.Rätsep (5), there are eight hundred Estonian words based on old Baltic-Finnic roots, of which about five hundred also exist in Livonian, for example Est. keel, Liv. kēl' 'tongue, language'; Est. jooma, Liv. juode 'drink'; Est. tuul, Liv. tūl' 'wind'; Est. haab, Liv. âbez 'aspen'; Est. kala, Liv. kala 'fish'; Est. ora, Liv. vora 'spike'.

There are two main reasons for the appreciably smaller Baltic-Finnic vocabulary in Livonian. Firstly, we know only one Livonian dialect, that of Kurzeme, with any completeness, and we

are comparing it with the vocabulary of many Estonian dialects. Where in the Estonian dialects there are several words with one meaning, in the Kurzeme dialect of Livonian there is only one, so comparisons can be misleading. An individual's vocabulary is usually smaller than that of a whole dialect, and the vocabulary of one dialect is certainly smaller than the total vocabulary of a group of dialects. Secondly, the Livonian language has obviously been influenced by Latvian to the extent that many native Livonian words have been replaced by Latvian loans.

Disregarding peripheral dialects like that of Leivu, which has been more subject to Latvian influence, there are in Estonian about a hundred and fifty Baltic loans, of which about ninety exist in Livonian. Common to both are, for example, Est. hammas, Liv. āmbaZ 'tooth'); but Livonian lacks such Baltic loans as Est. reis 'thigh' (cf. Fi. reisi) and luht 'water-meadow' (cf. Fi. luhta). One of the most difficult questions has been to establish from what language the words of non-Baltic origin in Livonian have come. It is acknowledged that numerous words of German origin came into Livonian through Latvian. Although the mediatory role of Latvian is regarded as likely, it has nonetheless been established that not all borrowings came into Livonian through Latvian, but some came directly from Low or High German. One of the phonological signs of direct borrowing from Low German is the front rounded vowel ö or ü in the first syllable, only later unrounded through the influence of Latvian: köštar > keštar, öl' > el', büş > biš, bürgel > birgil' (examples from Suhonen's list).

Because of the extensive influence of Middle High (and Low)

German on Latvian, it is extremely difficult to determine whether some loanwords in Livonian have been borrowed directly from German or through Latvian. Suhonen devotes a whole chapter of his study to this question. (6) Various factors make the determination of the origin of these words difficult: variable realisations of German rounded vowels; lack of distinctive tonal characteristics; the possibility of Estonian mediation; identical German and Latvian vowels in the first syllable of the borrowed word; and the adoption of Low German words with and without umlaut into the different Baltic-Finnic languages (such as Latv. muris, Liv. mir or mür, cf. Est. müür 'wall').

The delabialisation of ü and ö to i and e respectively within historic times is not to be taken as an indication of a corresponding process in Low German, even if loans from that language are direct. The delabialisation process is much more directly dependent on Latvian influence (for example Liv. stik 'piece' Dundaga Latv. stikis < Ger Stück).

The frequency of the diphthongs uo and ie in loanwords in Livonian is not surprising in view of their frequency in Latvian, but here, too, German influence may be present. Often, though, the Low German counterpart contained not a diphthong but a long vowel: either e or ie (i) in the case of ie, and o in the case of uo. Livonian has pairs of words, one member of which is directly from German, while the other may have come through Latvian, for example (direct and mediated loans respectively): opper/upper 'victim'; bot/buot '(ship's) boat'; šot/skuot '(nautical) sheet'.

As far as consonants are concerned, Livonian words

containing f may be assumed to be direct German loans, as this sound did not appear in Latvian until the mid-nineteenth century, in borrowings, while the difference in treatment of initial šk- and sk- in words of apparent Low German origin may be due, on the one hand, to mediation through Latvian šk- before i and e and sk- before back vowels, and on the other to the pronunciation of LG sch- as [sk] in the Baltic lands.

Recent calculations of the number of German loans in Estonian approach 250, of which over eighty exist in Livonian; that is, only a third. Estonian and Livonian have common German loans such as Est. magu, Liv. maq 'stomach'; Est. muld, Liv. mulda 'soil'. But in Livonian we do not find counterparts to such well-known German loans in Estonian as taud 'epidemic', kalju 'rock', kallas 'shore'.

The Estonian scholar Rätsep, who investigated the common vocabulary of Estonian and Livonian (7), points out that, in addition to the old common stock of Finnic roots, words of Germanic stock and loans from Latvian, there is also a stock of words common only to Estonian and Livonian, numbering a hundred or so, including Est. hääł, Liv. êł', 'voice', and the Est. postpositions juurde, juures and juurest (Liv. jūre, jūs, jūste).

Rätsep has also studied links between Estonian and Livonian at the supralexical level. In summer 1950 he conducted an expedition to the Kurzeme Livonians to gather material for his diploma thesis; his findings are documented in the article "Liivi fraseoloogiat". He lists 321 Livonian counterparts to Estonian and Finnish phrases. The informants were asked to imagine a

situation where the corresponding expression might be used. It was made clear beforehand what kind of material was needed. Only in a few rare cases was the informant presented with the corresponding Estonian phrase, but in such cases the replies received were checked in the usual way with other informants. Rätsep's work deals only with expressions lacking in Kettunen's Livonian dictionary, omitting redundant material, but including significantly different variants. Material was collected in four villages from ten informants, ranging in age from 58 to 74 years. (The ten informants used in the present study represent a considerably older age range; it would not be possible to find such young speakers today. The isolation of the present-day surviving speakers from each other also means that such a study could not be conducted now.) Rätsep's study constituted a rare attempt to compare Livonian with neighbouring languages at a level other than the lexical or phonological.

Both the nature and the phonological form of the lexical borrowings in Livonian are suggestive of Trubetzkoy's concept of a Sprachbund. One thing the languages of the south-eastern shores of the Baltic possess in common, despite their genealogical differences, is at least one stratum of isoglosses attributable to a direct cultural inheritance from speakers of Germanic languages who once ruled the region - in much the same way as the Balkan Sprachbund possesses linguistic features and isoglosses that can be traced back to Byzantine influence (9) and the Greek Orthodox religion. Lehiste (1988), following Trubetzkoy and more particularly Jakobson's hypothesis of 1931, cites suprasegmental features in a range of languages virtually encircling the Baltic

Sea - Swedish, Norwegian, most Danish dialects, some north German dialects, North Kashubian (in Poland), Lithuanian, Latvian, Livonian and Estonian - as evidence of a Baltic Sprachbund. She further cites recent research on Estonian which would suggest that it, too, is in the process of acquiring phonemic tone contrasts (as opposed to contrasts of quantity only) which would align it with its neighbours Livonian and Latvian. Among other phenomena she notes the parallel influences of Latvian on speakers of Baltic-German dialects and Finnish on Finland-Swedish speakers in terms of intervocalic consonant quantity - a tendency in both cases to render words of the pattern [CVCV] as [CVCCV], whereas the pattern [CVVCV] remains unaffected. (10)

NOTES

1. Thomsen 1890, p.87.
2. Suhonen 1984, p.218.
3. Aben 1957, p.208.
4. Vaba 1980, p.693.
5. Rätsep 1982, pp.58-61.
6. Chapter 8 of Die jungen lettischen Lehnwörter im Livischen.
7. Rätsep in ESA 1959, pp.226-42.
8. Rätsep 1982, p.61.
9. Bynon 1977, p.246.
10. Lehiste 1988, pp.65-75.

1.4 Codification of the Livonian language

Although the bulk of what we know of Livonian in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries comes from amateur linguists in the Baltic-German community, the first recorded mention of the language in post-mediaeval times is in the work of a Swede, Thomas Hiärne (1638 - 1678), who studied at Tartu in the university's infancy and later worked in Estonia. Hiärne was in a position to note the rapid decline of the Salis dialect, of which he recorded a small sample vocabulary. Later, a Swedish professor at Tartu, Olaus Hermelin, published an inquiry into the origins of the Livonians (De Origine Livonorum Disquisitio, 1717).

It was only in the Enlightenment period that an increase in interest in the already declining Livonian population was aroused, and the task of collecting ethnographic and linguistic information fell to the Baltic-German pastors whose charges the Livonians were. These priests were, after all, among the very few literate members of the feudal society that existed in the Baltic lands until the mid-nineteenth century. Naturally, the orthography in which they transcribed their Livonian vocabularies was adapted from the German, with varying degrees of consistency. Among these amateur linguists may be mentioned the pastors Johann Heinrich Taureck, Ulrich Johann Zimmermann, pastor Burkhard, and von Eisen (who left a relatively extensive account of Salis Livonian). This period of diligent enquiry was at its height in the late eighteenth century, and much of it was in response to requests from scholars working outside, such as A.L.Schlözer in Göttingen, whose Gesammelte Nachrichten von den Ueberresten der

Liven in Livland und Kurland appeared in 1769. (1)

The most complete and thorough study of Livonian ever undertaken (apart from Kettunen's dictionary) was the joint work of Sjögren and Wiedemann. Sjögren, a Finn, undertook his field trips to the Livonian-speaking area in 1846 and 1852. His notes from these trips were not ready for publication at his death in 1855, and the dictionary he had been compiling had only reached the letter D. The Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg passed the work of compiling Sjögren's notes on to Ferdinand Wiedemann, who, however, deemed them unfit for publication as they were, and undertook to delay the compilation until he had made a supplementary field trip of his own. Particularly large lacunae Wiedemann felt to exist in the spheres of the declension and conjugation systems and in phonology. Sjögren had not attempted to work out a systematic orthography for this hitherto virtually unwritten language, and this caused major problems for Wiedemann. Fortunately, during his stay among the Courland Livonians in summer 1858, Wiedemann was able to obtain the services of Sjögren's old informant, the schoolmaster Pollmann, and thus verify Sjögren's findings as far as Courland Livonian was concerned. However, Wiedemann made no attempt to contact the speakers of the Salis dialect on the other side of the Gulf of Riga, having been informed that the dialect had virtually died out in the intervening years; thus it is that Sjögren's fairly extensive notes about the Salis dialect, especially the phonological aspects, remain relatively unreliable. In 1846 Sjögren had encountered 22 elderly 'semi-lingual' speakers of the Salis dialect, who were using Latvian for everyday communication;

twelve years later Wiedemann was told that only eight of them were left, so he decided not to waste his limited time with these unreliable informants. Their number was indeed trifling compared with the more than two thousand fluent mother-tongue speakers of Livonian he encountered in the Courland villages.

Many of Wiedemann's informants had a rich specialised knowledge of vocabulary, such as Pastor Kawall of Puze with his detailed knowledge of the names of fauna. On the other hand he found no knowledgeable informants about flora. The more educated among Sjögren's and Wiedemann's informants, such as J.Prinz the elder, were at pains to produce an artificially pure 'literary' Livonian which undoubtedly contained many Letticisms, especially as a good deal of the material provided as 'Sprachproben' consists of translation from Latvian.

The completed work was published in 1861 by the Imperial Academy under the title Joh. Andreas Sjögren's Livische Grammatik nebst Sprachproben. The introduction by Wiedemann is comprehensive (104 pages). He begins by defining the Livonian-speaking area and citing population figures (8 speakers on the New Salis estate in Livonia, 2324 on the north coast of Courland). Rumours of other settlements are mentioned but deemed to be groundless. He enumerates the villages, and ascertains that a surprisingly low death rate may indicate a growing number of speakers. Wiedemann then provides an extensive account of historical references to 'Livonia', citing the earliest known documents, and the apparent confusion of the 'Livonians' with the Estonians and Curonians, about whose identity he advances some theories of his own.

Wiedemann devotes a chapter of his introduction to the language itself. He emphasises how inadequate and second-hand were the studies of Livonian before Sjögren's time, and attempts to dispel some misconceptions about it. His comments on Livonian phonology are interesting, and acknowledge the influence of Latvian.

An astonishing omission from both Sjögren's and Wiedemann's observations about the Livonian sound system is the failure to recognise the phenomenon of 'broken tone'. In fact the Sjögren/Wiedemann grammar does not even formulate an 'intonation system' as such, and we may speculate that they simply did not expect to find a consistent and graduated intonation system incorporating broken tone in a Baltic-Finnic language and therefore ignored what they heard as insignificant. That their informants did not use broken tone is inconceivable, but that they played down its significance is possible. The single informant whom Thomsen later encountered in Copenhagen used broken tone to such a marked extent as to force him to revise his theories - thitherto based on the Sjögren/Wiedemann material. At one point, however (page XC), Wiedemann does come close to acknowledging the existence of broken tone:

Gedehnte Aussprache der Vokale ist überhaupt etwas, das dem Livischen einen eigenthümlichen Klang giebt, und wodurch es sich von den Schwestersprachen merklich unterscheidet. Wenn der Stammvocal im Nomin. gedehnt ist, so unterschieden sich häufig der Infinit. und die mit ihm zusammenhängenden Casus durch die Schärfung oder Diphthongisirung, z.B. roud, jalg, arg, leib, rind, kuorro, jarro usw. von den eben

angeführten Wörtern.

The 'Schärfung' referred to here may involve broken tone in at least some of the examples. Certainly Sjögren and Wiedemann were aware of the rules of quantity in both vowels and consonants in Livonian.

This discussion of quantity leads Wiedemann to some observations on Livonian morphology, with passing reference to some Latvian influences. This section is useful as it provides the most reliable summary we can hope to find of the phonological and morphological features of the Salis dialect. From this discussion Wiedemann goes on to examine the differences between Salis and the two main variants of Courland Livonian, as spoken in Kuolka ('Kolkensche') in the east and Piza ('Pisensche') in the west.

The main body of the text, Wiedemann's edition of Sjögren's notes, is set out under the following main headings:

- I. Phonology ('Lautlehre')
- II. Word formation ('Wortbildung')
- III. Grammatical structure and morphology ('Formenlehre')
- IV. Syntax ('Satzlehre')

Wiedemann was faced with the task of adopting a consistent orthography for Livonian from the idiosyncratic script used in Sjögren's notes. He settled on the following characters (p.6):
a, ą, ȧ, b, d, e, f, g, (h), i, j, k, l, m, n, ń, o, ȳ, ȳ, p, r,
s, š, t, u, ü, v, ȳ, z, ž.

(In practice the letter l' is also found in the text to indicate the palatalised l; u is also used for a long u.)

From the point of view of legibility this is a curious and

unfortunate choice, especially as variants had to be created to represent both 'umlaut' and length, such as ä, ü. But it does at least serve to consistently represent the range of sounds in both dialects of Livonian and both the Courland subdialects. A detailed account is given of the complex range of Livonian vowels and diphthongs. On the vexed subject of vowel quantity, Sjögren clearly sensed that the Livonian system was unique, but stopped short, as mentioned earlier, of acknowledging broken tone (p.11):

In der Dehnung der Vocale unterscheiden die Liven noch zwei Stufen. Sie unterscheiden z.B. pīlōb (von pīl) und pīń durch grössere Länge des i von pīlōb (von pīl) und pīn. Etwas diesem ganz Aehnliches ist noch, dass sie auch in den Liquiden, welcher einer continuirlichen Aussprache, d.h. eines Verweilens der Stimme nicht auf dem Vocal der Sylbe sondern auf diesem Consonanten selbst, besonders fähig sind, eine grössere und geringere Länge unterscheiden, z.B. bei bul'1'ō (von bul'1' pl. būlid) länger auf dem l' verweilen als bei bul'1'ō (von bul' pl. bulīd).

Quantity is also an important feature in the discussion of the behaviour of consonants, as is palatalisation ('Mouillierung').

The section on Word Formation attempts to enumerate every productive suffix in Livonian. Sjögren tries to distinguish what he believed were genuine Finnic endings from the borrowed Latvian ones. Among Latvian prefixes adopted into Livonian and noted by Sjögren/Wiedemann were the negative ne- with adjectives and nouns also of Latvian origin: nālain 'misfortune' < nelaime; the diminutive adjective prefix pa- even with Livonian words: papiški

'smallish'.

Sjögren/Wiedemann also distinguishes between the invariably separable 'prefixes' (actually adverbs of direction) used in conjunction with verbs, such as sizol läed 'hinein gehen', ulz brouťš 'aus fahren', ul' ast 'hinüber treten', and the inseparable prefixes borrowed from Latvian such as ais- < aiz-: aisbrouťš (Salis, 'weg fahren'); ap-: apvott 'sich vornehmen' (with a Livonian stem); is- < iz-, nuo- < no- [nuo-] and several more.

In the section on grammatical structure Sjögren enumerates all the noun cases in use (12 or 13 in number depending on whether the vestigial 'Caritive' case is included) and 32 classes of declension. All word classes are treated in detail, and verbs are treated thoroughly, divided into 12 classes. Variants found in the Salis dialect are treated separately.

Regarding pronouns, Sjögren comments on the poverty of both Livonian and Latvian in expressing the pronoun forms corresponding to 'dieser' and 'jener': se and tas respectively have to do service for both.

Other aspects of the 'poverty' of Livonian (as a Baltic-Finnic language) are blamed on Latvian influence elsewhere in this section, such as the imitation of Latvian participial usage for indirect speech (instead of an analogy with the Fi. että construction), and the use of las (<lai) + simple present for subjunctive/3rd person imperative clauses. Sjögren comments on this phenomenon again in the subsequent section on Syntax, a section where generally little external influence is noted.

The Sjögren/Wiedemann volume concludes with a series of

'Sprachproben', consisting of short sentences for comparison in the Salis and Kuolka, and Salis and Piza (sub)dialects; passages of Bible translation in all three variants; riddles in the Salis dialect; proverbs, riddles and songs, superstitious sayings and formulaic utterances in the Kuolka and Piza subdialects; translated passages from Latvian in the Piza subdialect; original stories by several informants, mainly Prinz senior and junior; a passage of conversation; letters to Sjögren from his informants; and poetry by Prinz senior and junior. This section thus constitutes the most comprehensive body of texts in Livonian to be published for at least the next sixty years; that in itself makes it valuable, even considering that the transcription from at least the Salis dialect is less than reliable. The 'Sprachproben' account for some 185 pages of text.

Brief mention should be made here of a volume published only two years after the Sjögren/Wiedemann volume: August Ahlquist's Suomalainen murteiskirja (Finnish Dialect Book, 1863). Samples of Livonian are included among the other so-called 'dialects' presented in this volume. The texts, amounting to twenty pages or so, cover the same general range as the 'Sprachproben' - proverbs, passages from the New Testament, brief narratives - and are borrowed from the earlier text. The orthography is slightly modified: the 'umlaut' is moved from below to above the vowel, but the distinction between Wiedemann's \ddot{o} [ø] and $\ddot{ö}$ [ə] is lost in the uniform \ddot{o} .

The other significant treatment of Livonian by a nineteenth-century scholar consists of a chapter on the language in Vilhelm Thomsen's Berøringer mellem de finske og baltiske Sprog (Contacts

between the Finnic and Baltic languages, 1891). The bulk of this volume is concerned with evidence of old Baltic loanwords in the Baltic-Finnic languages generally; the section on Livonian is merely an 'Exkurs'. For his sources Thomsen leaned exclusively on the Sjögren/Wiedemann text. He gives a detailed account of the phonology of the language, and seems more aware than Wiedemann or Sjögren of the phenomenon of quantity, probably through his consistent reference to Finnish, from which Livonian deviates significantly in this respect. Thomsen develops the notion of the 'sonantiske Koefficient', by which a long vowel or diphthong is compensated by a short consonant in the stem of an 'original' Livonian word, and likewise, longer consonants or clusters tend to be preceded by short vowels. Syllable length is thus generally equalised. Thomsen drew these conclusions purely from Sjögren/Wiedemann's observations, not having come into contact with spoken Livonian before writing this text. It is thus surprising that Thomsen is able to state that Sjögren/Wiedemann had placed too little emphasis on nuances of quantity and on the influence of Latvian on (especially vowel) quality. Thomsen enumerates (p.52) the environments in which vowel lengthening can be expected, and the other changes in vowel quality that are dependent on phonetic environment. He notes also (p.56) how Finnic words in Livonian behave differently to Latvian loans as regards quantity.

Thomsen's perspicacity was little short of amazing, considering the paucity of his source material - and yet he was forced to considerably revise his views on the subject when, just as his text was going to press, he encountered a Livonian

informant. He felt obliged to append a postscript to his text. What astonished Thomsen most on hearing Livonian spoken was the presence of broken tone, something Sjögren and Wiedemann had consistently ignored or dismissed, yet which resembled very much the Danish phenomenon of stød, though Thomsen is quick to point out that it occurs in different environments. Forced to reassess the Livonian intonation system, Thomsen was openly amazed at Sjögren's and Wiedemann's insensitivity to Livonian stød. As most of his chapter is concerned with a discussion of Livonian phonological features, the enforced reassessment detracts from the overall value of Thomsen's study.

E.N.Setälä (1864 - 1935) is significant in the history of the study of Livonian more for his inclusion of Livonian in comparative studies of the Baltic-Finnic languages than for his work on the language itself. A pioneer of the comparative study of Baltic-Finnic languages, as a young man he made field trips among the Veps, Votian and Livonian speakers (1888 - 1889), the result of which was his Yhteissuomalainen äännehistoria (History of General Finnic Phonology), the first section of which was published in 1891.

Though Setälä's activities in the field of Livonian took place so early in his life, the bulk of his transcriptions from the language was not published until after his death (Näytteitä liivin kielestä, ed. V.Kyrölä, 1953). The aspects of Livonian and its near relatives that most interested Setälä during his lifetime were the phonological question of consonant gradation and the related issue of vowel quantity. Setälä's observations on these issues were of invaluable help in the later work of

Kettunen. It was at the initiative of Setälä and his colleague Kaarle Krohn that the journal Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen was established as a forum for the discussion of Livonian and related issues.

Of all Finnish scholars, the name of Lauri Kettunen (1885 - 1963) is most closely associated with Livonian. Kettunen came to the study of Livonian through research into Veps and Vote; his first acquaintance with the language was provided by a refugee who had fled to Finland during the First World War, in 1917. In 1920 he undertook his first field trip among the Livonians, from Tartu, where he had been appointed Professor of Baltic-Finnic Languages the year before. The first fruit of his study was borne in his Untersuchung über die livische Sprache I. Phonetische Einführung. Sprachproben (Tartu 1925). This work constituted the most detailed study of the language so far made. It was followed in 1938 by Kettunen's crowning achievement in the field, the still definitive Livisches Wörterbuch mit grammatischer Einleitung. The dictionary, which contains detailed etymologies, is prefaced by a thorough grammatical survey as well as a phonological introduction based on the earlier work.

Kettunen prepared his Livonian dictionary at a time when orthographic conventions were yet to be established for Livonian in the printed literature. Shortly after the appearance of Kettunen's work, and from the same publisher and printer in Finland (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, the Finnish Literature Society), there appeared the Livonian edition of the New Testament (Ūž testament, Helsinki 1942). The translation was the work of Kārlis (Kōrli) Stalte, under Kettunen's supervision,

edited and amended by the Finnish priest H.K.Erviö, who was serving the Livonian and Ingrian communities, and the Livonian Edgar Valgama, at that time a theology student in Finland. As the Foreword (by Matti Pesonen) explains, since the language had no standard orthography, it was necessary to create one in the process of translation. The orthography of the New Testament differs from that of Kettunen's Wörterbuch in several important respects, namely:

1. The glottal catch or broken tone (') is entirely omitted.
2. Kettunen's unstressed schwa (ǝ) is given the same symbol as the stressed õ, which is a distinct phoneme equivalent to that represented by the same letter in Estonian.
3. Kettunen's l' was marked as ḷ, ń was rendered as ṇ and ř as ṛ, following Latvian practice.
4. Kettunen's semi-voiced final consonants B, D, G, Z were rendered in lower case.
5. Some of Kettunen's fine distinctions between vowels (for example â, ẹ, ọ) were ignored.

The orthography of the New Testament has been broadly followed in the modest number of Livonian texts that have been published subsequently, down to our own day, except in one respect: the phonemes y [=ü] and ö were employed to their fullest extent (as used by Kettunen) in the New Testament, but have largely fallen out of use today.

The orthography Kettunen devised placed accuracy before convenience, for he needed to take account of intonation marking, including the phenomenon of broken tone, something which was not indicated in the orthography then being established. Subsequent

scholars, such as Suhonen, have retained Kettunen's orthographic practices, which are the basis of that used in the present work.

The complex question of Livonian intonation was the starting-point for studies by the Baltic-Finnic linguist Lauri Posti (1900 - 1985), beginning with an article in the Finnish journal Virittäjä (1) in 1936, and culminating in his extensive work Grundzüge der livischen Lautgeschichte (Helsinki 1942).

Estonian scholarship in the Livonian field has benefited since the Second World War particularly from the work of Julius Mägiste (1900 - 1978) and Paul Ariste (1905 - 1990). Mägiste visited Kurzeme during the war, in 1943, and subsequently investigated the Livonian speakers who had fled to Sweden. From 1948 onwards Tartu University resumed its pre-eminence as a centre for Livonian studies. Teachers and students of the Finno-Ugrian Institute of the University began the systematic collection and analysis of Livonian linguistic material, embracing vocabulary, morphology and phonology, in addition to detailed folklore and ethnographic studies. The prime mover for this research was Professor Paul Ariste. Unfortunately none of the vast amount of material has yet been published. However, other researchers, notably Eduard Vääri, (2), have published extensively on the subject of Livonian in recent years. Vääri is now the foremost linguistic specialist, and Jüri Linnus the foremost ethnographer, in the field of Livonian studies in Estonia.

Since scholars such as Seppo Suhonen (b.1938) have provided invaluable additions to the work of Kettunen, notably with regard to loanwords, and linguistic and ethnographic research has

continued to flourish in Estonia (see chapter 1.1), the main outlines of present-day Livonian have been made available to us in sufficiently detailed form as to permit a close analysis of the decline of the language, which is now taking its inevitable course.

Thus it can be seen that the codification of the language has been very largely the work of outsiders. A significant contribution has been made by Livonian speakers as well, however: it was the schoolmaster Petor Damberg (1909 - 1987) who prepared the first teaching material for schools: Jemakiel luqdõbrantõz skuol ja kuod pierast I (Helsinki 1935). Damberg was one of the handful of creative writers in the language, and an extremely competent and knowledgeable informant; it is his recorded speech which forms the corpus from which the examples in Part 2 of the present work are taken.

NOTES

1. "Liivin kielen intonaatiosta", Virittäjä 1936, pp.314-26.
2. For a list of Vääri's articles (up to 1970) on Livonian themes see Vääri 1971, pp.139-48.

Part Two

A descriptive study of modern spoken Livonian

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is based on the standardised descriptive method employed by the series Lingua Descriptive Studies (published by North Holland from 1979 onward, Croom Helm from 1985 onward), and closely follows the classification of elements used by that series. Minor classifications have not been included unless appropriate to Livonian.

Unless otherwise stated, the illustrative examples are taken from Seppo Suhonen's Liivin kielen näytteitä (Helsinki 1975). There is only one informant, Pētõr Damberg, who was aged 62 when the recordings were made, and was a speaker of the eastern variant of Livonian. He was born in the village of Sīkrõg in 1909 and died in Riga in 1987; he was a schoolteacher and the compiler of the first school readers in Livonian. There are some western Livonian features in the transcribed speech (such as o: for a:). His vocabulary is markedly 'purist' and is relatively free of Letticisms; Latvian verbal prefixes, for example, are entirely absent from the samples.

The transcription is based on that used by Suhonen, which in turn is based on Kettunen's Livisches Wörterbuch (Helsinki 1938). The phonetic values of the symbols peculiar to this transcription are:

- (macron) indicates a long vowel or consonant.
- ˘ indicates a semi-long geminated consonant (placed over first element). This should be distinguished from the haček on š [] and

ž [].

' indicates palatalisation of consonants (lateral and dental).
' also indicates a glottal catch or 'broken tone'. There should be no confusion between the meanings of these identical symbols as in the first instance it may occur only after a consonant and in the second, only after a vowel.

One major simplification of the original transcription should be noted. As the sounds [e] and [ə] (rendered by Kettunen/Suhonen as ê) occur in mutually exclusive environments, namely [e] in initial (stressed) syllables and [ə] in subsequent (unstressed) syllables, both are rendered here as e, for ease of transcription of a very frequently occurring phoneme. (This is not to suggest that the phoneme is a reduced form of an original *e, nor is it an attempt to prescribe orthography in what is after all a descriptive grammar. Recent texts in Livonian published in Latvia have rendered the phoneme as ø, but it does not correspond to the Estonian letter ø in phonetic value; the Livonian equivalent of that phoneme - which occurs only in stressed position moreover - is rendered here, and by Kettunen-Suhonen, as e.)

Another deviation from the Kettunen/Suhonen transcription is the use of j for ⁱ (placed above the line) and w for ^u (placed above the line), for the unstressed initial elements of diphthongs.

Final capitals, such as Z, D, indicate a semi-voiced consonant, with the degree of voicing agreeing with that of the initial consonant (or vowel) of the next word.

Intonation is not marked in the examples unless it is of

semantic significance.

1. SYNTAX

1.1 General

Livonian exhibits the syntactic characteristics of a typical Baltic-Finnic language: that is, word order in a main clause follows the Subject - Verb - Object pattern, all other factors being equal, but word order within the clause is flexible and may be varied for emphasis. Constraints on this variation are placed to a certain extent by emphatic and interrogative markers, however.

1.1.1 Sentence types

These may be broadly classified into affirmative, interrogative and imperative, subdivided as below. Exclamations and echo-questions may also stand as separate sentences.

1.1.1.1 Direct and indirect speech

1.1.1.1.1 Direct speech is quoted without change in the word order:

(1) se k̄ittiZ: "se um mi'n̄nen"

it said: "it is mine"

'He (it) said: "It is mine".'

1.1.1.1.2 Indirect speech is marked by ku to introduce the quoted statement, with no change of word order in either clause:

(2) lap̄st tul't't'e āndam tiet āman ku

children came give+IP information+PT mother+DT that

lōjaD tul't't'e

boats came

'The children came to report to mother that the boats had come.'

There is no 'quotative' mood to correspond to the Latvian verb form in -ot.

1.1.1.2 Interrogative sentences

1.1.1.2.1 Yes-no questions are introduced by the question-word kas without alteration of affirmative word order:

- (3) kas ē'degel dāntšiz ka?
Q evening+AD dance+P-PS also?

'Did they/people dance in the evening too?'

1.1.1.2.2 Question-word questions

These stand at the head of a clause, and after a question-word reversal of subject and verb is usual but not obligatory. They include miņgist 'what kind of', mis 'what' (nom.), kien 'to whom', kus 'where', kuna 'when', mikš 'why', kui 'how'. Reversal is not usual if the subject is a pronoun:

- (4) kien se um?
whose it is?

'Whose is it?'

- (5) kui vēl vejuB?
how still fish+3SG PR?

'How does one still fish?'

- (6) miņgist vo'l't't'e vanaD kōr'a-painted?
what-kind were old+PL cattle-herds?

'What were the old cowherds like?'

1.1.1.2.3 Echo-questions

These have no characteristic marking apart from rising intonation in speech:

- (7) tās vo'l't't'e sel'l'iZ lūdeD. lūdeD?

here were such brooms. brooms?

'There were sort of brooms here.' 'Brooms?'

1.1.1.2.3.1 Questions may also take the form of statements, with appropriate rising intonation:

(8) *un maksist kōr'a-painttten pālkkē?*

and pay+P PS cattle-herd+DT wage?

'And the cowherd was paid a wage?'

In such a case the response may be an 'echo' of the question, or of the stressed element, usually the verb.

1.1.1.2.4 Answers

There are no special forms to indicate responses. Even in the case of yes-no questions, it is characteristic of responses to contain a repetition of the main (questioned) verb. The response to (8) is:

(9) *kōr'a-painttten pālkkā is sō makstet.*

cattle-herd+DT wage+PT NG P get paid (PPP)

'The cowherd was not paid a wage.'

1.1.1.3 Imperative sentences

1.1.1.3.1 Forms

The imperative singular form of the verb is the stem of the infinitive, except where the final vowel of the present stem is -a- (such as vette > vettaB, añde > āndaB), in which case the -a appears in the imperative form as well:

(10) *no vetta siZ ka i'D si'l täut eñtšen*

well take then also one lap full self+DT

'Well, take one armful for yourself then.'

The plural form is -qiD (or -aqiD, -igiD depending on the type of conjugation) to the stem, for example vetta/vettaqiD.

1.1.1.3.2 Negative imperative

In the singular, ala is placed before the imperative, in the plural algit tēG (lit. 'don't you') is placed before it. The singular and plural imperative forms of the verb remain unchanged.

(11) ala karte

don't fear

'Don't be afraid.'

1.1.1.3.3 Other means of expressing the imperative

Kettunen cites a full paradigm of imperatives in his Livisches Wörterbuch, the imperative marker being alge in the 1st and 3rd sg. and 1st pl. and algeD in the 3rd pl., each followed by the relevant pronoun. The alternative hortatory forms with las+pronoun+alge+stem are also cited for the 1st and 3rd sg. and 1st pl..

1.1.1.3.4 Responses to imperatives

No special forms are recorded.

1.1.1.4 Other distinct sentence types

Exclamations might be regarded as a separate type, but these are treated in the sample texts as parts of larger sentences.

1.1.1.5 Indirect speech acts

No distinct markers are recorded for speech acts other than those outlined above.

1.1.2 Subordination1.1.2.1 General markers

Subordinate clauses can be classified into noun clauses, adjective clauses and adverb clauses, each with its own marker or set of markers.

1.1.2.2 Noun clauses

1.1.2.2.1 Forms

The noun clause as subject or object of a larger clause or sentence is marked by *ku*:

(12) ma um ī'ž nā'nD ku keššil'deks at ve'ijjēD

I am self seen that net+CT PL are fished

oksakka'l'd'i

stickleback+PT PL

'I myself have seen them fishing (=that they have fished) with nets for sticklebacks.'

See also example (2).

1.1.2.2.2 Types of noun clause

Separate types of noun clause, such as those with indicative and subjunctive main verbs, are not distinguished by separate clause markers. Indirect questions may precede the subject of the main clause and may be reinforced with an object pronoun in such a case:

(13) kuš ne pa'ntte sjeda ma äp tieda

where they put (P) it+PT I NG PR know

'Where they put (it), that I don't know.'

1.1.2.3 Adjective clauses

1.1.2.3.1 Marking

Adjective clauses may be formed either (a) with relative pronouns placed after the head word and followed by a verb phrase, or (b) by placing a participial phrase with or without adjectives before the head word (noun). This is at least theoretically true of Livonian as it is of other Baltic-Finnic languages. But in the spoken language both kinds of construction are extremely rare;

speakers tend to replace adjective clauses and relative constructions with strings of main clauses. Even on the rare occasions when they occur, they are combined with such strings to form constructions which in the 'literary' language, such as it is, would be deemed ungrammatical:

(14) ikš kwo'iG miš pāl ta vo'l' bōtsman'n'eks se vo'l' sel'l'i
one ship which on he was boatswain+CT it was such
 kwo'iG kuivastu se pidiZ sel'l'ist si'dmeD hāpsalust
ship Kuivastu it kept such+PT PL connections+PT Haapsalu+EL
 kårdlasse

Kårdla+IL (Estonian case endings)

'One ship on which he was boatswain was the ship Kuivastu, which connected Haapsalu and Kardia (in Estonia).'

Such constructions are not unique to this informant; they are found in a wide range of transcribed Livonian speech samples, as can be seen in Part 3.

1.1.2.3.2 Restrictive and non-restrictive marking

In theory at least, the same rule for marking restrictive and non-restrictive adjective clauses applies as in Finnish: restrictive clauses can take either the (a) or the (b) form cited above, whereas non-restrictive ones can take only the (b) form. In practice, participial phrases are virtually unknown in the spoken language.

1.1.2.3.3 The position of the head noun depends on the choice of construction, as above.

1.1.2.3.4 Form of the relativised element

The form remains unchanged.

1.1.2.3.5 Treatment of the relativised element

The only distinctive feature of the relativised element is that the construction qualifying it, (a) or (b), is immediately adjacent to the head noun.

1.1.2.3.6 Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses in the true sense are extremely rare or non-existent. But a construction involving a relative clause with its head transferred to the main clause is occasionally found, though it is debatable whether this would be considered grammatical:

(15) nu aīZ nei kiš ju pidiZ miḡgiZ eñtšen neitste sis se
well always so who EM kept some self+DT girl+PT then it
 se ju reḡkandiZ: "mēG siZ lã'me ĩn'ekst tegiž siñes tagan"
it EM spoke: "we then go together again thither fetch"
 'Well, it was always so that he who kept some girl to himself
 said: "We are going together to fetch (her) again."

1.1.2.3.7 Elements of the sentence that can be relativised

Apart from nouns (see 1.1.2.3.1), pronouns can be relativised:

(16) je'dde-vjedaji se siZ neme vo'l' se kiš viž brūt'
forward-bringer it then you-see was it who brought bride
 ja brūdšana, viž ālttar je'dde
and bridegroom, brought altar (GN) front+IL (=before)
 'You see, the escort was the one who brought the bride and
 bridegroom before the altar.'

For other types of relativisation see 1.1.2.4.

1.1.2.4 Adverb clauses

1.1.2.4.1 Marking and position

As can be seen from the examples given below, adverbial clauses

are characteristically introduced by conjunctions, which in some cases may qualify an adverb (such as the construction siZ ku 'then when' = 'when') in sentence (17). Sometimes, as in the case of las in clauses of purpose (see sentence (19) below), the conjunction may govern a change of verbal mood, from indicative to subjunctive. Adverb clauses generally follow the main clause, but may precede it (sentences (17, 21)).

1.1.2.4.2 Types

1.1.2.4.2.1 Time

(17) nu siZ ku mina ĩrgiZ nã'de midegest siZ vo'l'
well then when I began see something+PT then was

kõzgenD neikku

wedding thus

'Well, when I began to see things, a wedding was like that.'

1.1.2.4.2.2 Manner

(18) e'd'd'ist kiededen vo'l' ĩttiZ kier, ta'ggist
front+PL rope+DT PL was one-kind-of knot, rear+PL

kiededen tegiž twoistiZ vo'l' kier neiku kiereD

rope+DT PL again another-kind-of was knot so knots

vo'l't't'e si'zzel-pēd'en

were inside-wards

'The front ropes had one kind of knot, the rear ropes another kind, so that the knots were facing inward.'

1.1.2.4.2.3 Purpose

(19) se um laš pi'leG vada sū vāldiž

it is so-that remain+SJ seine's mouth open

'It is so that the mouth of the seine will remain open.'

1.1.2.4.2.4 Cause

(20) vadan vo'l' vo'l'mest vėl'a vadan siepjerast ku
 seine+DT was be+OG sparse seine+DT because that
 išt vėl'et jo nei piškiži lēšti ve'ijje
 NG P PL want+PP IT so small+PT PL flounder+PT PL fish
 'The seine had to be sparse because they didn't want to fish for
 such small flounder.'

1.1.2.4.2.5 Condition

(21) meittiz aš ieridi äb volks siZ kiedeD lākste ne'rře
 otherwise if loops+PT NG PR be+SJ then ropes go+SJ knot+IL
 'Otherwise if there were no loops, then the ropes would go into
 knots.'

Note the agreement of subjunctive mood in the main and dependent clauses in the above example. Varying degrees of hypotheticality can be expressed through the use of indicative and subjunctive verbs in the adverbial clause.

(22) aš lještaD vo'l't't'e nei i't saŋgdit ja i't sūrit
 if flounder were so one+PT fat+PL and one+PT big+PL
 viškiZ i't i'den tvoiZ twoizen ja nei-i't
 toss+3SG P one+PT one+DT other other+DT and so-one+PT
 'If the flounder were (INDIC.) equally fat and equally big, one
 would be tossed to one person, another to another, and so on.'

1.1.2.4.2.6 Result

For the positive form, las, see 1.1.2.4.2.3 above. The negative form, alge, is based on the imperative:

(23) alge pīkste ke'izži kietta vje'ddes kā'tse
 so-that-not rub hands+PT rope+PT pull+PR AC PE hands+DT
 vo'l't't'e sel'l'ist luppātēD

were such+PL cloths

'So that one's hands didn't chafe in pulling the rope, there were cloths on the hands.'

1.1.2.4.2.7 Degree

(24) se'uvve mūnda keṛD vo'l't't'e lještaD nei aigaZ ku
 summer+PT some time were flounder so close that

iZ vei lōjaks mitte i'l' laideD i'l'l'e pā'zze
 NG P can boat+CT anything+PT over shallows' over get

'Sometimes in summer the flounder were so far inshore that you couldn't get over the shallows by boat.'

1.1.2.4.2.8 Concession

(25) bet perizeks peñt pēṭter veṭtiZ īrma jara ja jelist
 but finally Pent Petor took Irma to and lived(3PL)
 jēvist ama iga koķš ka ādun iZ uo jē'vve mielde pēṭter
 well all age though also Ädu+DT NG P be good+PT mind+PT Petor
 pāl ka señtš koñtš ta kuoliZ
 on even to-then until he died

'But finally Pent Pētōr took Irma and they lived well all their lives, though Ädu was not well disposed to Petor even until he died.'

1.1.2.4.2.9 Place

(26) se vo'l' kuš ne-ī'ž kuš kjeuž um
 it was where so-self where rope is

'It was just where the rope is.'

Note the intensifying effect of the repetition of kuš.

(27) sāl kuš tuoista keṛD vo'ýt ta'ggist kiedeD, sāl tegiž
 there where another time were rear+PL ropes, there again

ni pa'n' e'd'd'ist kiedeD
now put(3SG P) front+PL ropes

'Where the rear ropes were another time, the front ropes were now put.'

1.1.2.4.3 Finiteness and non-finiteness are not marked for adverbial clauses. at least in the corpus of spoken Livonian, which restricts itself to finite verb forms. This is partly because the language lacks the morphological means to construct the participial forms used, for example, in Finnish (Menetettyään koiransa... 'Having lost his dog...'). Such forms are apparently considered inappropriate to the informal register of spoken Livonian, as well as ambiguous, owing to the restricted range of past participial forms in the language.

1.1.2.5 Sequence of tenses

There is a tendency towards agreement, in the spoken language at least, between main clauses and direct object clauses as to tense, especially involving reported speech. See example (2). In other narrative contexts, there appears to be much free variation between successive clauses in the choice of tenses, as in the following sequence, using both perfect and pluperfect forms:

(28) no siZ um sel'l'ist legendeD atte ku sie pārna alle
well then is such+PL legends are that that linden under
 vanaD līvlist vo'l'liD pallenD eñtš jumaltte. ku nāñtten
old+PL Livonians were prayed(PP) own god+DT. when they+DT
 atte vēred tunned swodeks pāle, siZ ne at pallenD
are strangers come(PP) wars+CT onto, then they are prayed
 sal eñtš jumali, laZ ä'pteG nāñtten swodal.
there own god+PT, so-that help+SJ them(DT) war+AD.

'Well, then there are legends about how the old Livonians had prayed to their god under that linden tree. When strangers have come upon them in war, then they have prayed there to their god so that he would help them in war.'

1.2 Structural questions

1.2.1 Internal structure of the sentence

1.2.1.1 Copular sentences

1.2.1.1.1 Copula of equation

Both subject and predicate nouns appear in the nominative:

(29) mi'n iza vo'l' mje'r-mieZ
 my father was sea-man

'My father was a seaman.'

1.2.1.1.2 Copula with predicate in oblique case

(30) ārgaD vo'l't't'e ni'emeD baras
 bulls were cows' herd+IN

'Bulls were in the herd.'

1.2.1.1.3 Copula of existence ('There is') need not precede the subject:

(31) no vabaD ju ātte vonneD amustiZ
 well drying-racks EM are been long

'Well, there have been drying-racks for a long time.'

1.2.1.1.4 Copula with subject-complement in translative case

This might be called the 'copula of function', and the subject and predicate of such a copula might freely change place, though in this example the translative subject-complement is being topicalised:

(32) je'dde-vjedajiks vol'l'i siZ miġgi su'gli
 forward-bringer+CT was then some relative

'So the escort was some relative.'

1.2.1.1.5 Copula of possession ('to have')

This construction involves the dative of the possessor:

(33) mā'dden vo'l' sel'l'i ke'zzi ārga ikš keřD
we+DT was such angry bull one time

'We once had an angry bull.'

1.2.1.1.6 Negative copula

All types of copular construction can be negated. An example with the predicate in an oblique case:

(34) lještaD ju išt uotte vä'ggi tevas vje'tse
flounder EM NEG PL P been very deep+IN water+IN

'The flounder were not in very deep water.'

1.2.1.2 Verbal sentences

The verb is generally placed between subject and object (or oblique case):

(35) no polakkeD lä'beD jarre ka ūndaks veiĵĵem
well boys go lake+IL also line+CT fish+IP

'Well, the boys go to the lake to fish with a line too.'

1.2.1.2.1 Placement of the verb

It is possible to place the verb as the first element, if the sense is more general: that is, if the subject is non-specific and the action is habitual:

(36) tu'l't't'e brēt'l'ist kupšaden ēsti mōlt
came(3PL) sprats' merchant+DT PL Estonia land+EL

īn'ez ka brēt'l'ist perinaist
together also sprats' wives

'There came from Estonia, with the sprat-merchants, 'sprat-wives'

too.'

1.2.1.2.2 Impersonal constructions

It seems theoretically possible that the verb could be placed as first element in impersonal verbal sentences (without a pronoun or noun subject), but this is not usual in practice, at least in the spoken corpus. In such cases an adverb or adverbial phrase is preferred as the first element, even if it adds little to the meaning of the sentence. A typical example:

(37) nu neikku ĩrgiZ vje'dde tegiŹ twoiZ luom
 well so began(IM) haul again second catch

'Well, so they/one began hauling the second catch again.'

Very occasionally an impersonal verb is placed as the first element:

(38) kabin't't'iZ veṛge kjeuD pāle ja nei siZ la'ktiZ
 hung(IM) net ropes' on and so then spread(IM P)
 veṛge laigalD
 net open

'They/One hung the net on the rope and then spread the net open.'

1.2.1.2.3 Subject

Word order is quite flexible, but the subject is generally placed before the verb:

(39) lĩvlist veit̃te keitte kūttemes* aga jaḱt pāl neiku nēD
 Livonians little went hunting or hunt on as they
 vanaD ro'ušt ka vel kīt̃tist
 old+PL people also still say

'Livonians rarely went hunting, or on the hunt, as those old people still say.' *kūttemes is an Estonian borrowing.

1.2.1.2.4 Direct object

The position of the direct object is as flexible as that of the subject, but its normal position is after the verb. There are two kinds of direct object: definite (taking the nominative or accusative case) and indefinite (uncountable, partial, or the object of certain verbs), taking the partitive case. Thus many, but not all, direct objects are marked for case. The following passage illustrates some of the variations in position and case-marking of direct objects:

(40) ama sai ti'edet kädudeks. brëtlist sai pjestet kädudeks,
all got done(PPP) hands+CT. sprats got washed hands+CT,
 brëtlist sai kädudeks suoldet ja nei, no säleZ pe'l'l'ist
sprats got hands+CT salted and so, well thus earn+IM P
 rō'de, mi'eD ve'ijjist naist suolist
money+PT, men fished women salted

'Everything was done by hand. Sprats were washed by hand, sprats were salted by hand, and so on. Well, that's how they earned money: the men fished, the women salted.'

Use of the partitive corresponds to the other Baltic-Finnic languages as regards the marking of definiteness/indefiniteness. For a fuller discussion of the partitive case, see 2.1.1.4.19.

1.2.1.2.5 Indirect object

The dative-marked indirect object is also flexible as to position. It may even begin a main clause or sentence:

(41) tūrskaden āt tūrskavergeD, tūrskad sōbeD ka ūndadeks
cod+DT PL are cod-nets, cod+PL get+3PL also line+CT PL
 ve'idet
fished(PPP)

'For cod there are cod-nets; cod are also fished with a line.'

1.2.1.2.6 Oblique object

All indirect cases are marked, and all are flexible as to position. The following sentences illustrate some variations:

(42) ūndaD pāl panaB sīlkkidi, iedeB sīlkkeD pieneks ja
lines' on puts herrings+PT, cuts herrings thin+CT and
 panaB siZ sel'l'is sil'k teṁp̃peD ūnda pāl ja ēṭtaB
puts then such herring(GN) pieces line(GN) on and throws
 ūndaD mje'rre. tūrskaD akkebeD pāl.
lines sea+IL. cod+PL catch on.

lines sea+IL. cod+PL catch on.

'One puts herring on the lines, cuts the herrings thin and then puts pieces of herring on the line and throws the lines into the sea. The cod catch onto them.'

1.2.1.2.7 Order of constituents

The possible order of constituents in a Livonian sentence is extremely varied, owing to the system of case marking, among other features. An exhaustive inventory of the permutations is not possible here, and the range is limited only by the speaker's own habits of speech and style. Characteristic of the speech in the corpus, for instance, is the placing of adverbials at the beginning of a sentence or main clause.

A single complex sentence provides an illustration of the variations possible in the order of constituents:

(43) se vo'l' sel'l'i dēl'ist ku'bbe ra'bdet kīn', kuš
it was such planks+EL together thrown hut, where
 PN copula AJ OB N AV PE NM N RE

-----NOUN PHRASE-----

vo'l' sizal piṭka lōda kwoṛdemest aigadeks, sel'l'ist
was inside long table higher+EL edge+CT PL, such+EL

copula AV AJ NM N AJ OB N AJ
 -----NOUN PHRASE----- -----NOUN
 dēl'ist aigadeks ja sie lōda immer siZ jālga
 planks+EL edge+CT PL and that(GN) table(GN) around then foot(GN)
 PHRASE----- CJ AJ GN N PO AV N GN

pāl pi'liste naist ja suolist bokšuD si'zzel bret'l'iži
 on kept(3PL) women and salted(3PL) barrels into sprats+PT
 PO V NM N CJ V GN N PO OB N
 'It was a hut thrown together out of planks, inside which was a
 long high-sided table of planks, and around that table stood
 women (on foot) salting sprats to go into barrels.'

1.2.1.3 Adverbials

1.2.1.3.1 Types

1.2.1.3.1.1 Adverb

Adverbs have a distinct marking only when derived from adjectives (such as jēvist 'well' from jēva 'good'). Some adverbs, such as nei 'so', siZ 'then', have the function of 'fillers' in the spoken language in addition to their lexical meaning.

1.2.1.3.1.2 Postpositional phrases are a frequent phenomenon in Livonian. Some examples: rānda pāl 'on the shore', tībeD jūr 'on (at) the seine', sū immer 'around the mouth'. The noun is in the (generally unmarked) genitive.

1.2.1.3.1.3 Noun cases as adverbials are also fairly frequent in Livonian: se'uvve 'in summer' (PT), nādilin' 'for weeks' (plural in the vestigial instrumental case), si'gži 'in autumn' (PT).

1.2.1.3.1.4 Adverbial clauses: See 1.1.2.4.

1.2.1.3.2 Position of adverbs: See 1.1.2.4 and 1.2.1.2.7.

1.2.1.3.3 Optionality

All adverbs are optional; they can be removed from sentences without affecting word order or making them ungrammatical.

1.2.2 Adjective phrases

1.2.2.1 Definition

Adjective phrases qualify nouns or noun phrases, either attributively or predicatively.

1.2.2.2 Adjectivals with arguments

A nominative adjective may be followed by an infinitive and its argument:

(44) vo'l' vā'ggi lālam vjedde va'dde
 was very difficult haul seine+PT

'It was very difficult to haul the seine.'

1.2.2.3 Adverbial modification of adjectives

The adverb precedes the adjective: see example (44): vā'ggi lālam 'very difficult'.

1.2.3 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases, such as mūnda keṛD 'often', lit. 'many(PT) time', occupy the same position in the clause as single adverbs.

1.2.4 Postpositional phrases

1.2.4.1 Operational definition

The postpositional phrases consist of a narrow range of words with semantic reference to position in time or space, placed after nouns whose cases they govern. See the examples in 1.2.1.3.1.2. Some of them, such as pāl, 'on', lit. 'head+AD', contain case-endings themselves, but most do not.

1.2.4.2 Postpositional phrases and their argument

Postpositional phrases may be regarded, and have been treated (1.2.1.3.1.2), as a subclass of adverbials, with regard to what they may govern.

1.2.4.3 Modifiers of postpositions

None have been noted.

1.2.4.4 Case-governing

Postpositions all govern the genitive case.

1.2.5 The noun phrase

1.2.5.1 Operational definition

The noun phrase consists of the head noun and its modifiers: demonstrative or possessive adjectives, quantifiers, adjectives (optionally preceded by adverbials) and participles preceding the head, and adverbials or relative clauses following it.

1.2.5.2 Modifiers in the noun phrase

1.2.5.2.1 Attributive adjectives precede the head noun and agree with it in case and number: piškidi tūrskidi 'small cod' (PT PL).

1.2.5.2.2 Relative clauses follow the head noun: see 1.1.2.3.1.

If the head noun is followed by a postposition, the relative clause follows the postposition:

(45) lōjaD immer viškemi suguB set ôr'aD pāl kus āt
boats' around turning happens only sandbanks on where are
 sūrD lained
big+PL waves

'The capsizing of boats only happens on sandbanks where there are big waves.'

1.2.5.2.3 Possessive adjectives can be formed from pronouns (mi'n iza 'my father', nouns (mje'r-mi'eD tie 'seamen's work'), and names (jākkeB läpš 'Jacob's child'). Multiples of these are

permitted:

(46) no jemin' ta pūr'ttiZ eñ'tš jema ve'l' kwoigiD pāl
 well mostly he sailed own mother's brother's ships on
 'Well, mostly he sailed on his uncle's ships.'

1.2.5.2.4 Articles do not exist in Livonian.

1.2.5.2.5 The demonstrative adjectives are se 'this, that' and ne 'these, those'. They are declinable.

1.2.5.2.6 Quantifiers and numerals precede the adjective. Numbers (apart from 1) take the partitive singular: vīššada mēttert '500 metres'.

1.2.5.2.7 Adverbials immediately precede the adjective: rōz sīli 'slightly guilty'; vā'ggi jevaD kalaD 'very good fish (PL)'.

1.2.5.2.8 Emphatic markers are not necessarily part of the noun phrase, as they tend to occur at the junction of the noun phrase and verb phrase (see example 34). The principal emphatic markers are ju, which may mean 'already', 'after all', and ka 'also', 'even'. They may even occur together:

(47) si'n ju ka um rētš sālgaZ
 you(SG)+DT EM also is basket back+IN

'(But) you have a basket on your back too!'

1.2.5.2.9 Comparative and superlative structures

Generally, for the comparative, -em-, and for the superlative, -im- is added to the adjective. Adverbial forms take an additional -t. Comparative and superlative adjectives, like other adjectives, are marked for case and number. Examples:

(48) siZ īrgiZ kjerdemt vjedde
 then began(3SG) more-quickly pull

'Then one/they began to pull more quickly.'

(49) no tūrskaverģeden ätte ne verģe sīlmaD sūrimist
well cod-nets+DT are those net's eyes biggest+PL
 'Well, the openings in the cod-nets are biggest.'

1.2.5.3 Restrictions on co-occurrence of modifiers

Demonstrative and possessive adjectives may not occur together.

1.2.5.4 Order of constituents in noun phrase

The order is given in 1.2.5.1.

1.3 Co-ordination

1.3.1 Types

1.3.1.1 Sentence co-ordination

There are three principal co-ordinating words: ja or un 'and', aga 'or', bet 'but'; all of them may co-ordinate sentences. (For vei see 1.3.1.5.5.)

1.3.1.2 Number of co-ordinators

Co-ordinators cannot co-occur, but may be omitted. (In the spoken corpus, strings of unco-ordinated clauses are very common.)

1.3.1.3 Means of co-ordinating major categories

The same three co-ordinators are used for all categories, even for joining unequal ones.

1.3.1.4 Co-ordination and accompaniment

The function of co-ordinators is performed to a marginal extent by the comitative-translative case (actually two cases which in Livonian have blended into one, that is, taken on identical forms). In its comitative sense, the ending -eks has the force of the preposition 'with' and can thus express the idea of accompaniment. Discussion of the comitative-translative case more properly belongs to the section dealing with noun cases, but here are two examples of its comitative meaning:

(50) sis pa'n't't'e tija lōda ala ja tija lōdaks siZ
 then put+3PL P empty box down and empty box+CT then

va'ittist si'zzel nānt
 lowered(IM) inside them

'Then they put the empty box down and lowered them into it.'

(51) no lještaD said kānttet rāndast kwodai rētšedeks
 well flounder got carried shore+AB home+IL baskets+CT

'Well, the flounder were carried home from the beach by means of
 baskets.'

It will be noted from sentence (50) that adjectives (tija) do not carry the comitative case ending. In this respect Livonian follows Estonian practice with its corresponding comitative case (-ga).

1.3.1.5 Structural parallelism in co-ordination

Members of different word-classes can be co-ordinated. This applies to:

1.3.1.5.1 Adjectives and participial constructions

(52) ē'dekst sōn'i ne vo'l't't'e jēva rakķanded ja
 evening(GN) by they were already gutted(PPP) and

pū'deks pieštet
 clean+CT washed(PPP)

'By evening they were already gutted and washed clean.'

1.3.1.5.2 Nouns and nominalised constructions

(53) no leinakst aigal aga ē'dekst puol twoi
 well lunch(GN) time+AD or evening(GN) side brought(IM)

lještaD kwodai
 flounder home+IL

'Well, at lunch time or towards evening one brought the flounder

home.'

1.3.1.5.3 Different types of adverbial

(54) se vel iZ muošta leńtše kiedeD ku'bbe aga teiž
it still NG P be-able pull ropes together or again
 riŋkķe nēd'i kjeuži
loop those+PT ropes+PT

'It (He) was still not able to pull ropes together or loop those ropes.'

1.3.1.5.4 Active and passive/impersonal verbs

(55) siZ ka amaD ne kōzniķkaD tu'l't't'e ĩn'eZ
then also all+PL those wedding-guests came together
 ja sāl sai se kōzgenD loṗṗandeks pi'ddet
and there got that wedding closing-festivities held(PPP)

'So then all the wedding-guests came together as well and then the closing festivities of the wedding were held there.'

1.3.1.5.5 Other uses of co-ordinators

Although co-ordinators may be freely used to join any elements of the sentence, and even to begin sentences, there is one specialised use of a restrictive co-ordinator, vei, in the sense of 'or' when only one alternative is possible among several:

(56) ka luomeD tuoittegeks nēd'i akkist aga tegiž
also animals' food+CT they+PT caught+3PL or again
 miŋgiZ trōn' pjerast, kala raza vei miš pjerast
some fat(GN) because, fish(GN) grease(GN) or what because
 ne teitte vei kalaD ēl' pjerast aga ne sjeda siZ
they did or fish(GN PL) oil(GN) because but they it+PT then
 nēd'i sāl ka vejist
they+PT there also fished

'They also caught (it) for animals' food, for the fat, for the grease or the fish-oil or whatever they did it for, but they did fish for that there too.'

The co-ordinator *ja* 'and' is often used colloquially, as in Finnish, in the adverbial sense of 'also':

(57) *vada sū um ja sālez*

seine(GN) mouth is and there

'The mouth of the seine is there too.'

1.3.2 Elements that can be omitted under identity in co-ordination

See 1.5.1.1 below.

1.3.3 Omission of elements of major constituents in the sentence

This does not occur in Livonian beyond the anaphoric rules set out in 1.5.

1.4 Negation

1.4.1 Sentence negation

The negating element refers to, and usually precedes, the verb:

(58) *mā'd jū's ka nēd'i nei vā'ggi je'nne iz uo, ōralist*

our at also they+PT so very much NG P BE, rare+PL

vo'l't't'e

were

'We didn't have so very many of them, they were rare.'

As in the other Baltic-Finnic languages, there is a special form of the verb, often identical with the stem, which is used with the negative particle. In the case of the verb 'to be', as above, the form is irregular; *uo*. The negative particle itself has two variants, *iz* and *āB*, for all persons. The former is used for past tense verbs and the latter for the present tense; in fact it is

the negative element and not the verb stem (which remains unchanged) that shows the tense of the verb. In this respect Livonian differs markedly from other Baltic-Finnic languages. Both particles lose their voicing before unvoiced consonants:

(59) meittizi ta'lkkidi sel'l'iži äp tieda
other-kinds-of+PT working-bees+PT such+PT PL NG PR know

rāndas

coast+IN

'(I) don't know any other sorts of working-bee on the coast.'

(Note the deletion of the subject pronoun in the above example.)

Semi-passive constructions, as distinct from impersonal ones, are also capable of negation, using the stem of the verb sode 'get' and a past passive participle:

(60) kōr'a-pain't't'en pālkka is sō makstet
cattleherds+DT wage+PT NG P get paid(PPP)

'The cow-herds did not get paid a wage.'

(This semi-passive construction is not characteristically Baltic-Finnic; it is probably formed by analogy with the Latvian semi-passive construction with tikt 'become'; the Latvian for is sō makstet would be netika maksāta 'did not get/become paid'.)

The 'infinitive of obligation' (see 2.1.3.1.2), in which the verb ending -mest carries the sense of 'must' when used in conjunction with a copula, can also be negated:

(61) beŕ ka sie kōr'a-pain't't'en siZ iZ uo lē'mest jēga
but also that+GN cattle-herds+DT then NG P be go+OG each

pāva kar'r'el

day cattle+AL

'But then, the cow-herd didn't have to go to the cattle every day.'

Since the negative element aB carries the sense of 'present aspect', it is used in negative perfect tense constructions:

(62) vana breŋkkou i'ẓ̌ äb uo voñD nei vä'ggi ka'D

old Brenkkou self NG PR be been so very envious

'Old Brenkkou himself has not been (=wasn't) so very envious.'

(This use of the perfect tense occurs in a narrative context.)

A variant of iZ, išt, which is actually the 2SG, 2PL and 3PL form of iZ, is found in impersonal past-tense constructions:

(63) nēd'i mūs išt kēlbat ku seť siZ lēba-ōis

they+PT elsewhere NG P used(PPP) than only then bread-oven+IN

'So they were not used anywhere other than in a bread-oven.'

Agent forms nominalised from verbs may even take negating elements marked for tense:

(64) ja mi'n āma se vo'l' se is-tō'ji

and my mother it was it not-wisher

'And my mother was the one who didn't want (it/any).'

1.4.2 Constituent negation

Other constituents than the verb can be negated, but only where required for focusing purposes, and even here the tense-marked negating elements are often used. In speech the negator-element is sometimes repeated, first as the focus and secondly in its usual position before the verb. In this example the negation is in the past, using past (active and passive) participles:

(65) iZ sel'l'ist piva kalaks is pidaneD aga ta vo'l'

NG P such+PT sacred fish+CT NG P held(P AC P) but he was

vanast voñD ka piva kala

old+AB been also sacred fish

'It wasn't regarded as a sacred fish, but it had formerly been a sacred fish.'

It is possible to negate a nominal phrase using the word mitte, thus corresponding to Estonian usage:

(66) vanast ätte ka üdenD ja ti'ened nēd'i

old+AB are also fried(P AC P) and made(P AC P) those(PT)

raza-kak̄kidi il̄ge, mitte il̄ge razast beṯ sil'k-razast
grease-cakes+PT seal's, not seal's grease+AB but herring-grease+AB

'In olden days one fried and made fat-cakes from seals' - not seals', but herrings' fat.'

The present-tense negator ab can be used to negate adjectives and participles (like ei- in Finnish and non- in English):

(67) ne vo'l't't'e jēlamizeks iened sel'l'ist äp-

they were living+CT become(P AC P) such non-

kēlbattabeks

usable+CT

'They had become sort of uninhabitable.'

(68) kal'l'e ma'dden ap tundenD

small-beer+PT we+DT NG PR known

'Small beer (Fi. kalja) is unknown to us.'

1.4.3 Effect of multiple negative elements in the sentence

Despite example (65) in 1.4.2 above, such examples are exceptional and would even be considered ungrammatical in writing. Only one negating element in each clause is permitted.

1.4.4 Negation in co-ordinated structures

The 'neither - nor' construction is tense-bound, as it derives from the negators äB (pres.) and iZ (past). Kettunen records the additional marker ni in the (pres.) construction äb ni - äb ni:
äb ni brüt't'e äb ni rō've '(he has) neither a bride nor money'.
 In the past tense, išt - išt is attested, without ni:

(69) se išt uoD miŋgist sel'l'ist li'ebist išt mideD
it NG P be any+PT such+PT fat+PT NG P anything+PT
 'It wasn't either fat or anything.'

(Note that the negative copula uo is attested as uoD or uotte in conjunction with ist).

1.4.5 Negation in subordinate clauses

This does not differ from negation in main clauses.

1.5 Anaphora

1.5.1 Means of expressing anaphora

1.5.1.1 Deletion

Deletion of identical elements, especially verbs, is common:

(70) Īranik̄kaD nuttabeD ja'mdeD kiedeD baššudeks, pieneD
Īre-people call thick+PL ropes bassud+CT, thin+PL
 kiedeD droššadeks
ropes droššad+CT

'The people of Īre call thick ropes bassud and thin ropes droššad.' (Identical subject and verb both deleted.)

1.5.1.2 Marked element

Subject deletion is not normally permitted in Livonian; person/number inflection of the verb is not regarded as sufficient on its own.

1.5.1.3 Personal pronoun

Livonian possesses the following personal pronouns, some of which have short and long forms as indicated: m(in)a 'I'; s(in)a 'you SG'; t(äm)a 'he/she' (se 'it' used for persons); mēG 'we'; tēG 'you PL'; ne 'they'. They are inflected for case. Personal pronouns may be used for non-human creatures:

(71) lješta ju um sel'l'i jāmp kala ku ta puguB jālga
flounder EM is such stupid fish that he escapes foot(GN)

ala

under (PO)

'You see, the flounder is such a stupid fish that he escapes under (your) foot.'

1.5.1.4 Reflexive pronoun

Three reflexive pronoun functions can be distinguished:

1.5.1.4.1 Reflexive pronoun as object or in oblique case

(72) no až miņgizen vo'l' ka nei ku ta eñtšen
well if someone+DT was also so that he self+DT
 iz uo aige lā'de, vo'l' ju ka se'l'lis kiš pidiste
NG P be time+PT go, was EM also such who kept(3PL)
 siZ kōr'a-paintte eñtšen
then cattle-herd+PT self+DT

'Well, if there was someone who didn't have the time to go, there were always those who had a cow-herd to themselves (=of their own).' (eñtš = oblique root of i'ž 'self')

1.5.1.4.2 Reflexive as complement of the subject

The reflexive complement appears in the nominative case and is thus identical with the emphatic pronoun i'ž 'self':

(73) siZ ju jęga ikš i'ž kīndiZ ja i'ž nīttiZ eńtš ri'ggeZ
 then EM each one self sowed and self mowed own rye
 'At that time everyone sowed and mowed their own rye themselves.'

1.5.1.4.3 Reflexive possession

The reflexive possessive adjective eńtš (< i'ž) is used. See example (73) above or:

(74) se siZ vońD ku, siZ neikka se nuor mieZ vīž siZ ni
 it then been that, then like it young man took then now
 eńtš naiZ eńtš kwodai siZ ka amaD ne kōznikkaD
 own woman own home+IL then also all+PL those wedding-guests
 tu'l't't'e ĩn'eZ
 came together

'So it was that when the young man took his bride to his home, all those wedding-guests came too.'

1.5.2 Anaphora in various syntactic environments

1.5.2.1 Within the clause

No other kinds of anaphora within the clause are possible.

1.5.2.2 Between co-ordinate structures

In speech there is occasional omission of co-ordinators; see example (40): mi'eD veijjist naist suolist 'the men fished, the women salted'.

1.5.2.3 Between superordinate and subordinate clauses

This does not occur.

1.5.2.4 Between different subordinate clauses

This does not occur.

1.5.2.5 Between different sentences

This does not occur.

1.5.3 Anaphoric processes and elements adjacent to conjunctions

There are no distinctive processes or elements.

1.6 Reflexives

1.6.1 Means of expressing reflexivity

As observed in 1.5.1.4, the basic reflexive pronoun is eňtš, the oblique root of the emphatic pronoun ī'ž 'self', and the full range of oblique cases can be used.

1.6.2 Scope of reflexivity

Reflexive action can be expressed by a verb followed by an appropriate form of the reflexive pronoun. The scope is limited to the clause. Reflexive possession can be expressed with the possessive pronoun u'm ('own'), which is fully declinable. It is not in very common use, however, often being replaced by the genitive form of ī'ž, eňtš.

1.6.3 Syntactic functions relating to reflexives

The reflexive pronoun must follow the verb to which it refers.

This applies equally well to the oblique (inflected) forms:

(75) no bet kalami'eD ju ī'ts-tī't pidiste eňtšen kuid'i
 well but fishermen EM continually kept self+DT dry+PT PL

lešti taga-varaks
flounder+PT PL back-reserve+CT

'Well, but the fishermen always kept some dry flounder in reserve for themselves.'

A reflexive-emphatic construction is also found, with subject and object forms of ī'ž linked together:

(76) ī'ž-eňtš nu pidiZ sie kā'D ma'G jūs
 self-own now kept(3SG) its hand(PT) stomach(GN) at (PO)

'(For oneself,) one kept one's own arm by one's stomach.'

1.7 Reciprocals

1.7.1 Means of expressing reciprocity

Kettunen gives the form ikš tvoi 'one another', but both parts are declinable, as this example shows:

(77) kŭla* ro'ušt siZ lekšte i't-twoizen a'bbel
 village(GN) people then went one(PT)-another(DT) help+AL

*elsewhere rendered as kila.

'Then the village people went to help each other.'

1.7.2 Scope of reciprocity

The scope is limited to the clause.

1.8 Comparison

1.8.1 Means of expression

The comparative marker is -em for adjectives, -em(t) for adverbs.

The superlative form ends in -im. (See 1.2.5.2.9.) Comparisons are constructed using the conjunction ku 'than':

(78) nēd'i išt two'it mitte kunagest pakkandem siede
 they+PT NG P IM dared(PPP) NG ever sooner eat

ku seť tal'š-pivadeks

than only winter-festival+CT(PL)

'One never dared to eat them sooner than at Christmas (only).'

1.8.2 Omission of identical elements

Identical elements are omitted in comparison.

1.8.3 Correlative constructions

Correlative constructions usually involve comparisons of whole clauses, and the correlation is indicated by agreement between the cases of the focused noun phrases and the degree of the adjectives, but here a comparative correlates with a superlative:

(79) kien vo'l't't'e sŭrimist kōzgenD, nāntten ka

whom(DT) were biggest(PL) wedding(PL), them(DT) also
 vo'l' jemin nēd'i nuor-pōridi
 was more they(PT) young-couples(PT)
 'Whoever had the biggest wedding(s) also had more young couples.'

1.9 Equatives

The equative construction does not involve a distinctive adjective marker, but is characterised by the conjunction nei (-i'ž), the second (optional) element being a reflexive-emphatic:

(80) ēlekst vo'l't't'e nei-i'ž pitkaD
 rows were so-self long+PL

'The rows were equally long.'

More commonly, though, the equation will involve two separate elements:

(81) kui tēva bōl'a, nei pitka um se stōk misseks se ouk
 how deep tub, so long is that stick which+CT that hole
 um vi'zze ti'edet
 is shut made(PPP)

'As deep as the tub is, so long is the stick whereby the hole is kept shut.'

Adverbs are compared in equative constructions using nei+adverb:

(82) nei kōgin' koñ'tš āt vērgeD vonneD, nei kōgin' ātte ka
 so long since are nets been, so long are also
 rāndas vabaD vonneD
 coast+IN seines been

'As long as there have been nets, there have been seines on the coast.'

'Inequatives', expressions of inequality, are constructed with nei as well:

(83) *twoi vo'l ka vel um ve'ggi beṭ se äb uo nei ve'ggi*
second beer also still is strong but it NG PR be so strong

ku e'žmi vo'l

as first beer

'The second beer is also strong, but it isn't as strong as the first beer.'

1.10 Possession

1.10.1 Sentences expressing possession

Livonian lacks a verb 'to have', and instead expresses possession using the dative case of the possessor+copula: see 1.2.1.1.5. Otherwise possession is expressed by the genitive case. It can be personal (*kalami'eD jelami* 'fishermen's life') or impersonal (*kila ro'ušt* 'the people of the village'). Reflexive possession (where the possessed element is the object) can be expressed using *eñtš* (see 1.5.1.4.2 and 1.5.1.4.3):

(84) *iķš keřD ta-i'ž ka nižiz ku ta vo'l'l'i lašken*
one time he-self also told that he was shot (P AC P)

eñtš taras vorukst pält bokkidi
own garden+IN sown-land(GN) off deer+PT PL

'Once he told how he had shot deer in his own (cultivated) garden.'

1.10.2 Alienable and inalienable possession

No formal distinction is made between alienable and inalienable possession.

1.10.3 Temporary and permanent possession

No distinction is made.

1.11 Emphasis

1.11.1 Sentence emphasis

1.11.1.1 Non-contradictory emphasis

In response to a question, the stressed word of the question can be taken up as the first element:

(85) no kui vël vejub?

well how still fish+3SG?

'Well, how else does one fish?'

vël vediste sûrvadaks

still hauled+3PL big-seine+CT

'They also hauled (with) the big seine.'

1.11.1.2 Contradictory emphasis

In a negative response where a positive one might be expected, it is possible to repeat the negative element, placing it both first and in its normal position before the verb. See example (65).

1.11.2 Constituent emphasis

The emphatic marker ju is placed, in speech, after the emphasised element, generally, but not necessarily, a noun:

(86) siepjerast siZ sāl vo'l' sel'l'i saŋgde vōza ja

therefore then there was such fat meat and

kōma vōza ju nei ta um jēva, vā'ggi jēva vōza um

turbot(GN) meat EM so he is good, very good meat is

'That is why there was such fat meat, and (after all) turbot meat is good, very good meat.'

1.11.2.1 Expression of emphasis

Aside from the use of emphatic markers, Livonian also allows for the free transfer of stressed elements to the beginning, and less often to the end, of the sentence or clause. In the following example, adverbials have been placed for emphatic purposes at the

beginning of each clause:

(87) līve rāndas seĥ kūjastiZ so'usse, meittiZ išt
Livonian coast+IN only dried+IM smoke+IN, otherwise NG P
 kūjastet, pāva kā'DZ išt kūjastet kal'd'i
dried(PPP) sun's hand+IN NG P IM dried(PPP) fish(PT PL)

'On the Livonian coast, drying was only done in smoke; no other kind of drying was done; one didn't dry fish in the sun.'
 Variations in intonation, which are not indicated in this section, can also express degrees of emphasis.

1.11.2.2 Restrictions on emphasis

Splitting of clauses for emphatic purposes (clefting) and extraction of elements from clauses are not attested in the spoken corpus. Of marginal grammatical acceptability is the placement of pronouns in apposition to topicalised nouns, as in example (16).

1.11.3 Focus of yes-no questions

The focus of a yes-no question is morphologically unmarked, but is usually placed in initial position in the question:

(88) no kōma iZ uo miŋgi sel'l'i piva kala?
well turbot NG P be any such sacred fish?

'Well, wasn't the turbot any sort of sacred fish?'

1.12 Topic

1.12.1 Means of indicating topic

Where the topic of a sentence is neutral, it will usually coincide with the subject, since the basic word order of Livonian is SVO. However, Livonian word order is very flexible owing to its highly agglutinative morphology. A possible constraint on the free ordering of elements is the general syncretism of

nominative, accusative and genitive forms. For example, the possessor always precedes the possessed, but the genitive form is usually identical with the nominative. In the spoken language the tendency is to place the major emphasis on the first element of a clause and secondary emphasis on the final element. As the first element in a large proportion of the main clauses in the spoken corpus is an adverbial phrase, and as such clauses tend with almost equal frequency to end with noun phrases (excluding pronouns), verb phrases tend to be displaced toward the middle of a clause (with impersonal verbs tending toward the end). Thus it could be said that although the normal 'grammatical' word order is Subject-Verb-Object, when the subject does appear as the first element in a clause or sentence it is in fact being given exceptional emphasis. It should be recalled that these remarks apply to the spoken language, and do not apply in every respect to written texts. The following formulation is by no means untypical:

(89) nu mūnda keřD vo'l' nei je'nn lešti ku iZ
well some time was so many flounder+PT PL that NG P
 v̄ei, kaš mieste is s̄otte laiĵje si'zzel
be-able, two man+PT NG P got(PPP) boat(PT) inside
 'Well, sometimes there were so many flounder that one couldn't,
 two men couldn't get the boat in.' (Particle-Adverbial-Copula-
 Noun Phrase-Adverbial Clause of Result [Subject-Verb-Object-
 Adverbial])

1.13 Heavy shift

While there are no syntactic constraints on the operation of the process of shifting 'heavy' elements such as embedded clauses to

peripheral positions in the sentence, there is no clear evidence from the spoken corpus that such a process occurs regularly. Certain movement processes do take place (see 1.14 below), but in general spoken Livonian does not have a sufficiently complex clause structure to warrant the operation of heavy shift.

1.14 Other movement processes

1.14.1 Verb-final sentences

While non-finite forms such as infinitives and participles are frequently found in sentence-final position, finite verbs are very rarely final, and are only marginally grammatical:

(90) õra keŗD miņgist keŗD vo'l'

rare time some+PT time was

'It was rare, there sometimes was.'

1.14.2 Parenthetical construction

Insertion of an entire main clause as a parenthetical statement of additional information may occur after the subject of the original main clause, for instance:

(91) tvoi sūr uŗpandimi vo'l' ku lŗvlist - sje vo'l'

another big drowning was when Livonians - it was

jŗva je'ts mi'n siņdemit su'ggen - ku lŗvlist vo'l't't'e

already before my birth+PT happened - when Livonians were

bro'utŗsenD lieppe

travelled Liepāja+IL

'Another big drowning occurred when Livonians - it had happened well before I was born - when Livonians had travelled to Liepāja.'

1.15 Minor sentence types

The following operational definitions apply to minor sentence

types in Livonian:

1.15.1 Rhetoric

Rhetorical statements, intended to produce an effect rather than a response, have no distinct grammatical markers. They may include questions interjected into statements, incomplete sentences or questions not requiring answers.

1.15.2 Denial

Simple denials usually consist of a negative marker and a corresponding form of the verb, without other distinctive marking.

1.15.3 Exclamations

Exclamations may consist of whole sentences, single constituents or vocatives.

1.15.4 Ideophonic utterances

These are made in imitation of extralinguistic sounds.

1.16 Operational definitions of word classes

1.16.1 Noun

The noun is distinguished by a system of case endings and by singular and plural number. Postpositions occur only after nouns.

1.16.2 Pronoun

The pronoun may be defined as a subclass of the noun insofar as it is declinable for case, with a full nominal paradigm of case endings. It represents a type of anaphoric construction in that it replaces already mentioned or inferred animate and inanimate nouns.

1.16.3 Verb

Verbs are conjugated for person and number, and have negative forms and participles.

1.16.4 Adjective

Adjectives are characterised by distinctive position (before the noun attributively, and after a relative construction predicatively) and by an incomplete paradigm of case endings. They can also be modified for degree.

1.16.5 Adverb

The adverb modifies adjectives and verbs, and has no characteristic ending except in the comparative and superlative degree, which is the only modification it can take. It precedes the adjective and either precedes or follows the verb.

2. MORPHOLOGY2.1 Inflection2.1.1 Noun inflection2.1.1.1 Means of expressing functions of noun phrases

A system of noun cases is employed. As will be seen from the paradigms given below, some of the paradigms are incomplete; where the lacunae occur, circumlocutions (usually involving a postposition) are used instead.

2.1.1.1.1 Bound affixes

Kettunen (1938) attests seven distinct nominal paradigms. One example of each is given here. Note the identical forms of the nominative and genitive in most of the paradigms. The accusative case is not given here as it is always identical with the nominative.

2.1.1.1.1.1 Monosyllabic stem

pū 'tree'

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	pū	pūd
Genitive	pū	pūd
Dative	pūn	pūden
Comitative/Translative	pūks	pūdeks
Partitive	pūd	pūd'i
Inessive	pūs	pūšši
Elicative	pūst(e)	pūšti
Illative	pū'ze	pūži
*Adessive	pūl	
*Ablative	pūlD	
*Allative	pūl	

The forms marked with an asterisk* are not in regular use and are more likely to be replaced by circumlocutions. The adessive, ablative and allative cases are not productive for all nouns in the singular and are completely absent in the plural.

2.1.1.1.1.2 Disyllabic stem in a-

kala 'fish'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	kala	kalaD
Gen.	kala	kalaD
Dat.	kalan	kaladen
Com./Transl.	kalaks	kaladeks
Part.	ka'lle	ka'l'd'i
Iness.	kalas	ka'l'sši
Elat.	kalast	ka'l'shti
Illat.	ka'lle(z)	ka'l'ži

(Adessive, ablative and allative cases are lacking for kala.)

2.1.1.1.1.3 Disyllabic stem in o-, u-, i-

su'G 'relative'

Nom.	su'G	suguD
Gen.	su'G	suguD
Dat.	su'ggen	suguden
Com./Transl.	suguks (su'kkeks)	sugudeks
Part.	su'gge	su'gdi (sugidi)
Iness.	su'ks	su'kši
Elat.	su'kst	su'kšti
Illat.	su'gge(z)	su'g'zi

(Adessive, ablative and allative cases are lacking for su'G.)

2.1.1.1.1.4 Disyllabic stem in e-mä'G (<*me'G) 'hill'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	mä'G	mäguD
Gen.	mä'G	mäguD
Dat.	mä'ggen	mäguden
Com./Transl.	mäguks	mägudeks
Part.	mä'gge	mägidi
Iness.	mä'ks	mä'kši
Elat.	mä'kst	mä'kšti
Illat.	mä'gge	mä'gži
Adess.	mä'ggel	
Ablat.	mä'ggeld	
Allat.	mä'ggel	

2.1.1.1.1.5 Disyllabic stem in -ZlāmbaZ 'sheep'

Nom.	lāmbaZ	lāmbed
Gen.	lāmbē	lāmbed
Dat.	lāmben	lāmbeden
Com./Transl.	lāmbeks	lāmbedeks
Part.	lāmbast	lāmbidi
Iness.	lāmbes	lāmpšši
Elat.	lāmbest	lāmpšti
Illat.	lāmbēZ	lāmbži
Adess.	*lāmbel	lāmbil'
Ablat.	*lāmbeld	lāmbil'D
Allat.	*lāmbel	lāmbil'

2.1.1.1.1.6 Polysyllabic stem in -ie'bbi 'horse'

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	e'bbi	e'bbist
Gen.	ebiz	e'bbist
Dat.	ebizen	e'bbisten
Com./Transl.	ebizeks	e'bbisteks
Part.	ebist	ebiži
Iness.	ebizes	ebizis
Elat.	ebizest	ebizist
Illat.	ebize	ebiziZ

(Adessive, ablative and allative forms are lacking for e'bbi.)2.1.1.1.1.7 Polysyllabic stems in a-, o-, e-kōranD 'courtyard'

Nom.	kōranD	kōrandeD
Gen.	kōranD	kōrandeD
Dat.	kōranden	kōrandeden
Com./Transl.	kōrandeks	kōrandedeks
Part.	kōrant	kōrandidi
Iness.	kōrandes/korantse	kōrandis
Elat.	kōrandest	kōrandist
Illat.	kōrande	kōrandiZ
Adess.	kōrandel	
Ablat.	kōrandeD	
Allat.	kōrandel	

2.1.1.1.2 Postpositions

See 1.2.1.3.1.2 and 1.2.4.

2.1.1.2 Means of expressing syntactic functions

2.1.1.2.1 Subject of intransitive verb

The subject of an intransitive verb is generally in the nominative case:

(92) no oðem kui ju jęga ķęŗD ei ildīn' ma'ggem
well Adam like EM every time fell immediately sleep(IP)

'Well, Adam, as always, immediately fell asleep.'

With certain intransitive verbs, however, a partitive subject is also occasionally found:

(93) no sugiZ ka līveD rāndaZ sel'l'iži
well happened also Livonians' coast+IN such(PT PL)

āb-von' su'ggimiži ku uṕṕandiste kalami'eD jara
mis-fortune(GN) happenings(PT) that drowned fishermen away

'Well, there also happened on the Livonian coast accidents in which fishermen drowned.'

From the word order of the above example it will be seen that the verb su'gge 'happen' can be placed in focus-position like a copula; partitive subjects are generally found only with verbs of this kind (unless they are made partitive by a quantifier).

2.1.1.2.2 Subject of transitive verb

The subject of a transitive verb is also generally in the nominative case:

(94) sa uoD eiṭṭen eņts āņkkar
you(SG) are thrown own anchor

'You have thrown your anchor.'

Again, a partitive subject is possible with a transitive verb: see example (89), for instance, in section 1.12.1.

2.1.1.2.3 Subject of copular construction

Copular constructions also generally have a nominative subject:

(95) ama um voñD ka vä'ggi knaš

all is been also very beautiful

'And everything has been very beautiful.'

Once again, a partitive subject is occasionally found with a copular construction; see again example (89).

2.1.1.2.4 Direct object

Direct objects in Livonian take either the accusative case, which is identical with the nominative, or the partitive case, according to the principle of perceived definiteness which applies in all the Baltic-Finnic languages. The use of these cases in Livonian corresponds in fact very closely with that in Finnish and Estonian. Countable, 'definite' direct objects take the accusative/nominative case:

(96) beṭ jāķķeben ta um mīmṭṭen knaš sīlmaD-ō'renD

but Jacob+DT she is presented beautiful eyes'-cloth

'But to Jacob she has presented a beautiful towel.'

The partitive case is used for uncountable or otherwise indefinite singular and plural objects:

(97) ta māḡgiZ nēd'i knaššidi lōlidi

he played those(PT) beautiful(PT PL) songs(PT)

'He played some of those beautiful songs.'

(98) leṁde leibe āndiZ

warm(PT) bread(PT) gave(IM)

'(Some) warm bread was given.'

Certain verbs indicating emotion or other abstract relations take a partitive direct object. Such verbs include tuñde 'know', pivaste 'bless', nutte 'call, name', voṭše 'seek', mā'dle 'remember':

(99) siZ te'iž panuksik̃kaD āt tānda votšeneD

then again wedding-party(PL) are her(PT) sought

'Then again the wedding-party (has) looked for her.'

Negative verbs always take a partitive direct object:

(100) ma sjeda jemin' äb mǎ'dle

I it(PT) longer NG PR remember

'I no longer remember it.'

(But note that mǎ'dle 'remember' is one of the verbs that always takes a partitive object anyway.)

Verbs indicating partial or incomplete movement or action also take a partitive object:

(101) ma kūliZ ku sina nei knašše māḡgist eñtš kañdle

I heard that you(SG) so beautifully played own kandal

(PT) (Est./Fi. kannel, Fi. kantele, stringed instrument)

'I heard you playing your kandal so beautifully.'

See also 1.2.2.2, example (44).

2.1.1.2.5 Indirect object

Indirect objects take the dative or any other appropriate case endings. See example (96).

2.1.1.2.6 Object of comparison

The object of comparison does not take any particular case, but the comparison itself is made with the particle ku: see example (78).

2.1.1.2.7 Object of equation

The object of an equation is not marked by a distinct case either, but by nei...ku 'as...as'. See example (81) in section 1.9.

2.1.1.2.8 Other objects governed by verbs

Some verbs govern cases (apart from nom./acc. and partitive) which are not apparent from physical relations only. One example is *iebe* 'stay, remain', which takes the illative:

(102) rabaD iebeD vōlgeD pāle
mash(PL) remain straw(GN PL) onto (PO, ='head+IL')

'The mash stays on the straw.'

2.1.1.2.9 Complement of copular construction

The complement of a copula appears in the nominative:

(103) nu lēba ūdijiD vo'l't't'e naist
well bread(GN) bakers were women

'Well, the bread-bakers were women.'

2.1.1.2.10 Subject-complement

There is no distinct subject-complement form.

2.1.1.2.11 Object-complement

The object-complement of causative verbs and verbs of naming appears in the comitative-translative case:

(104) lēba kukkil'D' tutkameD nuttist lēba
bread(GN) loaves' ends called(3PL) bread(GN)

tutkameks

end+CT

'The ends of the loaf were called the 'bread-end'.'

2.1.1.2.12 Objects governed by adjectives

Certain adjectives can take objects and govern their cases:

for example *täud* 'full' takes the comitative/translative:

(105) veŗgeD àtte vonneD nei tãdeD kaladeks
nets are been so full(PL) fish(CT PL)

'The nets have been so full of fish.'

2.1.1.2.13 Agent in passive construction

Passive constructions might more truly be called impersonal constructions, because they are agentless. Constructions which might in other languages be rendered as passive have the nominative subject (topic) placed at the end.

2.1.1.2.14 Topic

See 1.12.

2.1.1.2.15 Emphasis

See 1.11.

2.1.1.3 Means of expressing syntactic functions in non-finite clauses

While there are no distinct forms used for subjects and objects in non-finite clauses, there does seem to be a measure of ambiguity in the use of nominative, genitive and sometimes partitive forms in conjunction with non-finite verb-forms, as the following examples indicate:

(106) lještaD ve'ijimizes um voñD ka, ve'ijimiZ jūs um
 flounder(GN PL) fishing+IN is been also, fishing at is
 voñD ka miŋgiži âb miŋgiži anekdōttiliži, sel'1'iži
been also some+PT PL NG PR some+PT PL anecdotal+PT PL, such+PT PL
 su'ggimiži
happenings+PT

'In flounder fishing, too - on flounder fishing, there have also been some sorts of anecdotal, sort of happenings.'

(107) no siZ lēba ō'i eittes is two'it pjeršle
 well then bread(GN) oven+IL throwing+IN NG P may fart

'Now then, in throwing bread into the oven one wasn't allowed to fart.'

(108) lēba ūdimiZ pjerast jegas kōrants vo'l' sūr
 bread(GN) baking for(PO) each(IN) household+IN was big

lēba-ō'i

bread-oven

'For the baking of bread there was a big bread oven in every household.'

2.1.1.4 Means of expressing non-local semantic functions

2.1.1.4.1 Benefactive

Benefactive constructions are formed either with a postposition (*pjerast*) as in example (108) above, or with the dative case:

(109) rānda kōrandis nei je'nn is kaza ri'ggest
 coast+GN households+IN so much NG P grow rye+PT

las sōge ama aigast pjerast eñtšen leibe

so-that get(SJ) all year(GN) for(PO) self+DT bread+PT

'In the coastal households there didn't grow so much rye that one could get bread for oneself for the whole year.'

2.1.1.4.2 Source

Source may be expressed with the relative case or, with strictly physical relations (usually involving a human source), the postposition *kā'tst* (itself including an relative ending, lit. 'from-hand');

(110) sieda sai mōmi'eD kā'tst kalaD je'tst
 it(PT) got land-men(GN) from(PO) fish(GN PL) before(PO)

'One got it from the land-men (=Latvians) (in exchange) for fish.'

2.1.1.4.3 Instrumental

A separate instrumental case is no longer functional in Livonian.

The comitative-translative case is generally used:

(111) siZ r̥ibiZ grābileks siduD q̄'ist ul̄ze

then scraped+3SG coal-hook+CT coals oven+EL out

'Then one scraped the coals from the oven with a coal-hook.'

2.1.1.4.4 Comitative

Unlike the other Baltic-Finnic languages, Livonian makes no distinction between instrumental and comitative:

(112) siZ kieriZ piened kiededeks vašte mer̄kk̄e ja

then turned(3SG) thin+PL ropes+CT against mark(PT) and

seidiZ mer̄k pāl

rowed(3SG) mark(GN) onto(PO)

'Then one turned, with the thin ropes, toward the marker and rowed up to the marker.'

2.1.1.4.5 Circumstance

'With' in the additional 'comitative' sense of accompaniment is rendered by the postposition jūre:

(113) bēt ne plādinD vo'l't't'e vā'ggi ma'gdiD až nāntten

but those pancakes were very sweet+PL if they+GN

jūre rīp̄piZ

with drank(3SG)

'But those pancakes were very sweet if one had a drink with them.'

The meaning of 'without' is conveyed by the preposition īlme

(some speakers use bās) followed by the partitive:

(114) ūdist vo'dderst leibe ka īlme tiemieste

baked+3PL barley(EL) bread(PT) also without yeast+PT

'Barley bread was also baked without yeast.'

2.1.1.4.6 Possessive

The genitive case is used:

(115) lješta lūkkist ka vo'l't't'e pi'emded
flounder's bones also were softened

'The flounder's bones had also softened.'

2.1.1.4.7 Possessed

There is no distinct marker for what is possessed.

2.1.1.4.8 Quality

Quality is expressed by adjectives (and participles):

(116) two'tstiZ ta āndaB vä'ggi je'uvve ma'gge
really he gives very good+PT taste+PT

'It really gives a very good taste.'

2.1.1.4.9 Quantity

Quantity is expressed by prenominal modification, with numbers or other quantifiers:

(117) rōški jo'ušti te'i sel'list kaštimtte pāle
little flour+EL PL made+3SG such+PT sauce+PT onto

'With a little flour one made a sort of sauce on it.'

2.1.1.4.10 Material

Material may be expressed with the partitive case, or, more often, with a compound noun, the material expressed first:

(118) mā'dden vje'r-mēkkidi veitte te'i
we+DT blood-sausages+PT slight made(3SG)

'We didn't make much blood sausage.'

Occasionally the relative is used, in the predicate position:

(119) nīne um voñD sieļdest kūldast
castle is been pure+EL gold+EL

'The castle was of pure gold.' (The perfect tense is used in a narrative context.)

2.1.1.4.11 Manner

Manner is expressed by adverbs:

(120) maitsiZ jevist
 tasted(3SG) well

'It tasted good.'

2.1.1.4.12 Cause

Cause is expressed by siepjerast (ku): see example (20),

1.1.2.4.2.4. siepjerast on its own means 'therefore':

(121) siepjerast vo'l' ka tūl'-jemaks vo'l'mest jeva
 therefore was also wind-fairy+CT be+OG good

'Therefore one had to be on good terms with the wind fairy.'

2.1.1.4.13 Purpose

When a noun-phrase is used purposively it is put in the comitative-translative case, as with tagavaraks 'in reserve' in example (75). When a whole clause is used purposively, however, the subjunctive form of the verb is preceded by las 'so that':

(122) siepjerast atte aīZ jettenD ka le'bdeb-lūdi ja
 therefore are always left(PPP) also bath-whisks+PT and
 rak̄se siZ vjetta mōr'i-jema pjerast las ta siZ
 bucket then water+PT Maria-mother(GN) for so-that she then
 tūlge sounē pje'zzem
 come(SJ) sauna+IL wash+IP

'So one always left bath-whisks and water in a bucket for Mother Maria so that she would come to the sauna to wash.'

2.1.1.4.14 Function

The postposition pjerast is also used to indicate function, but the comitative/translative case may be used as well:

(123) kuš ne pa'n't't'e sjeda ma ap tieda, vėi ne
 where they put it+PT I NG PR know, whether they
 pa'n't't'e miņgist ka luomeD tuoit̃tegeks nēd'i aķkist
 put some+PT also animals' food+CT they+PT caught+IM
 aga tegiž miņgiZ trōn pjerast
 or again some fat(GN) for
 'Where they put it I don't know, whether they put some for
 something, they even caught it for animals' food, or again for
 some fat.'

2.1.1.4.15 Reference

The relative case is used for reference:

(124) no ma nižeB ka mje'r kōzginist
 well I tell also sea(GN) wedding+EL
 'Well, I (will) also tell (you) about the wedding of the sea.'
 (a Livonian legend)

2.1.1.4.16 Essive

The comitative/translative case has an essive function:

(125) ī'D aigast ma vo'l' puoipse oṗpattajiks
 one+PT year I was Pope+IN teacher+CT
 'For one year I was in Pope as a teacher.'

2.1.1.4.17 Translative

The comitative/translative case fulfils this function, and may
 be used with adjectives alone:

(126) iedeB sīl'kkeD pieneks
 cuts herrings thin+CT
 'One cuts the herrings thin.'

2.1.1.4.18 Part/whole relations

The scope of use of the partitive case, explained below in

2.1.1.4.19, relates to integral parts of whole units, real and perceived.

Separated parts of wholes can be expressed with the elative or, more commonly, the genitive case. Continuing the sentence from example (126):

(127) ja panaB siZ sel'1'is sil'k temppeD ūnda pāl ja
and puts then such(IN) herring pieces hook(GN) on and
 èttaB ūndaD mje'rre
throws lines sea+IL

'and then puts the herring pieces on a hook and throws the hooks into the sea.'

2.1.1.4.19 Partitive

The partitive case has many uses, chiefly with objects of verbs in instances where either the action of the verb is perceived to relate only to part of its object, or the object itself is indefinite, uncountable, or otherwise dispersed. Numerals and other quantifiers also take the partitive singular. Negative objects and some negative subjects of copulae appear in the partitive. Some examples:

(128) va'dde vjediste kakš mieste
seine+PT pulled two man+PT

'The seine was pulled by two men.'

Note two uses of the partitive here: the act of pulling is seen as affecting the seine only partially, and the number 'two' takes the partitive singular. (The verb is plural here, however.)

(129) nānt tei saᅇgdist ō'renest
they+PT made(3SG) thick+EL PL garments+EL

'They were made of thick pieces of cloth(ing).'

('They' is perceived as an indefinite number.)

(130) mō kañt̃te luomiZ seť vo'l' ka'l'd'i, bē

land(GN) side(GN) catch+IN only was fish+PT PL, but

mje'r-kañt̃te luomis iZ uo ka'l'd'i

sea-side(GN) catch+IN NG P be fish+PT PL

'Only in the catch on the landward side were there fish; but in

the catch on the seaward side there were no fish.'

(The plural subject, in both positive and negative instances, is perceived as indefinite. The verb in the copula is singular.)

2.1.1.4.20 Price

No special case is used; as with other measurements, the nominative (singular) and partitive singular (for plural) are found:

(131) vo'l' maksamest i'l' sie sūr-kruon täppint't'emiz

was pay+OG over its big-crown(GN) lending

rubil'

rouble

'One had to pay a rouble for the loan of the big crown.'

2.1.1.4.21 Value

No special constructions are used.

2.1.1.4.22 Distance

Distance is expressed by the nominative in the singular and the partitive (singular) in the plural:

(132) beť vaba vabast vo'l' nei miṅgiZ kaķš, miṅgiZ kwolm nēl'a

but pole pole+EL was so some two, some three four

samtte nei

step+PT so

'But from pole to pole it was about two, three, four steps.'

2.1.1.4.23 Extent

Extent is expressed in the same way as distance:

(133) pōr sīlD la'igit mūnda um, mūnda seť um puoltwoist
couple fathom+PT broad some is, some only is one-&-half
 si'l la'igit aga si'l la'igit
fathom broad or fathom broad

'Some is (=are) a couple of fathoms broad, some only one and a half fathoms, some a fathom broad.'

2.1.1.4.24 Concessive

Concession is only expressed in adverbial clauses, as in 1.1.2.4.2.8.

2.1.1.4.25 Inclusion

The comitative case is used:

(134) ta uppāndiZ ne, ne ēgipt vārou ama eńťš swoda-
he drowned them, them Egypt(GN) Pharaoh whole own war-
 vä'ggeks jära
people+CT away

'He drowned them, including the Egyptian Pharaoh's whole army.'

2.1.1.4.26 Exclusion

The conjunction seťku (lit. 'only that') is used with both clauses and phrases, according to Kettunen, but is only recorded with clauses in the corpus:

(135) no ne ātte vonneD vá'ggi knaššeD, seťku
well they are been very beautiful+PL, except-that
 kīndelD āt vieremD siľmšti
tears are rolled eyes+EL

'Well, they were very beautiful, except that tears rolled from their eyes.' (Perfect tense used in narrative context.)

2.1.1.4.27 Addition

While Livonian does not have a construction corresponding to 'in addition to', it does make free use of the adverb ka 'also' as an intensifier, and also has the construction nei-i'ž 'furthermore', used with clauses. The construction kiī...kiī (ka) is used in the sense of 'both...and':

(136) ne jelist kiī ūrgiZ kiī jogiZ kil ka mje'rsse
they lived both brooks+IN and rivers+IN and also sea+IN
 'They lived in both brooks and rivers, and in the sea as well.'

The following features are not marked in Livonian:

2.1.1.4.28 Vocative;2.1.1.4.29 Citation;2.1.1.4.30 Label.2.1.1.5 Location in space

Generally speaking, the local cases (usually the inessive, elative and illative) serve to express spatial relations in Livonian. Another form of locative construction, however, involves the postpositions jū'r, jūs and jūst, which indicate respectively 'motion towards', 'presence at' and 'motion away from'. For a restricted set of nouns, the adessive, ablative and allative cases may also be used.

2.1.1.5.1 General location

The inessive case is used to cover the senses of 'at', 'on' and 'in':

(137) vada sū um ja sāleZ, kuš um vadan ouk
seine's mouth is and there, where is seine+DT opening
 twoiZ tutkameZ, sje um vada pjera
other+IN end+IN, it is seine's rear

'And the mouth of the seine is there; where the opening is at the other end of the seine is the rear.'

2.1.1.5.2 Proximate location

The sense of 'near', 'by' or 'at' is conveyed by the postposition jūs, governing the genitive:

(138) meṛk jūs vo'l', vēl vo'l' sel'l'i pū
 marker(GN) by was, still was such tree

'And there was a sort of tree by the marker.'

2.1.1.5.3 Interior location

The inessive case is used:

(139) kūž aga kō'deks luome aṅkkarplat'šez veis sōde
 six or eight catch+PT anchor-place+IN can get

'One can get six or eight catches in an anchor-place.'

2.1.1.5.4 Exterior location

Kettunen notes in his Livisches Wörterbuch that there is some irregularity in distinguishing between ulle 'location outside' and ulz(e) 'movement out'. The corpus only records ulze:

(140) ildī'n ku nānt vettiz ō'ist ulze rōz vo'l'
 immediately when them took+3SG oven+EL out slightly was
 jō'ttemest
 cool+OG

'As soon as they were taken out of the oven they had to be slightly cooled.'

2.1.1.5.5 Anterior location

This is expressed by the postposition je'dde:

(141) siZ ta mūrdiz okšti ni'emeD jālgaD je'dde
 then he folded twigs+PT cows' legs' before

'Then he folded some twigs in front of the cows' legs.'

2.1.1.5.6 Posterior location

tagan indicates position behind:

(142) se vo'l' je'tspēd'en Pat't'ikmō ala, sin' Lūž
 it was forward Patikmō below, there Lūž

kila tagan je'tspēd'en

village(GN) behind forward

'It was further than Patikmō (=Pope), up behind Lūž village.'

2.1.1.5.7 Superior location

Superior location, with and without contact, is expressed by

i'l'l'e (adverb), i'l' (preposition) for both movement and stasis:

(143) siZ vo'l' vjedamest, aštamest ūlze, vjedamest lōja
 then was pull+OG, step+OG out, pull+OG boat

i'l'l'e, i'l' laideD

over(AV), over shallows

'Then one had to pull, get out, pull the boat over, over the shallows.'

(144) i'l' kalaD iZ nūze vē'ž

over fishes(GN) NG P rise water

'The water did not rise over the fishes.'

2.1.1.5.8 Surface location

The postposition pāl 'on' governs the genitive:

(145) iZ ūD leibe kapsta* lē'D pāl?

NG P bake bread+PT cabbage(GN) leaves(GN) on?

'Bread wasn't baked on a cabbage leaf?' *Latv., for Liv.

nōt't'eZ.

2.1.1.5.9 Inferior location

The postposition ala, which, like most postpositions, can also

be used adverbially, is used:

(146) sis pa'n't't'e tija lōda ala

then put(3PL P) empty box under

'Then they put an empty box underneath.'

2.1.1.5.10 Inferior contact location

As with ulle/uīze (2.1.1.5.4), there is no complete distinction in usage between ala (2.1.1.5.9) and the postposition alle:

(147) tā'mmen voīge sel'l'i a'lli jālgad alle

him+DT be+SJ such base feet(GN) under

'He would have a sort of base under his feet.'

2.1.1.5.11 Lateral location

The preposition pi'ts means 'along' for both movement and stasis.

It governs the partitive:

(148) mūnda ķeŗD mēG sāl pi'ts juome, pi'ts vjetta,

some time we there along drink+PT, along water+PT,

bre'd'd'es neizme ka piškiži tūrskidi

wading+IN saw also small+PT PL cod+PT PL

'Sometimes, wading along the "drink", along in the water, we saw some small cod, too.'

2.1.1.5.12 Lateral contact location

Livonian makes no distinction between lateral and anterior (contact) location. The following example could imply either:

(149) kābin't't'iZ veŗge kjeud pāle

hung+3SG net ropes(GN) on(to)

'The net was hung on ropes.'

2.1.1.5.13 Citerior location

'Beside' is expressed by aigas, inessive of aiga 'side':

(150) mi'eden tegiž vo'l' se ku'bbe-pūttemi rāndas tu'ln-
 men+DAT again was it together-meeting shore+IN fire-
 aigas
 side+IN

'For the men it was a meeting on the shore by the fireside.'

2.1.1.5.14 Citerior contact location

'Against' or 'on the side of' is expressed by the preposition vašte, governing the partitive:

(151) ta rōški rabiZ suormedeks vašte lēba kuortte
 she slightly tapped fingers+CT against bread+GN crust+PT

'She (s)lightly tapped with her fingers against the crust of the bread.'

2.1.1.5.15 - 16 Ulterior and ulterior contact location

Approximate and ulterior location are expressed either with circumlocutions or with jūs (stationary), jūst (movement away) and jūre (movement toward):

(152) kilkste vei sālga jūst i'edist vel sel'l'ist
 side+EL or back(GN) from-beside cut+IM P still such+PL
 šōved si'zzel

incisions into

'And some cuts were made in the side and back.'

2.1.1.5.17 Medial location: 'between'

va'ize or va'is means 'between':

(153) se um sel'l'i, veŕge lina um pāndet sel'l'ist ā'neD
 it is such, net(GN) cloth is put(PPP) such(GN PL) stands

va'ize, kō'D ā'n va'is

between, two(GN) stand(GN) between

'It is, the cloth of the net is, put between stands, between two

stands.'

2.1.1.5.18 Medial location: 'among'

Once again the postpositions jūs, jūst and jūre can be used to indicate medial location 'among' (postposition and adverb):

(154) *sjeguB rōški i'l'-semd'i jūre*
mixes little over-milk+PT among

'One mixes in a little cream.'

2.1.1.5.19 Circumferential location

The postposition immer, which is also used adverbially, indicates both position and movement 'around':

(155) *pa'n' tā'mmen eñtš knaš kēradeks ũmbeldet*
put(3SG P) him(DT) own beautiful inscriptions+CT sewn

ed'iz-ō'ren aga e'ž-ō'ren pã immer
fore-garment or [variant] head(GN) around

'She put her own apron, sewn with beautiful inscriptions, around his head.'

2.1.1.6 Location in time

2.1.1.6.1 General time expressions

Many expressions of time use the otherwise generally unproductive adessive case:

(156) *siZ kiedeD jēva sidabed vada jūr rānda pāl*
then ropes already tie(3 PL) seine(GN) onto shore on
uoñdžel ku irgeB lã'de mje'rre
morning+AD when begins go sea+IL

'And they tie the ropes to the seine on the shore in the morning when one sets out to sea.'

2.1.1.6.2 Frequentatives

No morphological distinction is made between single and

frequentative action as far as verbs are concerned, but frequentative action may be indicated with nouns, using the nominative case for occasions and the partitive for periods:

(157) sūrD lještaden jega keřD pa'n' se'uvve
big+PL flounder+DT PL every time put(3SG P) summer(PT)

si'zzel ka suola vël
into also salt still

'In summer, salt was put into the stomachs of the big flounder every time, too.'

2.1.1.63 Punctual future ('after' a point in time)

The postposition pje'rre governs the genitive case:

(158) siZ rōZ aiga pje'rre ta tegiž vettiZ kukkil'D'
then short time(GN) after she again took loaves

tikkiž ulze
altogether out

'Then, after a short while, she took the loaves right out again.'

2.1.1.6.4 Punctual past ('since' a point in time)

The relative case is used:

(159) ja nei sieste aigast siZ rāndas āt su'ggenD sūrD
and so that+EL time+EL then coast+IN are happened big+PL

touvved
storms

'And so since that time there have been big storms on the coast.'

2.1.1.6.5 Duration

The postpositions pjerast and pale are used, depending on the kind of time unit involved:

(160) rānda kōrandis nei je'nn is kaza ri'ggest
coast(GN) households+IN so much NG P grow rye+PT

las_~ sōge ama aigast pjerast eñtšen leibe
so-that get(SJ) whole year(GN) for self+DT bread+PT

'The coastal (=Livonian) households didn't grow enough rye to get bread from themselves for a whole year.'

(161) leibe üdiZ miĵgiZ nädil' pãle
bread+PT baked(3SG) some week(GN) on

'Bread was baked for (=to last) about a week.'

2.1.1.6.6 Anterior duration past

The postposition tã'gãšpēd'en 'back' governs the partitive case:

(162) se sugiZ ka vanast va'nne, kōgin' kōgin', aigastidi
it happened also old+EL old+PT, long long, years(PT)

tã'gišpēd'en

ago

'And it happened in ancient times, long long years ago.'

2.1.1.6.7 Anterior duration future

The postposition kã'dde can be used to denote duration 'for' a future period:

(163) sieste jega ĩ'tste rōZ um siemest, ku siZ las_~
it+EL every one+EL little is eat+OG, that then so-that

tuotteG täutteG ama aigast kã'dde
food fill+SJ whole year(GN) for

'A little bit of everything has to be eaten, so that there will be enough food for a whole year.'

2.1.1.6.8 Posterior duration past

pje'rre is used as a preposition to mean 'after' with the partitive:

(164) pje'rre õ'i ieptemit siZ roibiZ gräbil'eks
after oven(GN) cooling+PT then scraped(3SG) coal-hook+CT

siduD ó'ist ulze

coals oven+EL out

'After the cooling of the oven, the coals were scraped out of the oven with a coal-hook.'

2.1.1.6.9 Posterior duration future

As Livonian has no future tense, there are no expressions with an exclusively future reference. However, pje'rre can also be used as an adverb to mean 'afterwards', in this example in the present tense:

(165) ja siZ um pje'rre irgen a'md'i kōzgenD

and then is afterwards begun all(PT PL) wedding(GN)

kilaliži mīmtte siZ ūž nai

guests(PT) present then new wife

'And then, afterwards, the new wife has started to be presented to all the wedding guests.'

2.1.1.6.10 Anterior general

'Formerly' is expressed by vanast:

(166) vanast vol'l'iD set̄ sīlkķidi veijjēnD sūrvadaks

formerly were only herring(PT PL) fished big-seine+CT

'Formerly only herrings were fished with a big seine.'

2.1.1.6.11 Posterior general

'Subsequently' is expressed by pje'rre (see 2.1.1.6.8 and 2.1.1.6.9):

(167) ja siZ pje'rre set̄ pa'n' sel'l'iZ va kuorbastijiz

and then afterwards only put such just scorching

tu'l ala

fire under

'And, subsequently, just a scorching fire was put underneath.'

2.1.1.6.12 Point in period -past

There is no distinct case marking:

(168) vo'l't't'e sie ē'deG juoned kuškes vo'ltte
were(3PL) that evening drunk somewhere beer (PT)

'They had been drinking beer somewhere that evening.'

2.1.1.6.13 Point in period - future

As Livonian lacks a future tense, future reference must be implied in the context or referred to in the time-expression itself. The present tense may refer to the future:

(169) twoiZ kwol̄menD pāva tāma jēva um appen
second third day this already is sour

'It is/will be sour on the second or third day.'

2.1.1.7 Double case marking

There is none.

2.1.1.8 Number marking system in nouns

Nouns are marked for singular and plural in all functioning cases: see 2.1.1.1.1. Numbers above 1 govern the partitive singular.

2.1.1.9 The following features are not marked in Livonian: class, gender, referential/non-referential indefiniteness, genericness, degree of importance of actors.

2.1.1.9.1 Although definiteness and indefiniteness are not morphologically marked in Livonian, they can be expressed by use of the nominative and partitive cases respectively. See 2.1.1.2.4.

2.1.2 Pronouns2.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

2.1.2.1.1 Free pronouns exist in both singular and plural, with

distinction between animate and inanimate in the third person.

They are declined as follows:

	Singular			Plural		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Nom.	m(in)a	s(in)a	t(äm)a	mēG	tēG	ne
Acc./Gen.	mi'n	si'n	tä'm	mä'D	tä'D	nänt
Dat.	mi'nnen	si'nnen	tä'mmen	mä'dden	tä'dden	näntten
Com./Tr.	mi'neks	si'neks	tä'mkkeks	mä'tkeks	tä'tkeks	näntkeks
Part.	mīnda	sīnda	tānda	mēd'i	tēd'i	nēd'i
Iness.	mi'nsse	si'nsse	tä'msse	mēšši	tēšši	nēšši
Elat.	mi'nste	si'nste	tä'mste	mēšti	tēšti	nēšti
Illat.	mi'nne	si'nne	tä'mme	mēži	tēži	nēži

2.1.2.1.2 Person distinctions in pronouns

First, second and third persons are distinguished.

2.1.2.1.3 Inclusion/exclusion

No such distinction is made with Livonian pronouns.

2.1.2.1.4 Number-marking in pronouns

Singular and plural number are distinguished.

2.1.2.1.5 - 10 The following features do not apply to Livonian pronouns: Status of third person; proximity to participants; anaphoricity; gender; tribal distinctions.

2.1.2.1.11 Agreement with verbs

Subject pronouns agree with verbs for person and number, but not for tense or other verbal categories.

2.1.2.1.12 - 13 The following features are not present: Status distinctions; nonspecific indefinite pronoun.

2.1.2.1.14 Specific indefinite pronoun

'Someone' is miŋgi:

(170) ja vanast piga mitt_ĩ'tse kōrants iz uo sel'list
and formerly just not one+IN household+IN NG P be such+PT
 aime, kien miḥgi, iz uo v̄ei ni iza v̄ei puoga,
family+PT, whom+DT someone, NG P be nor so father nor son,
 iz uo uppanden
NG P be drowned

'And formerly there was not a single home where the family not lost someone, either a father or a son, by drowning.'

2.1.2.1.15 Emphatic pronouns

The personal pronouns have the following oppositions of long and short forms, which may be regarded as emphatic and unemphatic respectively: tāma and ta 'he, she, this'; mina and ma 'I'; sina and sa 'you (sg.)'; see paradigms in 2.1.2.1.1.

Furthermore, subject pronouns may be freely omitted, especially if they have been mentioned previously in the context.

2.1.2.1.16 Complex pronouns

These do not exist.

2.1.2.1.17 Pronoun-noun constructions

ne 'they' is often used in conjunction with nouns, both animate and inanimate, to mean 'the' or 'those':

(171) kui ne saitte ku'bbe ne puiſſeD neitsteks?
how they got together they boys girls+CT?

'How did they get together, the boys with the girls?'

In addition, personal pronouns may be combined with nouns in a true pronominal sense. The following example also includes se 'it' used with the force of a definite or demonstrative article:

(172) mā'dden lap̄sten se v̄a'ggi maistiZ se appen lēba
we+DT children+DT it much tasted it sour bread(GN)

appātteks

leaven

'To us children, the leaven of that sour bread tasted very good.'

2.1.2.2 Reflexive pronouns

See 1.6.

2.1.2.3 Reciprocal pronouns

See 1.7.

2.1.2.4 Possessive pronouns

The set of possessive pronouns covers all persons and both numbers. They are not declinable. They are as given under 'Accusative/Genitive' in the table (2.1.2.1.1).

2.1.2.5 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns se 'it/this/that' and ne 'they/these/those' are used either alone or in conjunction with nouns.

2.1.2.6 Interrogative pronouns

See 1.1.1.2.2.

2.1.2.7 Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns are identical in form with interrogative pronouns. They are declinable:

(173) siZ va'idist ūlze sel'l'ist vana, va'nlikkest
 then exchanged(IM) out such(PL) old, elderly(PL)

ro'ukkeks, kiš iZ, kien sje vo'l ikš tāuž, kuna ta lâ'B
 people+CT, who NG P whom(DT) it was one full, when he goes

'Then one changed places with some old, elderly person, to whom it was all the same when he went.'

2.1.3 Verb morphology

2.1.3.1 Voice

2.1.3.1.1 Passive

There is no passive voice; impersonal constructions are used instead. See below and 2.1.1.2.13, also note under 1.1.1.2.4.

2.1.3.1.2 Means of decreasing the valency of the verb

Impersonal constructions, or agentless passives, are used in all cases where a non-specific agent is less important than the action of the verb. This also applies to the 'infinitive of obligation', which is another type of impersonal construction:

(174) *bet̃ leibe vo'l'jega keřD vostamest*

but bread+PT was each time buy+OG

'But bread had to be bought each time.'

This construction, -mest+dative of subject of obligation, nom. or part. of verb object, is not a Baltic-Finnic characteristic, but is analogous to the Latvian construction of the verbal prefix jā-+verb in 3SG PR with dat. of subject of obligation.

2.1.3.1.3 Means of increasing the valency of the verb

Causative verbs are not common in Latvian, but some exist, and they can take impersonal forms as well. The causative suffix is

-att-:

(175) *jelattiste sōnas*

ferment+CA+IM sauna+IN

'It was fermented in the sauna.'

But more usually, causation is indicated by using sōde 'get' in conjunction with the main verb:

(176) *siZ sai õ'i rō'ški ieptet*

then got(3SG) oven slightly cooled(PPP)

'Then the oven was cooled slightly.'

2.1.3.2 Tense

2.1.3.2.1 Use of formally distinguished tenses

2.1.3.2.1.1 Universal time reference

The present tense is used:

(177) ja sjeda juome siepjerast, kui ma kīttiZ, ku
and it+PT drink+1PL PR therefore, as I said, that

äb uo jēva ve'ž mā'dden

NG PR be good water we+DT

'And we drink it, as I said, because we do not have good water.'

2.1.3.2.1.2 Present tense

The present tense is marked for person and number; the 1SG and 3SG forms are identical for all verbs. Sample conjugation:

sōde 'get': sōB, sōD, sōB, sōm(e), sōt(te), sōbeD.

2.1.3.2.1.3 Past time

Likewise, the past tense is marked for person and number, with identical forms for 1SG and 3SG. In the past tense, however, the 2PL and 3PL forms are also identical.

Past tense conjugation of sōde: sai, saiD, sai, saim(e), sai(tte), sait(te).

2.1.3.2.1.4 Future time

There is no future tense; the present is used instead.

2.1.3.2.2 Tense distinctions in relation to moods and nonfinite forms

The simple present/past distinction holds good in the indicative mood irrespective of finite/nonfinite verb distinctions, and there is no mandatory sequence of tenses between main and subordinate clauses:

(178) no siZ ku lekšte ni mje'rre, va'dde vjediste
well then when went+3PL now sea+IL, seine+PT pulled(3PL)

kakš mieste, kakš pušnikke, e'dđí mieZ ja ta'ggi mieZ, ku
two man+PT. two party+PT, front man and rear man, when
 seidist aga pūr'ttist sel'l'iZ kuože kuš ni vo'l',
rowed+3PL or sailed+3PL such place+IL where now was,
 meflist kuš ni ĩrgeB ve'ijje
thought+3PL where now starts fish

'Well now, when they went to sea, the seine was pulled by two
 men, two parties, a front man and a rear man, when they rowed or
 sailed to some place, wherever it was, where they thought they
 will now start to fish.'

The subjunctive mood is independent of tense:

(179) se aga vo'l' sel'l'i, teiž, sel'l'i uškimi ku
it perhaps was such, again, such belief that
 laZ täutteG kã'dde sis sjeda touťtikt
so-that fill+SJ hand+IL then that+PT food+PT

'Perhaps it was, again, a sort of belief, so that that food would
 suffice.'

2.1.3.3 Aspect

2.1.3.3.1 Perfect

Perfect (and pluperfect) forms are composed of the appropriate
 person and tense of the verb 'to be' with the past active
 participle of the main verb. Aside from its use in the normal
 sense of perfect aspect, to indicate completed action, the
 morphological perfect is used in narrative contexts as the simple
 past:

(180) no mis sãleZ jãkkeB neiZ, sjeda ta piga sũ-senadeks
well what there Jacob saw, it+PT he just mouth-words+CT

äb uo veinD kunageſt mūntten jara niže
 NG PR be been-able ever others+DT away tell

'Well, what Jacob saw there he has never been able (=was never able) to tell in words to anyone else.'

2.1.3.3.2 Additional aspects

There are no additional aspects: Livonian has no habitual, continuous, progressive, ingressive, terminative, semelfactive, punctual, durative, simultaneous or telic aspects; and there are no restrictions on the combination of aspect and tense. For the vestigial 'iterative' aspect, see 2.2.2.2.

2.1.3.4 Mood

2.1.3.4.1 Indicative

The indicative mood is used for all events, actions and states perceived as 'real' and encompasses those cases not described under conditional, imperative, subjunctive and 'obligation' moods; it will not be discussed separately.

2.1.3.4.2 Conditional

The conditional is not a morphologically distinct mood, and in clauses introduced by až 'if', the verb appears in the indicative or subjunctive mood according to whether the action or state is perceived as actual or putative:

(181) se prat't'iZ mōd'i, āndiZ je'uvve vīl'a-ka'zze, až
 it arranged lands+PT, gave good+PT grain-growth+PT, if

tānda vo'l't't'e o'uṽvestenD

she(PT) were(3PL) honoured (P AC P)

'It (=she, the land-fairy) kept the lands in order, and granted a good growth of grain if they (had) honoured her.' (Indicative-conditional clause)

2.1.3.4.3 Imperative

See 1.1.1.3.

2.1.3.4.4 Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood is indicated by the suffix -G added to the stem of the verb. The same suffix is added in the negative subjunctive clause, which is the same as the negative imperative/hortatory, referred to in 1.1.1.3.3, and which is preceded by alge in the third person. The subjunctive mood is used for 'projected' or putative states and actions, but is rarely encountered (at least in the corpus) in main clauses, being more commonly used in subordinate clauses indicating purpose. The following example contains both positive and negative subjunctive forms:

(182) siZ ta mūrdiZ okšti ni'emeD jālgaD je'dde alge ta
 then he bent twigs+PT cows' legs' before lest he
 va'ijjeG te'uṽvem ja las ta, ku ta kō'l'eB vje'dde
 sink+SJ deeper and so-that he, when he tries haul
 uīze, las tā'mmen voīge sel'l'i a'lli jālgaD alle, kuš
 out, so-that he+DAT be+SJ such base legs' under, where
 ta veīB pi'dde i'lle
 he can stay up

'Then he bent twigs in front of the cows' legs, so that he would not sink deeper, and so that, when he tries to haul them out, he will have a sort of base under his legs so that he can stay up.'

2.1.3.4.5 Intentional

There is no intentional mood.

2.1.3.4.6 Obligation/Debitive

The debitive mood (corresponding to the jā- prefix+dat. of

subject of obligation in Latvian) has been dealt with as the 'infinitive of obligation' in 2.1.3.1.2.

2.1.3.4.7 - 14 The following features are not marked in the Livonian mood system: potential, certainty, authority for assertion, hortatory, monitory, contingent.

2.1.3.5 Finite and nonfinite forms

Finite verb forms consist of the conjugable forms found as the main verbs in clauses, in the indicative and subjunctive moods. Non-finite verb forms consist of infinitives, participles and agent nouns.

2.1.3.5.1 Infinitives

Kettunen distinguishes four types of infinitive. The first infinitive, characterised by the ending -e, constitutes the basic (dictionary citation) form and can be used in conjunction with auxiliary verbs (as in example 180). The second infinitive ending in -es (that of the inessive case) has a function similar to that of the present active participle:

(183) va'dde vje'ddes kalami'eD amaD vä'ggi tiedist

seine+PT hauling+IN fishermen all(PL) much knew

tikkiž, miņgi um mi'er-pu'oi

everything, how is sea-bottom

'In pulling the seine the fishermen all knew thoroughly what the sea-bottom is like.'

The third infinitive may be described as the 'infinitive of purpose', and has the characteristic ending -m(e):

(184) siZ āma aļZ sōttiz lāpši rānde

then mother always accompanied children+PT shore+IL

van't'l'em

look+IP

'Then the mother always accompanied the children to the shore to look.'

The fourth infinitive is the 'nomen actionis' or nominalised verb; it may take the case-endings and other morphological and syntactic features of the noun. Its nominative form is -imi:

(185) kalaD ja'ggimi se vo'l' sel'l'i, ku kuoriZ
 fish+GN PL distribution it was such, that gathered(IM)
 ama je'tse ne sūrimist lještaD uīze
all forward they biggest flounder(PL) out

'The distribution of fish was such that the biggest flounder were all gathered out in front.'

See also 2.2.1.2.

2.1.3.5.2 Participles

Participles have the syntactic function of adjectives and are of four kinds: present active and passive, and past active and passive. For a fuller discussion of participles see 2.2.3.2.

2.1.3.5.3 Agent nouns

The agent noun is used for the doer of an action and has the characteristic ending -ji added to the stem. For a further discussion of nominalised verbs see 2.2.1.2.

2.1.3.6 Person and number

2.1.3.6.1 Subject-verb agreement

There is agreement between subject and verb in the positive forms of the present and past tenses for person and number, but not the negative present and past forms.

The following features do not apply to Livonian:

2.1.3.6.2 Direct object agreement;

2.1.3.6.3 Indirect object agreement;

2.1.3.6.4 - 7 Other factors coded in verbs or affecting agreement.

2.1.3.6.8 Coding of identity of subjects in main and subordinate clauses

This is not marked in verbs, only in pronouns.

2.1.3.6.9 - 10 Reflexive and reciprocal forms

See 1.6 and 1.7.

The following features do not apply to Livonian:

2.1.3.6.11 Marking of actions involving motion;

2.1.3.6.12 Modes of body orientation;

2.1.3.6.13 Incorporation of direct object.

2.1.4 Adjectives

2.1.4.1 Predicative and attributive form

There is no difference between predicative and attributive forms.

2.1.4.2 Absolute and contingent states

These are not marked.

2.1.4.3 Agreement of adjectives

There is always agreement in number between adjectives and nouns, but agreement in case is more restricted. Agreement in number applies to both attributive and predicative adjectives:

(186) vada kiedeD ātte mūnda ķeṛD, mūndan ātte pitkimeD,
seine(GN) ropes are some time, some+DT are longer+PL,
 mūndan āt lītṭemeD, no nei kwolmsada viššada mēttert
some+DT are shorter+PL, well so 300 500 metre+PT
 pitkaD veibeD vōlda kiedeD ka
long+PL can(3PL) be ropes also

'The ropes of the seine are sometimes - some have longer ones, some have shorter, 300 to 500 metres long the ropes can be.'

Agreement applies to most adjective/noun cases as well:

(187) lještaD ju išt uotte vä'ggi tevas vje'tse
flounder(PL) EM NG P be very deep+IN water+IN

'After all, the flounder were not in very deep water.'

But this does not apply to the comitative/translative case, where nominative/genitive endings are found on attributive adjectives:

(188) kui ja'mdeD kiedeD, ta'ggist ja'mdeD kiedeD lõppist,
when thick+PL ropes, rear+PL thick+PL ropes ended,
 siZ kieriz pieneD kiededeks vašte meṛkke ja seidiZ
then turned(IM) thin+PL ropes+CT against mark+PT and rowed(IM)
 meṛk pāl
mark(GN) onto(PO)

'When the thick ropes, the thick rear ropes, ended, then one turned with the small ropes towards the marker and rowed onto the marker.'

2.1.4.4 Comparison of adjectives

See 1.8.

2.1.5 Postpositions

See 2.1.1.1.2.

2.1.6 Numerals and quantifiers

The cardinal numerals are declinable to the same extent as adjectives, for example:

nom. ikš, gen. i'D, part. i'tte, dat. i'den, illat. i'de, iness. i'ts(e), elat. i'tst(e), com./transl. i'tkeks 'one'. (Note that the genitive form has also taken on the meaning 'only, solely', and an adverbial form i'din, apparently derived from it, has the

meaning 'singly, alone'.)

nom. kakš, gen. kō'D (declined like ikš but with kō'- stem)
'two'.

kwolm, stem kwolm- 'three'.

nēl'a, stem nēl'a (but part. nel'l'e) 'four'.

viž, gen. viD, stem vid- 'five'.

kūž, gen. kūD, stem kūd- 'six'.

seis, stem seis- 'seven'.

kō'deks, stem kō'deks- 'eight'.

i'deks, stem i'deks- 'nine'.

kiṁ, stem kiṁ- 'ten' (part. kiṁde).

ikš-twoisten 'eleven' and so on through to i'deks-twoisten
'nineteen', the first element being declinable.

kakš-kiṁde 'twenty'; other multiples of ten follow the same
pattern.

sada, stem sada- (but part. sa'dde) 'hundred'.

Ordinal numbers are as follows:

e'žmi, stem e'žmi-/e'žme- 'first'.

twoi, gen. twoiZ, part. tuoista, stem twois- 'second'.

kwolmeZ, stem kwolmeZ- 'third'; other ordinals are formed by
adding -(e)Z to the cardinal stem. But note that, exceptionally
for a Baltic-Finnic language, the ordinals from 119 to 19 add the
-eZ to the second and not the first element: ikš-twoisteneZ
'eleventh'. Ordinal numbers are declinable.

Note also that not all cases of the primary cardinal and ordinal
numbers are recorded either in the corpus or by Kettunen.
Numerals always govern the singular number, and other quantifiers
take the singular or plural depending on category. Where the

numeral is in the nominative, the noun is in the partitive case, but where other noun cases are concerned, the same kinds of restrictions apply as with adjectives:

(189) mūnda keṛD lještaD vo'l't' seṭ, vo'l't't'e seṭ
some time flounder(PL) were only, were only

ī'ts, sel'l'iz ī'ts trīpse seṭ
one+IN, such one+IN, shoal+IN only

'Sometimes the flounder were, sort of, were only in one shoal.'

(numeral and noun case agree)

(190) se'uvve ta um pakkanD jēva kiela kō'tkeks, mūnda
summer(PT) he is soon already clock two+CT, some

keṛD jēva kiela ī'tkeks lekšte mje'rre jēva
time already clock one+CT went(3PL) sea+IL already

'In summer it (=daylight) is as early as two o'clock, sometimes even as early as one o'clock they went to sea.' (Numeral and noun case disagree; special use of comitative/translative case with numerals for clock times)

(191) sek_ka roiben kō't kã'tkeks si'zzel ama se
it also gathered(P AC P) two(GN) hand+CT in(AV) all it

si'l täutkeks nei

lap full+CT thus

'It (=he) had gathered with (his) two hands a whole lap-full, like that.' (Disagreement in comitative/translative noun case)

2.1.7 Adverbs

Adverbs have no system of agreement with other sentence elements. Though most adverbs are derived from adjectives, some, like the intensifier vã'gqi 'very' are independent of adjectives (or of uncertain derivation). Adjective-derived adverbs are

characterised by the ending -(i)st:

(192) ja muoštiz sjeda jēvist
and knew-how(IM) it(PT) well

'And one knew how to do it well.' (<jēva 'good')

The comparison of adverbs follows the pattern found with adjectives, with the addition of -t to the comparative and superlative endings -em, -im:

(193) siZ ĩrgiZ kjer̄demt vje'dde
then began(IM) faster(AV) pull

'Then one began to pull faster.'

2.1.8 Clitics

Two types of clitic or emphatic particle are found in Livonian: the emphatic particle (see 1.11.2) and the interrogative particle (see 1.1.1.2.1): there are no suffixes which can be attached to words of all classes.

2.2 Derivational morphology

2.2.1 Derived nouns

2.2.1.1 Nouns from nouns

While there are numerous compound nouns in Livonian (and they appear to be freely created), there is a striking lack of suffixes which can produce nouns from nouns, and there appear to be none that are productive without restriction. A case in point is the suffix -nikka (cf. Latv. -nieks), pl. -nikkaD 'inhabitant of'; though we find examples such as iranikkaD 'the people of ĩre' and mōnikka 'land-dweller' (=inland Latvian), the preferred word for the latter appears to be the simple compound mōmieZ 'land-man' (mō+mieZ).

Considering the proliferation of diminutives in both the Balt and

Baltic-Finnic languages, the rarity of diminutives in Livonian is striking. However, there are some diminutives in -kki, as in ve'lkki 'little brother' (ve'l' 'brother'); lùkki 'little bone' (lù 'bone').

2.2.1.2 Nouns from verbs

The gerund form of the verb characteristically ends in -imi (ja'ggimi 'distributing') and as such may take nominal case endings: ja'ggimiZ (iness.) 'in distributing'.

For other forms of nominalisation from verbs, see the section on Infinitives, 2.1.3.5.1.

The agentive ending is -(i)ji: oppattiji 'teacher'.

2.2.1.3 Nouns from adjectives

A common ending to form nouns from adjectives is -it: laigit 'breadth' (<laiga) ; pitkit 'length' (<pitka); saṅgdit 'thickness' (<saṅgde).

2.2.2 Derived verbs

2.2.2.1 Verbs from nouns

Transitive verbs can be formed from nouns by the addition of the infinitive ending -e to the final consonant of the noun stem: suole 'to salt' (<suol 'salt'). Intransitive verbs are also formed from nouns in the same way, subject to internal modification: pūr'itte 'to sail' (<pūraZ 'sail').

2.2.2.2 Verbs from verbs

Causative verbs, which generally add the suffix -att- to an intransitive stem, are discussed in 2.1.3.1.3.

Another minor class of verbs formed from other verbs is what might be termed 'iterative'. Some isolated examples are to be found with the suffix -dl- added to the intransitive stem: vo'dle

'wait around' from vo'te 'wait' (compare Finnish odotella < odottaa). The suffix is not widely productive, and is thus not counted under 'Additional Aspects' in 2.1.3.3.2.

2.2.2.3 Verbs from adjectives

As with verbs based on nouns, both transitive and intransitive verbs can be based on adjectives. The transitive verb marker is st: kùjaste 'to dry' (<kùja 'dry'); the intransitive adds the infinitive marker -e to the adjective stem, sometimes with some modification of it: kuije 'to dry'.

2.2.3. Adjective formation

2.2.3.1 Adjectives from nouns

The characteristic nominative ending for adjectives formed from nouns is -i, again sometimes with some modification of the stem, such as the lengthening of the final consonant in tul'l'i 'fiery' (< tu'l' 'fire'). (This lengthening is only found in the nominative, however.)

2.2.3.2. Adjectives from verbs

Participles, present and past, function as adjectives formed from verbs. Past active and passive participles, attributive and predicative, are identical in form. The characteristic ending is -n(D): kienD 'boiled' (<kiede 'boil'); a variant is -en: nūzen 'risen' (<nūze 'rise').

The present passive participle ends in -deB: juodeB 'drinkable, for drinking' (<juode 'drink'). It appears to have very limited use, and has none of the force of obligation implied by the equivalent participle in, for example, Finnish (see 2.1.3.1.2 for the separate 'infinitive of obligation').

The present passive participle occasionally occurs, undeclined,

in combinations, such as siedep-kalaD 'edible fish (pl.)'. Participles in general show a fair degree of instability in spoken Livonian. In the corpus, past active participles are found where a present participle would be expected, and no examples of present active participles are recorded. Kettunen cites -be/-B as the ending for the present active participle, identical with the passive.

2.2.4 Adverb formation

There are of course many independent adverbs, but those formed from adjectives often use the ending -ist: see 2.1.7.

2.2.5 Order of suffixes

2.2.5.1 Nouns

Two types of suffixes can be distinguished for nouns: number and case suffixes. There is zero marking in the singular, and the nominative plural generally ends in -(e)D. In the oblique cases, however, the plural marker is the infix -i-, immediately preceding the case ending. (See the declensions under 2.1.1.1.1).

2.2.5.2 Verbs

Livonian verbs have suffixes, other than tense endings, only to a vestigial extent (see 2.2.2.2), and the person/tense marker is always the final element.

2.2.6 Compounds

Compound nouns are relatively abundant and freely formed: mō+mieZ 'land-man'='land-dweller' (opposite of Livonian 'coast-dweller'). Apart from a few compound adverbs, such as je'nne-veitte 'more-(or)-less', compounds of other elements are very rare.

3. PHONOLOGY

3.1 Phonological units (Segmental)

3.1.1 Distinctive segments

The following is an inventory of the distinctive segments in Livonian. Those of infrequent or inconsistent occurrence (used in borrowings only or subject to fluctuation) are given in brackets (see 3.1.2.3).

/a/, /ā/, /ä/, /ã/, /b/, /d/, /d'/, /e/, /ė/, /ē/, /ë/, (/f/), /g/, (/h/), /i/, /ĩ/, /j/, /k/, /l/, /l'/, /m/, /n/, /n'/, /o/, /ō/, /ȯ/, (/ö/), /p/, /r/, /r'/, /s/, /š/, /t/, /t'/, /u/, /ũ/, (/ü/), /v/, /z/, /ž/.

The glottal catch ['] may also be regarded as a distinctive segment; see 3.1.2.1.6. The phoneme /n/ is realised as [ŋ] to the left of /k/ and /g/.

3.1.2 Realisation of segmental elements

3.1.2.1 Non-segmental elements

3.1.2.1.1 Plosives

Plosives consist of unvoiced labial /p/ and its voiced counterpart /b/; unvoiced apico-alveolar /t/ and its voiced counterpart /d/; the palatalised versions of these /t'/ and /d'/; unvoiced dorso-velar /k/ and its voiced counterpart /g/. In word-final position the plosive consonants may be either voiced, unvoiced or partially voiced depending on their environment, and are marked thus in texts: G, D, B. Plosives may be geminated between vowels. Examples:

(194) vada 'seine'

(195) kiedeD 'ropes'

(196) ätte 'they are'

- (197) ka 'also'
 (198) pāl 'on'
 (199) tībēD 'wings'
 (200) aga 'or'
 (201) e'bbi 'horse'

3.1.2.1.1 Fricatives

The inventory of fricatives consist of unvoiced apico-alveolar /s/, unvoiced dorso-postalveolar /š/, their voiced equivalents /z/ and /ž/, and voiced labio-dental /v/. Unvoiced labio-dental /f/ occurs only in recent loans (and no adjacent source-language has /f/ either). All fricatives may be geminated. In word-final position the same partial devoicing applies to /s/ or /z/, /š/ or /ž/ as to plosives: they are transcribed as Z and Ž. Examples:

- (202) se 'it'
 (203) vāldiZ 'open' (AJ)
 (204) sidiZ 'tied' (3SG)
 (205) vo'l't't'e 'were' (3PL)
 (206) si'zzel 'inside' (AV)
 (207) lekš̄te 'went' (3PL)

3.1.2.1.3 Nasals

The nasals, all voiced, consist of labio-dental /m/, apico-alveolar /n/, palatal-alveolar /n'/ and dorso-velar /ŋ/.

Examples:

- (208) immer 'around'
 (209) ne 'they'
 (210) sin' '(t)hither'
 (211) āŋkkar 'anchor'

/ŋ/ does not occur initially and always precedes either /k/ or

/g/.

3.1.2.1.4 Liquids

These consist of the apico-alveolar lateral /l/, the palatalised lateral /l'/, trilled alveolar /r/ and trilled palatalised alveolar /r'/. All can be lengthened. Examples:

(212) jūr 'at' (PO)

(213) vo'l' 'was' (3SG)

(214) ilz 'up'

(215) mje'rre 'sea' (IL)

(216) ōr'a 'sandbank'

It should be noted that palatalised /r'/ is of infrequent and somewhat inconsistent occurrence, and tends to be found in words of Latvian origin. Interestingly, this sound (formerly written r) has virtually disappeared from spoken Latvian, and (since 1945) from the written language.

3.1.2.1.5 Glide

There is only one true glide, the high front unrounded /j/, as in

(217) ja 'and'.

However, there is a vestigial glide, often realised as /uw/ in the combination written as uvv in words such as se'uvve 'summer' (PT), päuvve 'day' (AD).

The /w/ as transcribed before /o/ in words such as kwolm 'three' indicates a briefer onset in a variant of the diphthong /uo/.

3.1.2.2 Vowels

The vowels consist of high front unrounded /i/, mid-front unrounded /e/, mid-central unrounded /e/, low front unrounded /æ/, the schwa /e/ [ə], low back unrounded /a/, half-rounded back

/o/, unrounded mid-back /o̞/ and high back rounded /u/. Of infrequent and unstable occurrence are high front rounded /ü/ and mid-front rounded /ö/, sometimes found in borrowings and alternating with /i/ and /e/ respectively in native stems. All except [ə] can occur in long or short forms. Examples:

(218) siZ 'then'

(219) ku 'when', kū 'moon'

(220) tiB 'wing'

(221) rānda 'coast'

(222) pāl 'on'

(223) voza 'meat'

(224) beĒ 'but'

(225) koń't'š 'until'

(226) veza 'shoot, sprout'

The mark _˘ under /e/ and /o/ indicates a phonemically distinct, more centralised vowel, occurring only in stressed syllables.

Note that [ə] never occurs in a stressed syllable. Note also that /i/ and /u/ can also occur in a shortened form as the unstressed initial element in a diphthong or triphthong, transcribed here as /j/ and /w/, but by Kettunen as /ⁱ/ and /^u/ respectively:

(227) twoi 'other'

(228) vje'dde 'pull, haul'

3.1.2.1.6 Glottal catch

Though not a syllabic itself, the glottal catch /ʔ/ can only occur between vowels and consonants in stressed syllables, as in example (228) above.

3.1.2.3 Borrowings

The consonants /f/ and /h/ are borrowings in both Livonian and

Latvian and are of extremely rare occurrence. The vowels /ü/ and /ö/ are sometimes heard in native words, but only in words with similar or identical Estonian cognates, indicating Estonian influence on the spoken language. They may be regarded as vestiges of a much earlier phase of the language which have vanished as a result of Latvian influence. An example is the alternating use of sü'l/si'l for 'lap' (Est. süli) in the corpus (the /ü/ occurred in quoting another speaker). For further examples of this phenomenon, see the texts in Part 3.

It might also be argued that /z/ and /ž/ are borrowings into Livonian, as they of such infrequent occurrence in word-initial or medial position, and are usually only semi-voiced in word-final position, but the existence of genuine Baltic-Finnic words like aža 'thing' indicates internal processes of phonemic change.

3.1.2.4 Restrictions in word-classes

One marginal restriction may be observed in the distribution of sounds among word-classes: since [ə] is found only in unstressed (non-initial) syllables, it may be said to be a feature of suffixes (such as the infinitive-marker of verbs and in certain noun and adjective case-endings), but it may also occur in disyllabic stems such as val'meZ 'ready'.

3.2 Phonotactics

3.2.1 Single consonants

3.2.1.1 Word-final consonants

All consonants may occur in word-final position with the following exceptions:

- (a) the borrowed sounds /f/ and /h/ never occur word-finally;
- (b) /ŋ/ cannot occur word-finally as it is always followed by /k/

or /g/;

(c) /Z/ and /Ž/, /B/, /D/ and /G/ are found in word-final position only as voiced counterparts of /s/, /š/, /p/, /t/ and /k/ before a word commencing with a vowel or a voiced consonant;

(d) /v/ is extremely rare in word-final position.

3.2.1.2 Word-initial consonants

Any single consonant may occur initially except /ŋ/ and the palatalised /d'/, /l'/, /n'/, /t'/, but words beginning with /b/, /d/, /f/, /g/, /h/, /š/, /z/ and /ž/ may be regarded as borrowings.

3.2.2 Clusters

3.2.2.1 Word-initial consonant clusters

Initial consonant clusters are foreign to the Baltic-Finnic languages generally, so those which occur in Livonian may be regarded as being of non-Finnic origin, mostly traceable to Latvian (though the provenance of such anomalies as knaš 'beautiful' is not quite certain). Borrowed initial clusters with /r/ are found: /br/, /dr/, /gr/, /kr/, /pr/, /(s)tr/; as well as isolated cases such as /zn/ in znuots 'brother-in-law' (<Latv. zn[u]ots).

3.2.2.2 Word-final consonant clusters

A limited number of word-final clusters are possible: /ks/, /nD/, /st/ and /lD/ are found in suffixes (participles and case-endings), while /lk/, /ts/, /tš/ and /sk/ are attributable either to apocope (elision of [ə]) or in some cases to borrowings.

3.2.3 Vowels

3.2.3.1 Word-initial vowels

Any vowel may occur word-initially except [ɶ]. No examples are

recorded beginning with /ö/ or /ü/.

3.2.3.2 Word-final vowels

Any vowel may occur word-finally. Long vowels do not occur finally in unstressed syllables.

3.2.4 Correspondences between the structure of lexical morphemes and word structure

There is general correspondence in structure between lexical morphemes and words. The only exceptions consist in such morphemes as the (unstressed) comitative case ending -eks, which begins with 'unacceptable' [ə] and ends in a consonant cluster.

3.2.5 Syllables

3.2.5.1 Syllable assignment of medial units and clusters

Consonant clusters are most usually found in word-medial position, and thus the question of syllable division inevitably involves clusters. Generally, what applies to word-final consonants (3.2.1.1) also applies to syllable-final consonants, but certain other conditions apply:

(a) Geminates only occur in word-medial and word-final position, and medial syllable division should be regarded as being between the two halves of the geminate.

(b) The glottal catch /' / never occurs at the end of a syllable; in monosyllables it occurs before the final consonant (si'l 'lap') and in polysyllables generally before a geminate (si'z/zel 'inside' (AV)).

(c) Some words have an unvoiced final consonant which is semi-long, such as set̄ 'only'.

3.2.5.2 Canonical syllable type

The canonical syllable can be formulated as (C)V(C(C)) (taking

monosyllables into account).

3.2.6 Restrictions on consonants and vowels

Vowel-harmony is non-existent in present-day Livonian, though it is probable that it existed at an unrecorded stage before vowels in unstressed syllables mutated into [ə].

Feature harmony only exists to the extent that if one member of a cluster is palatalised, so are the others (vo'l't't'e 'were' 3PL).

3.3 Suprasegmental elements

3.3.1 Length

Both consonant length and vowel length are distinctive in Livonian. Consonants are only lengthened (geminated) in medial and final position, and long vowels only occur in stressed (initial) syllables. Length, palatalisation and glottal catch are all distinctive: tu'l' 'fire' (nom.), tu'l 'fire' (gen.), tūl' 'wind' (nom.), tūl 'wind' (gen.).

3.3.2 Stress

Stress is on the first syllable of each lexical element. Secondary stress occurs on subsequent syllables of compound lexical elements.

3.3.3 Pitch is not distinctive in Livonian.

3.3.4 Intonation

'Broken tone' is both a segmental and a suprasegmental feature of Livonian. As 'glottal catch', it was treated in 3.1.2.1.6. Kettunen (1925) describes it as an intonational feature, a weakening of enunciation after the onset of a long vowel or an abrupt catch between a short vowel and a consonant, and he demonstrates the phenomenon in his 'kymographic' illustrations;

but in his 1938 dictionary (XXXVII) he focuses on it as a more purely phonological feature. The minimal pairs given in 3.3.1 above show that it is distinctive. Kettunen summarises its dual origins: through the disappearance of /*h/ (*raha > rõ' 'money'; cf. Est., Fi. raha) and through apocope and syncope in the second syllable in cases where the first syllable is short (*meri > me'r, gen. mje'r 'sea'; cf. Est., Fi. meri). As an intonational feature, broken tone is limited to the lexical level; what follows concerns intonation at the supralexic level.

3.3.4.1 Normal intonation patterns in statements

In simple statements (main clauses), the intonation pattern typically involves a rising tone on the stressed (initial) syllable and thereafter a gradual fall or levelling, followed by falling intonation on or from the final stressed syllable:

(229) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \nearrow & & \searrow & & \nearrow & \searrow \\ \text{sel}'\text{l}'\text{iZ} & \text{sũrvadidi} & \text{ãt} & \text{vonned} & \text{vanast} & & \\ \text{such} & \text{big-seines+PT} & \text{have been} & \text{old+EL} & & & \end{array}$

'Such big seines have existed formerly.'

3.3.4.2 Normal intonation patterns in questions

Intonation in single-clause question-word questions is basically the same as in simple statements, but with a rise instead of a fall on the final stressed syllable:

(230) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \nearrow & \rightarrow & & \nearrow & \searrow & \\ \text{mi}^{\text{h}}\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ist} & \text{vo}'\text{l}'\text{t}'\text{t}'\text{e} & \text{vabaD?} & & & & \\ \text{what-kind were} & \text{drying-racks?} & & & & & \end{array}$

'What were the drying-racks like?'

The main clause of a yes-no question is characterised by a fall followed by a final rise:

(231) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} & \nearrow & & \searrow & & \nearrow & \searrow \\ \text{no} & \text{kũ} & \text{vo}'\text{l}'\text{t}'\text{t}'\text{e} & \text{ta}'\text{lkkeD}, & \text{kas} & \text{ẽ}'\text{den} & \text{dãntsiZ} \\ \text{well when were} & \text{working-bees, Q} & \text{evening+AD} & \text{danced+IM} & & & \end{array}$

ka?

also?

'Well, when there were working-bees, did they dance in the evening too?'

3.3.4.3 Contrastive intonation

Contrastive intonation in Livonian, which can make use of flexible word order and lexical markers of emphasis, is not markedly different to the intonation patterns of simple statements, with the initial rise and final fall shifted to the stressed syllables of contrasting elements (not to the emphatic marker itself):

(232) $\overset{\curvearrowright}$ piškist $\overset{\curvearrowright}$ vo'l't't'e, ne ju iZ uo miš $\overset{\curvearrowright}$ vette
small+PL were(3PL), they EM NG P be what take(IF)

'They were small, and not worth taking.'

3.3.4.4 Contrastive stress

Because of flexible word-order and lexical markers of emphasis, contrastive stress is not of major semantic significance in Livonian and does not follow any clearly defined pattern.

3.3.4.5 Subtypes of intonational contours

Subordinate clauses beginning with adverbs or conjunctions generally have the same intonation pattern as main clauses, with no stress, or secondary stress and falling intonation, on the subordinating element:

(223) $\overset{\curvearrowright}$ sie pjerast siZ $\overset{\curvearrowright}$ sāl vo'l' sel'l'i $\overset{\curvearrowright}$ sanjde $\overset{\curvearrowright}$ voza
it(GN) because then there was such fat meat

'That is why there was (such) fat meat on it.'

3.3.4.6 Emphatic intonation

See the remarks on contrastive intonation (3.3.4.3) and stress

(3.3.4.4) above. See also the notes on emphasis (1.11), Topic (1.12) and Heavy Shift (1.13).

3.4 Morphology (Segmental)

3.4.1 Assimilation

3.4.1.1 Assimilatory processes

3.4.1.1.1 Consonant assimilation

The phenomenon most nearly approaching true assimilation of consonants in Livonian is that of the 'semi-voiced' consonants referred to in 3.1.2.1.1 and written B, D, G, Z, Ž (sometimes also D', DZ). Depending on their environment, they tend toward the voiced before a vowel or voiced consonant, or the unvoiced before an unvoiced consonant. Examples:

(234) kūjastiZ so'usse

/kūjastis/ 'was dried in smoke'

(235) meittiZ ist

/meittiz/ 'otherwise were not'

3.4.1.1.2 Vowel assimilation

The only vowel that is at all frequently subject to assimilation in speech is the (consistently unstressed) [ə], as in the alternation between āt and ätte (with geminated t) 'are' (3PL). As the sound [ə] usually carries a grammatical function, this does not apply to many words.

3.4.2 Metathesis is not evident in Livonian, but there is a form of consonant-switching in the declensions of a few isolated words like lāpš 'child' (NM SG), lapst (NM PL), lapsta (PT SG). The Finnish and Estonian cognate forms (respectively lapsi, lapset, lasta and laps, lapsed, last) indicate that the form lāpš is a metathetic development from an earlier form *lapsi.

3.4.3 Coalescence and split are not found in Livonian.

3.4.4 Deletion and insertion

Possibly because the informants are consciously taking care of their enunciation, deletion and insertion processes are not discernible in the corpus of spoken Livonian.

3.5 Morphophonology (suprasegmental)

Stress is constant under morphophonological processes and compounding. See 3.3.2.

4. IDEOPHONES AND INTERJECTIONS

4.1 Ideophones

In the corpus of material available, no syntactically or lexically independent ideophones are recorded. Some verbs may be of affective origin, however.

4.2 Interjections

no 'well' (neutral interjection)

oi (expression of dismay or surprise)

5. LEXICON

5.1 Structured semantic fields

This section consists of partial lists of terminology for the following structured semantic fields: kinship, colours, body parts, cooking, and fishing.

5.1.1 Kinship terminology

5.1.1.1 - 2 By blood and partial blood

va'n b ist 'parents'	sezar 'sister'
iza 'father'	ve'l' 'brother'
iza-iza 'paternal grandfather'	tidar/tüdar 'daughter'
jema 'mother'	puoga 'son'
vanajema, van-ama 'grandmother'	sušša 'aunt'
sūr-ve'lkki 'uncle' (iza s.-v. 'paternal'; jema s.-v. 'maternal')	

5.1.1.3 By marriage

Apart from the Latvian borrowing švōger 'brother-in-law' (Dundaga dialect švāgers), terms for kinship by marriage are simple compounds such as sezar puoga, vel'i nai 'brother's wife' and so on. znuot 'son-in-law' is a Latvian borrowing (<zn[u]lots). nai 'wife' is literally 'woman'; miez 'husband' is literally 'man'.

5.1.1.4 Kinship by adoption

The Livonian word for 'foster-child' is kazandeks. Kinship by adoption can be more specifically expressed by the prefix vēreZ 'stranger': vēreZ-jema 'stepmother'; vēreZ-puoga 'stepson' and so on.

5.1.2 Colour terms

pu'n n i 'red'	vālda 'white'
brun'i 'brown'	mełtsi 'green'
si'n'n'i 'blue'	vi'ri 'yellow'

kougel 'spatula'

kōnt 'lid'

plīt 'stove'

plōt' 'basin'

5.1.4.3 Typical foods

na'ggerD 'potato' (na'ggert-sandrok 'potato gruel')

rigiZ 'rye'

kakku 'cake'

vo'lle 'beer'

plädín' 'pancake'

lēba 'bread'

semd'a 'milk'

jo'(vve)D 'flour'

i'l'-semd'a 'cream'

kukkil' 'loaf'

(appen) semd'a 'buttermilk'

nōt't'e 'cabbage'

kēl'im 'sap'

bōrkkin' 'carrot'

kama-rok 'barley-broth'

sigavōza 'pork'

vje'r-lēba 'blood-bread'

5.1.5 Fishing

5.1.5.1 Fish

brētlist 'sprat'

nēgez 'lamprey'

lješta 'flounder'

türska 'cod'

sil'k 'herring'

5.1.5.2 Implements

lōja 'boat'

verG 'net'

vada 'seine'

kjeuž 'rope'

airaz 'oar'

polakkez 'buoy, marker'

āᅇkkar 'anchor'

vabaD 'drying-rack'

5.1.5.2 Activities

ve'ijje 'fish, pull' (catch)

kūjaste 'dry' (tr.)

suole 'salt'

5.2 Basic vocabulary

1. all ama

2. and ja

3. animal jelai
4. ashes tù'geD
5. at -s (inessive case, 2.1.1.5.1); jūs (postposition, 2.1.1.5.2)
6. back sāлга
7. bad ti'G
8. bark kuor'
9. because siepjerst (ku)
10. belly ma'G
11. big sūr
12. bird līnD
13. bite jamste
14. black musta
15. blood ve'r
16. blow pū'ge
17. bone lū
18. breast rīnda
19. breathe jeŋge
20. burn pa'lle
21. child lāpš
22. claw kintš
23. cloud pīla
24. cold kīlma
25. come tūlda
26. count rēkke
27. cut i'ede
28. day pāva
29. die kuole

30. dig kouve
31. dirty räppi
32. dog pi'n'
33. drink juode
34. dry kūja
35. dull tēl(d)za
36. dust per̄m
 ↓
37. ear kuora
38. earth mō
 ↓
39. eat siede
40. egg muna
41. eye silma
42. fall pu'dde
43. far kōgaZ
44. fat/grease raza
45. father iza
46. fear kar̄tte
47. feather tūrgeZ
48. (a) few mūnda
49. fight tap̄le
50. fire tu'l'
51. fish kala
52. five viž
53. float voige
54. flow e'uvve
 ↓
55. flower pušk
56. fly (v.) līnde
57. fog u'D

58. foot jälga
59. four nēl'a
60. freeze kiļme
61. fruit ougel'
62. full tāuž
63. give aņde
64. good jeva
65. grass aina
66. green meļtsi
67. guts suol'
68. hair ibuks
69. hand ke'iž
70. he t(ām)a (also 'she')
71. head pā
72. hear kūle
73. heart sidam
74. heavy lālam
75. here tās
76. hit ra'bbe
77. hold pi'dde
78. horn sōra
79. how kui
80. hunt jakt
81. husband miez
82. I m(in)a
83. ice jei
84. if ku
85. in -s (inessive case, 2.1.1.5.1)

86. kill tappe
87. knee puola
88. know (fact) tiede (person) tuñde
89. lake jõra
90. laugh na'gre
91. leaf lé'D'
92. left (side) kura
93. leg jälga
94. lie (position) ma'gge
95. live je'lle
96. liver maksa
97. long pitka
98. louse tei
99. man mieZ
100. many pāgin
101. meat voza
102. moon kū
103. mother jema
104. mountain mā'G
105. mouth sū
106. name ni'm
107. narrow õ'deZ
108. near le'ižgel
109. neck ka'ggel
110. new ūž
111. night ie (üö)
112. nose nana
113. not (pres.) äB (past) iZ

114. old vana
115. one ikš
116. other (separate) mū (in series) twoi
117. person rištiŋG
118. play māŋge
119. pull vje'dde
120. push pikste
121. rain sa'D
122. red pu'nni
123. right (correct) eigi
124. right (side) jēva (also 'good'; see 64)
125. river jo'uG
126. road reĕ
127. root jūr
128. rope kjeuž
129. rotten mārge
130. round (adv. & postp.) immer
131. rub ēre
132. salt suol
133. sand jeuge
134. say kitte
135. scratch kripše
136. sea me'r
137. see nā'de
138. seed siemgeZ
139. sew ūmble
140. sharp va'im
141. short līt

142. sing loule
143. sit ište
144. skin nō'ge
145. sky tōvež
146. sleep ma'gge (also 'lie'; see 94)
147. small piški
148. smell (n.) kaṛD
149. smoke (n.) so'u
150. smooth ta'zzi
151. snake uiska, uška
152. snow lu'(i)m
153. some mūnda
154. spit sil'ge
155. split lō'ge
156. squeeze ton'n'e
157. stab (pierce) pište
158. stand pi'le
159. star tē'D'
160. stick (n.) sova
161. stone ki'uv
162. straight ku'od'i
163. suck i'mme
164. sun pāva (also 'day'; see 28)
165. swell paize
166. swim voige (also 'float'; see 53)
167. tall kwoṛde
168. that se (dem. adj.)
169. there sā(')l

170. they ne
171. thick (fat) ja'mde; (dense) saŋgde
172. thin (fine) piente; (slender) voitti
173. think metle
174. this se/tä'm
175. thou s(in)a
176. three kwolm
177. throw eitte
178. tie si'dde
179. tongue kēl'
180. tooth āmbaZ
181. tree pū
182. turn (intr.) kiere
183. two kakš
184. vomit oksne
185. walk lā'de
186. warm lem̄
187. wash pje'zze
188. water ve'(i)ž
189. we mèG
190. wet ka'(i)žži
191. what miš
192. when kuna
193. where kuš
194. white vālda
195. who kiš
196. wide laiga
197. wife nai

198. wind tūl' (n.)
199. wing tibež
200. wipe pu'ošše
201. with -ks (comitative case; see 2.1.1.4.4)
202. woman nai (also 'wife'; see 197)
203. woods meṭsa
204. worm bo'r'
205. ye tēG
206. year aigast
207. yellow vi'ri

PART THREE**The texts**

The following ten passages of spoken Livonian represent continuous natural speech in the form of monologues recorded by ten different elderly speakers, male and female, all over 65 years old, who had retained reasonable fluency in the language. All the narrators are recalling earlier periods in their lives, and thus narrative style and past-tense forms predominate. The speakers were prompted and interrupted as little as possible. The recordings were made over a period between 1971 and 1989. None of the material presented here has been previously transcribed or published. The transcription is an attempt to represent the speech as heard rather than to follow any consistent spelling conventions; therefore there may be some inconsistency in spelling of some words from text to text, especially in the use of the glottal catch or 'broken tone'.

1. Alfons Berthold, 68 years, Vaid village, Talsi region

recorded by Kristi Salve 1978

- 1 mēG Zuonkel vol'me pāgin roušte. nēl'a val'anikke.
 we Zuonka+AD were many people(PT). four tenant(PT).
- 2 jega-īden vol' ikš tuba, ja ōige vol' amaden kupsse.
 each-one+DT was one room, and kitchen was all+DT PL together.
- 3 mā'D uk̄sen vašte vol' ikš nuor neitst, ja mēG se'uvve
 our door+DT opposite was one young girl, and we summer+PT
- 4 lōtizem kwoigidi, pūd'i lōtizem; kwoigidi tultte
 loaded ships+PT, wood(PT PL) loaded(1PL); ships came
- 5 mierre madalis ja lōjadeks višti pūde jūre. uondžel
 sea+IL low+IN and boats+CT took(IM) wood+PT to(PO).morning+AD
- 6 vol' lē'mist tegiž lōt't'em kwoigidi. ja ieze ikš nuor
 was go+OG again load+IP ships+PT. and night+IN one young
- 7 poiss vol' tund kwoiste mōze ja tōz sōde sille se
 boy was come ship+EL land+IL and wanted get in that
- 8 neitst jūr. aga iz voi magatte, ta tei mā'rre, ja
 girl(GN) to. but NG P can get-sleep, he made noise+PT. and
- 9 ma vol' sel'l'i piški poiški, ja iza tei uks vāldiz,
 I was such small boy(DM), and father made door open,
- 10 tōz tānda a'jje je'tspēd'en. aga sāl i'ž ō'i
 wanted him(PT) drive away. but there just oven(GN)
- 11 je'tse vol' beᅇk. ja beᅇk pāl vol' ve'iž-paᅇ'. nei,
 before was bench. and bench(GN) on was water-bucket. so,
- 12 se vottiz se vje'd-paᅇ' ja valiz iza pāle
 it took that water(GN)-bucket and poured father(GN) onto
- 13 tu'bbe. ja iza a'iliz taga, ja siz vol't't'e kil
 room+IL. and father ran after, and then were indeed

14 kjerdeD jālgad. mina iz uo kunagis nānD ku iza nei
rapid(PL) feet. I NG P be ever seen when father so
 15 kjeřdistiZ veiž a'ile, iz kŭlb ka il'l'e.
quickly could run, NG P manage also up.

Translation

There were many of us at Zuonka, four tenants. Each one had one room, and we all had the kitchen in common. Opposite our door was one young girl, and in summer we loaded ships, loading wood. The ships came low in the water, and wood was taken to them in boats. In the morning we had to go back to load the ships. And at night one young boy came ashore from a ship, and wanted to get into the girl's place. But you couldn't get to sleep, he was making a noise. And I was, like, a little boy, and Father opened the door, wanting to drive him away. But just there, in front of the oven, was a bench. And on the bench was a bucket of water. So he took that bucket of water and poured it on Father, into the room. And Father ran after him, and then he had really rapid feet. I'd never seen how quickly Father could run, and he couldn't catch up.

Notes

line 4: lõtizem 'we loaded'; alternative form of lõtizme - an unattested case of metathesis.

line 7: kwoiste 'from a ship'; note omission of -g- from stem (kwoi'G).

line 9: poiški 'little boy'; a rare instance of a diminutive. (See DG, 2.2.1.1.)

lines 11 - 12: compare ve'iž-pañ' (with 'water' in nom.; the speaker hesitates on this word) and vje'd-pañ' (with 'water' in

gen. form) for the compound 'water-bucket'. This presumably has nothing to do with its accusative function in the second instance; the vacillation is more likely due to the irregular gen. form ve'iž.

line 14: kunagis 'ever'; Kettunen gives kunagiD.

line 15: veiž instead of veiZ 'could'.

line 15: iZ külb 'couldn't manage/wasn't good enough'; külbe is recorded by Kettunen as a variant of kelbe (cf. Est. kõlvata, Fi. kelvata). The only instance of the phoneme [ü] in this passage; compare kil (as opposed to kül) in line 13.

2. Hermine Ziberts, 88 years, Īre (Mazirbe) village; recorded by Kristi Salve 1978

1 nei, um, kwolem taril'e. ĩde taril' alle panaB
so, is three plate+PT. one+GN plate(GN) under puts(IM)

2 vet't'im. un ĩD taril' alle um suormeks. un ĩD
key. and one(GN) plate(GN) under is ring. and one(GN)

3 alle um tegiž se - krīt, krīt. ni se kērateB, se
under is again that - chalk, chalk. now it writes, that

4 vāldaD um krīt. krīt'. aga sel rāndakielkkeks ka
white(?PL) is chalk. krīt'. but that+AD Livonian+CT also

5 krīt'. nā. nu, ikš um, mis kienen se vet't'im um, se
krīt'. yes. well, one is, what whom(DT) that key is, that

6 um perinai aga perimieZ, se kis sāB ilze. se um - e - ta
is housewife or husband, that who gets up. it is - er - he

7 - seda ju ma äB tieda, minnen um panmest sīlmaD vizas
- that(PT) EM I NG PR know, me+DT is put+OG eyes shut

8 un, un tuoi um, kis panaB tegiž nei sje taril'
and, and other is, who puts again so that(GN) plate(GN)

9 alle. ni, ku ma nustaB ilze, siZ ma nāB mis ma ni ulZ
under. now, when I lift up, then I see what I now out

10 nustaB, vėi ma nustaB nei se - ku ma nustaB seda -
lift, whether I lift so it - when I lift that(PT) -

11 seda - suormeks, siZ ma līb brūt'. un ku ma - līb
that(PT) ring, then I will-be bride. and if I - will-be

12 vet't'im, siZ ma līb perinai. un ku ma līb vālda,
key, then I will-be housewife. and if I will-be white,

13 siZ um nōve. siZ um nōve, siZ um kuolemest jara, se um
then is death. then is death, then is die+OG away, it is

14 nōve.

death. [laughs]

Translation

[The speaker is referring to a game traditionally played on New Year's Eve, in which the players cover certain objects under plates, each one signifying an event in the future.]

So, there are three plates. Under one plate you put a key. And under one plate there's a ring. And under one, again, there's - chalk. That's how you write it, [krīt]. That white (stuff) is chalk, [krīt'], but that's what it is in Livonian too: [krīt']. Yes. Well, one is, the one who has the key is, that's a housewife, or husband, the one who picks that up. It's - er - he - I don't know that, I have to close my eyes and, the other one is the one who again puts it under the plate. Now, when I lift it up, then I see what I've picked out, whether I pick up so - if I pick up that - that ring, then I'll be a bride. And if I - it'll be - the key, then I'll be a housewife. And if I will be white, then that's death. Then that's death, you have to die then, that's death.

Notes

line 1: kwolem for kwolm 'three'.

line 2 and elsewhere: un for 'and'. Compare other speakers who use ja. The preference for the Latvian conjunction un over the Baltic-Finnic ja does not seem to indicate a dialect variation, or even a greater degree of Latvian interference. Un is well established in Livonian and its use seems to be purely a matter of personal preference. Speakers tend to use one or the other conjunction consistently.

lines 3 and 4: krit/krīt' 'chalk'. Evidently the interlocutor has not understood this word at first, so the speaker is more careful in pronouncing it a second time, with palatalisation (its usual form), while claiming that it is written krit.

line 9: nāB for nā'B 'see'; this speaker does not use 'broken tone' at all. Note also iD for i'D, minnen for mi'nne.

lines 13/14: nōve, siZ um kuolemest jara, se um nōve: though the speaker uses the verb kuole 'die', she prefers nōve (with broken tone nō've < Latv. nāve) over the more usual kuol'imi for 'death'. Examples given by Kettunen suggest that nō've is used for the personification of death, whereas kuol'imi signifies the act of dying.

3. August Freiberg, age unknown; Pitrõg village; recorded by
Kristi Salve 1978

1 leja-vettameks vol' kette- kjettemest kana-mu'n'di. siz
Easter+CT was [hesit.] boil+OG hen-eggs+PT. then
2 jemaD kougín' magiste. lapst lekšta jemme pjeksam.
mothers long slept. children went mother+PT beat+IP.
3 siz jema andiz kērabže kana-mun'd'i, kis vol'
then mother gave colourful+PT PL hen-eggs+PT, which was
4 sippel-kuordeks rul't'ed. un kīn'd'eleks kēratteD
onion-skin+CT rolled(PPP) and candle+CT written(PPP)
5 ni'm pāle, sien, kien sje muna um. puoišid tegiž
name onto, that+DT, whom+DT that egg is. boys again
6 lekšte ailem uondžel varalt neitsidi pjeksam. neitsid'en
went run+IP morning+AD early+AB girls+PT beat+IP. girls+DT
7 vol't't' kērabist munaD un āndiz ne pwoišiden. ne
were colourful+PL eggs and gave they boys+DT. they
8 pjeksiste pūppal'-oksadeks, alab-oksadeks,
beat pussy-willow-branches+CT, willow-branches+CT,
9 kien vol' pūppil' sizal. keuv-oksadeks ka.
which+DT was pussy-willow inside. birch-branches+CT also.

Translation

At Easter one had to boil eggs. Then the mothers would sleep in,
the children would go to beat their mother. Then the mother would
give colourful eggs, which were rolled with onion-skins. And with
a candle was written the name of the one whose egg it was. Again,
the boys went running early in the morning to beat the girls. The
girls had coloured eggs and gave them to the boys. They beat with
catkins, willow-branches that had catkins on them. With birch-

branches too.

Notes

line 1: leja-vettameks: see speaker 6, line 1.

line 3: kērabže where kērabīdi (PT PL) might be expected. Note also the complete absence of broken tone.

lines 8 and 9: pūppal', pūppil': < Latv. pūp[u]ols, Dundaga dialect pūppals.

4. Katrin Krasson, 83 years, Koštrůg village; recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

1 siZ, tä'dden nuorD naist, ma sel'l'i k̄itte amast
 then, you(DT PL) young+PL women, I such say whole+EL
 2 sidamest, ku tä'dden atte lapst, ālge tēG kilas
 heart+EL, if you+DT PL are children, don't you(PL) village+IN
 3 maggegeD. mina um sie, en'tš igasse pi'eje'llen ku
 sleep(IE PL). I am it(GN), own life+IN experienced when
 4 kilhasse maguB, un siZ tulaB kwodai un āndaB se
 village+IN sleeps, and then comes home+IL and gives it
 5 lapsten īlma seda ma'gdeD, aizma'gdeD, semd'i,
 children+DT without it(PT) slept(PPP), fallen-asleep, milk+PT,
 6 ku siZ se lāpšen slīkte dabaG. se um se amasse sūr
 when then it child+DT badly nature. it is it all+IN great
 7 skouD. ku äB v̄ei se kis lapsta i'mtteB, äb v̄ei
 harm. if NG PR can it who child+PT suckles, NG PR can
 8 kilas ma'gge. tässa um v̄onD sel'l'i rišt̄iŋG, kis um nānt
 village+IN sleep. here is been such person, who is their
 9 jūrse nā'deD, kis um sel'l'i v̄onD, un jema um k̄itten
 place seen(PPP), who is such been, and mother is said
 10 nei: seda ma'gde tōB, seda ma'gde tōB, ku ni um
 so: it(PT) sleep wants, it(PT) sleep wants, when now is
 11 v̄onD sel'l'i lāpš, kis amaD skoud'eD jārāndiZ. ni ta
 been such child, who all+PL faults away. now (s)he
 12 k̄itteB, sal tikkiž um amaD slīkte.
 says, there everything is all+PL bad.

Translation

Then to you young women I say with all my heart, if you have

children, don't sleep away from home. I've experienced in my own life how one sleeps away and then comes home and gives the child, without it getting to sleep, falling asleep, milk; how then the child is more ill-tempered. It's a great fault in everyone. You can't, when you're suckling a child, sleep away from home. There was a person here who was seen at the home of one who was like that, and the mother said, it wants to be put to sleep! to sleep! because now there was a child with all those faults. Now she says, everything's worst of all there.

Notes

line 1: kütte for kütteB 'say' in the first person singular. Kettunen suggests (Wörterbuch, p.LX) that the first person form without -B (identical to the infinitive rather than 3SG PR) is an old feature of the West Livonian dialect.

line 2 and elsewhere: kilas is to be taken to mean 'visiting, away from home' rather than literally 'in the village'; compare Est. külas, Fi. kylässä. Note also

line 4: kilhasse, where the speaker has inserted -h- into the longer form of the inessive case; not recorded elsewhere.

line 3: pi'eje'llen 'experienced', formed with Latv. prefix pie- on the Liv. stem je'lle 'live', on the model of Latv. piezīvot 'experience,. Again, in

line 5: aizma'gdeD 'fallen asleep' (PPP), a calque not recorded by Kettunen, formed from the Latv. prefix aiz-+ma'gqe 'sleep', clearly a direct cognate of Latv. aizmiqt 'fall asleep' - particularly interesting in view of the similarity of the two stems.

line 6: slikte dabaG, apparently meaning '(more) ill-tempered'.

- dabaG is not recorded by Kettunen, but he suggests that daba (<Latv. daba 'nature') is a loan from Baltic-Finnic, cf. Fi. tapa). slikte is the adverbial form of slikt 'bad' (<Latv. slikts). This may be a calque based on Latv. sliktdabīgāk 'more bad-tempered' with the Latv. (adverbial) comparative ending -āk.
- line 9: jūrsse, variant of jūs 'at (the place of)' (PO).
- line 10: seda ma'gde tób: meaning uncertain, presumably 'it wants/needs to be put to sleep' if ma'gde is a contraction of magatte 'put to sleep' (causative).
- line 11: skoud'eD 'faults'; Kettunen records skōD'.
- line 12: amaD sliķte: superlative construction, 'worst of all'.

5. Lidia Didrikson, 85 years, Kuolka village, Talsi region;
recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

- 1 nā, nā. siZ kiediz siga pāde. un ten'n'i-pāvan
yes, yes. then boiled(IM) pig's head(PT). and Anthony-day+DT
- 2 siZ ju said ka lapst tegiž ju sūr kabal vo'zze.
then EM got(3PL) also children again EM big piece meat+PT.
- 3 mūd pāvaD siZ vol' sel'l'i piški, bet ni pāvan siZ
other+PL days then was such small, but now day+DT then
- 4 sai sūr kabal. un tal'š-pivaD siZ vol' ka, tal'š-pivaD
got big piece. and Christmas(PL) then was also, Christmas(PL)
- 5 sa tiedaD, se um se Kristus sīndemi-pāva, tal'š-pivaD,
you(SG) know, it is it Christ's birth-day, Christmas(PL),
- 6 siZ sei vo'zze lapst kuijen tōste. siZ vol't'
then ate meat(PT) children as-much-as wanted. then were
- 7 jouttemD āigaD, nā. āigaD vol't't'e jouttemD, vanbisten
poor+PL times, yes. times were poor+PL, parents+DT
- 8 iz uo lapsten ānde. bet siZ tal'š-pivaD siZ ju
NG P be children+DT give. but then Christmas(PL) then EM
- 9 lapst seitte vo'zze neijen kuijene tōste. nā.
children ate meat+PT so-much as-much wanted(3PL). yes.
- 10 mattikš pāva um kakškīnde - vei se um kakškīdnēl'as
Matthew's day is twenty- - whether it is 24th
- 11 vei kakškīmdseitsmas vol' ta? kuna se mattikš pāva ni um?
or 27th was he? when it Matthew's day now is?
- 12 vei sin äB uo ka mielsse? meṭlegeD seda:
or you(SG DT) NG PR be also mind+IN? think(IE PL) that(PT):
- 13 mūlin' mina vel tieget, bet min āmi tamn-aigast
last-year I still did, but me+DT all(PT PL) this-year

14 pakītte, vei ta vol' kakšķimdeseitsmes pāva ta vol' vei
 tell, whether he was 27th day he was or
 15 vol' ta kakšķimde-nēl'as, kakšķimdeseitsmas ta um vōnD?
 was he 24th, 27th he is been?

Translation

[Note: the passage transcribed is one side of a conversation; the other interlocutor is not clearly audible and has been omitted here.]

Yes, yes. Then one boiled a pig's head. And so on St. Anthony's Day the children, then again, got a big piece of meat. On other days it was sort of small, but now on this day you got a big piece. And Christmas, too, was - Christmas, you know, it's Christ's birthday - Christmas, then the children ate meat, as much as they wanted. They were poor times, yes. Times were poor, parents had nothing to give their children. But then at Christmas, then the children ate as much meat as they wanted. Yes. St. Matthew's day is the twenty- - is it the twenty-fourth, or the twenty-seventh, was it? Now when is that St. Matthew's day? Don't you remember either? Think of it! Last year I still did, but all this year I have to tell whether it was the twenty-seventh day or was it the twenty-fourth, twenty-seventh, was it?

Notes

line 2: this speaker makes minimal use of 'broken tone'. A vestigial glottal stop is audible in the word vo'zze 'meat' (PT), but not at all in, for example, va(')nbisten 'parents' (DT) in line 7.

line 3: note consistent use of Latvian conjunctions bet 'but' and un 'and'.

line 5: siñdemi-pāva 'birthday'; siñde-pāva would be more usual. Perhaps this could be more correctly translated as 'the day of Christ's birth'.

lines 6 & 9: kuijen, kuijene: not given as a single word by Kettunen, but the stress pattern suggests that it is perceived as one. (Kettunen gives kui 'as' and je'nne 'much' as separate words.) But note the single word neijen 'so much' in line 9; the sense of neijen kuijene is 'just as much as'.

lines 10 & 11: vei...vei 'whether...or'.

line 12: mėleged seda 'think of it': an imperative plural with rhetorical function.

line 13: tieget: it is difficult to judge the meaning of this word because, not using broken tone, the speaker makes no distinction between the verbs tiede 'know' and ti'ede 'do'; the former would seem more likely here, but the -g- is only explicable, according to Kettunen, as an irregular form of the latter verb.

line 13: min ämi 'for me all (PT PL)': this phrase is rather rapid and garbled.

line 14: pakitte 'say, tell,; the Latv. prefix pa- gives a momentaneous or 'diminutive' force to the verb (kitte 'say'). Pakitte is not given by Kettunen, but evidently it is patterned after Latv. pastāstīt 'say, tell (a little)'.

6. Berta Indrikson, 80 years, Īre village; recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

- 1 nā, leja-vettam-uondžel siZ lapst leķšta mā'G pāl,
yes, Easter-morning+AD then children went hill(GN) on(PO),
- 2 lōlist 'tšitšoliḱki, tšitšoliḱki, ni tā'dde aiga 'm ilze
sang " " , now you(DT PL) time 's up
- 3 nūze. sūrD ljestad piškiZ-mje'rre, piškiZ ljestad
rise. big+PL flounder+PL small-sea+IL, small flounder+PL
- 4 sūr-mje'rre. nā. piškiZ ljestad lā'geD sūr-mje'rre,
big-sea+IL. yes. small flounder+PL go(IE) big-sea+IL,
- 5 bet sūr-ljestad las tulged piški-mje'rre. nā. un siZ
but big-flounder may come(IE) small-sea+IL. yes. and then
- 6 vanaD roud vište ka leja-vettamed pāl sje sel'l'isti
old+PL people took also Easter(PL) on(PO) that such(PT PL)
- 7 kūzidi, sel'l'i piškiZ kūze puskantiZ,
spruce(PT PL), such small spruce decorated(IM),
- 8 sapanD sel'l'i knaššidi pappiridi,
gathered(P AC P) such beautiful(PT PL) papers(PT),
- 9 knaššidi luppatidi un siZ vište en'tš ne
beautiful(PT PL) cloths(PT) and then took own they
- 10 kuodiden. nā. sel'l'iz pan' - pan kālma pāl,
homes+DT. yes. such(PT PL) put(IM)-put(IM) grave(GN) onto(PO),
- 11 sel'l'i piškiZ kūze. nei, kien vol'. ma tiedaB,
such little spruce. so, whom(DT) was. I know,
- 12 mādden vol' sel'l'i Lounits Mari. tāmnen vol't't'e, ne
we+DT was such " " . she+DT were, they
- 13 lapst vol't't'e jara kuolenD. un siZ tāmnen ne
children were away died. and then she+DT they

- 14 lapsten sel'l'i piški kūze un sel'l'ist knaššed -
children+DT such small spruce and such(PL) beautiful(PL) -
- 15 vol't't'e rōza, vol't't'e miḡgi sel'l'iž - spuože pappiereD.
were pink, were some such - shiny papers.
- 16 nä.
yes.

Translation

Yes, on Easter morning then, the children went up the hill, singing 'Tšitšõliḡki, tšitšõliḡki, now it's time for you to get up. Big flounder into the little sea, little flounder into the big sea.' Yes. Let the little flounder go into the big sea, but may the big flounder come into the little sea. Yes. And then old people also took those spruce-trees at Easter, they decorated sort of little spruces, they'd gathered those pretty papers, beautiful cloths and then took them to their homes. Yes. All things like that they'd put on a grave, a little spruce like that. That is whoever had one. I know, we had someone called Lounits Mari. Her children had died. And so for those children she had one of those little spruces and those beautiful - they were some - shiny bits of paper. Yes.

Notes

line 1: leja-vettam-uondžel 'on Easter morning'; leja-vettamed 'Easter' is modelled on the Estonian lihavõtte, lit. 'flesh-taking'; here it is used a part of a compound in which the final element uondžel takes the adessive case ending (irregular, nom. uomeG).

line 2: tšitšõliḡki...: opening lines of a well-known folk-song traditionally sung on Easter morning to 'waken the birds' in the

coastal villages. Kettunen gives a slightly different version, but the sense is as given here.

line 2: 'm for um.

lines 3/4: piškiž and sūr given here without plural or case endings, as attributive parts of compounds with mje'rre. Note also the fluctuating use of broken tone with mje(')rre and other words; where used by this speaker, it is barely perceptible.

line 6: leja-vettameD pāl 'at Easter'; note the use of the postposition. Compare the use of tal'š-pivaD (which is a calque of Latv. Ziemsvētki 'winter festival(s)') without a postposition or case ending to mean 'at Christmas' by speaker 5.

line 8: sapanD: apparently a calque, formed from the Latv. prefix sa- ('together')+pānda 'put', meaning 'gather, assemble, put together'. But Kettunen does record sapann with the same meaning from the extinct Salis dialect.

lines 9/10: en'tš ne kuodiden: 'them to their own homes'; note the uncharacteristic position of ne 'them/those'. This speaker appears to use ne only as an article, undeclined (see also lines 13/14, ne lapsten 'for those children').

line 11: nei, kien vol': the meaning appears to be 'well, whoever had one.'

line 13: jara kuolenD: note the use of jara as an intensifier ('died away') and its position before the participle.

line 15: spuože pappiered 'shiny bits of paper'; the speaker hesitates, apparently in search of a word, before spuože, taken directly from Latv. (spožs 'shiny') and not recorded by Kettunen, rather than, for example, Liv. si'ldzi 'glossy, shiny'. The interference may be due to the following word, pappiered, which

has a direct cognate in Latv. (papīri). The ending -e in spuože does not have any apparent morphological significance.

7. Liina Veide, 77 years, Kuolka village; recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

1 nu ju tal'se-pivad mēG broutšizme lōtel ô'den.
 well EM Christmas(PL) we travelled church+AL night+DT.

2 sāl vo'l' sūr lōlami un, un, un kindel palist
 there was great singing and, and, and candle burned(3PL)

3 un ne knaššid ežmiZ tal's-pivad tegiž broutšem
 and those beautiful+PL first Christmas(PL) again travel(1PL)

4 lōtel. pjerre lēnagst āige siZ mēG broutšem sugu
 church+AL. after lunch(GN) time(PT) then we travel kin(GN)

5 jūr. sjāl vo'l' vo'l'tte un, un tikkiž ô'stigel' tegiž
 to(PO). there was beer(PT) and, and always dinner+AD again

6 vo'l'me ku'bsse, vanaD liveD. nu siZ uvud-āigast,
 were(1PL) together, old(PL) Livonians. well then new-year,

7 ūd-āigast ôden tegiž amaD lekšme ku'bbe un siZ
 new-year eve+DT again all+PL went(1PL) together and then

8 vonne valist. kien vol' suormeks, sjen vol'
 luck(PT) cast(3PL). whom(DT) was ring, that+DT was

9 kōzgenD sie āigast, un tegiž kien krit' vol', sien
 wedding that year, and again whom(DT) chalk was, that(DT)

10 vol' kuolemest. un siZ lekšme tegiž pūd'i vettem
 was die+OG. and then went(1PL) again trees(PT) take+IP

11 ku'bbe. ja vol' kakš, siZ v-, kakš pūd āltte,
 together. if was two, then [HES.] two tree(PT) kindle,

12 siZ miele lā'B sie āiga. un až ikš vwolG vol' kāds,
 then man+AL goes that time. and if one straw was hand+IN,

13 siZ vol', ieB vanad-neitseks. nei siZ vol'. nu siZ
 then was, stays old(PL)-maid+CT. so then was. well then

14 tul', tuli vasta-lova un ten'n'i-pāva, ten'n'i-pāva siZ
 came, came Shrovetide and Anthony's-day, Anthony's-day then
 15 kiettiz siga pāde un, un tegiž vasta-lova siZ
 boiled(IM) pig's head(PT) and, and again Shrovetide then
 16 lekšte neitseD puoiššid immer, dāntšist un siZ,
 went(3PL) girls boys' around, danced(IM) and then,
 17 sel'l'i vol'e se loul, 'ziḡgi sprinḡgi vasta-lova, ē
 such was that song, " " Shrovetide, "
 18 vasta-lova, nei.
 Shrovetide, so.

Translation

Well then, at Christmas we travelled to church at night. There was a lot of singing there, and, and, and the candles burned and, that beautiful first Christmas again we travelled to church. After lunchtime we travel to our relatives. There was beer and, and we were always together again at dinner, the old Livonians. Well then, at New Year, on New Year's Eve again we all went together and threw our luck [tin]. Whoever had a ring would have a wedding that year, and again, whoever had chalk would have to die. And then we went together to take trees. If there were two, two trees lit, then you'd get married that time. And if one straw was in your hand, then you'd stay an old maid. That's how it was. Well, then came, Shrovetide came, and St. Anthony's Day; on St. Anthony's Day they boiled a pig's head, and again at Shrovetide the girls went round the boys, danced and then the song was like this: 'Ziḡgi sprinḡgi vasta-lova, e vasta-lova', like that.

Notes

line 1: This speaker makes marked use of both broken tone (though it is not always present where expected) and the phoneme [ö]. She pronounces the adverb given by Kettunen as ē'den with an initial ö: ö'den (cf. Est. öö, Fi. yö) (see also lines 5 and 7).

line 2: kīndel palist 'they burned a candle'.

line 3: ežmiž 'first' in singular form.

line 4: broutšem 'we travel' (present tense),

line 5: Compare sjal with sā'l (line 1) for 'there'.

line 5: ō'stigel: this word is untraceable but may be a variant pronunciation of ū'degistel/ē'degistel 'at dinner'; cf. ō'den in line 1.

line 6: uvud- for ūd-.

line 8: vonne valist 'luck cast'; this refers to the practice of throwing a lump of molten tin into cold water and divining the future from the shape it takes. Compare this with the game referred to in the passage by speaker 2.

line 10: pūd'i 'trees' (PT PL) and

line 11: pūD āltte apparently refer to straws, as indicated by

line 12: vwolG (Kettunen has vol'G).

line 11: ja is the Latvian word for 'if'; all other speakers use the Liv. word až. Since this speaker consistently uses the Latvian un for 'and', ja cannot mean 'and' here.

line 17: ziņgi sprinģi: apparently meaningless incantation.

8. Pētõr Damberg, 63 years, formerly of Sīkrõg village, living in Riga, recorded by Kristi Salve 1972

- 1 ku vol'1'e niklas pāvan lē'mest zōkker pāle ūlze ja
when was Nicholas' day(DT) go+OG rack(GN) onto over and
- 2 siZ vo'tlemest ku kwotkaneZ sadaB las tānda sōge
then wait+OG when eagle falls so-that him(PT) get(SJ)
- 3 kā'dde. mikspjerast kuod'in seda kwotkaneZ lē'mest
hand+IL. why exactly that(PT) eagle going(PT)
- 4 siZ vol' - appkamest, sjeda mina äB mā'dle. aga se
then was - observe+OG, that(PT) I NG PR remember. but it
- 5 vol' miḷgi nōl'a lapsten. bārban pāva, se vol'
was some joke children+DT. Barbara's day, it was
- 6 lāmbēD pāva, naist pāva. siZ ist vol't't'e ku'dde,
sheep(GN PL) day, women's day. then NG P were weave,
- 7 ist ka vėrbikse. meitteZ lāmbeden ĩrgebeD pe'dde
NG P also spin. otherwise sheep+DT PL begin+3PL hurt
- 8 jālgāD ja nei iēbeD pimdeks. bārban pāvan lēkste
feet and so become dark+CT. Barbara's day+DT went(3PL)
- 9 ka bārban' ajam. siZ neitseD ē'd'et immer
also Barbara(PT) chase+IP. then girls dress around
- 10 meittiziZ ōren'iZ ja lēkste kōrandst
different+IN PL clothes+IN and went household+EL
- 11 kōrande - kōrandst kōrantte bārban' ajam.
household+PT- household+EL household+IL Barbara+PT chase+IP.
- 12 vol' sel'1'iZ - vol' katrin' ajam, katrin' ē'dēG.
was such - was Catherine chase+IP, Catherine's evening.
- 13 ka lēkste katrin' ajam. vol' katrin' pāva, um
also went(3PL) Catherine chase+IP. was Catherine's day, is

14 ka sel'l'i kītteB-sẽna vol'. bet se äB uo katrin'
 also such saying-word was. but it NG PR be Catherine's
 15 päva i'D. sä̃l um ka an'dreks-päva, vol' an'dreks-päva,
 day only. there is also Andrew's-day, was Andrew's-day,
 16 ja el' - mart päva.
 and [HES.] Martin's day.

Translation

When it was St.Nicholas' day you had to go up onto the [drying-] rack and then wait for the eagle to descend to get hold of it. Exactly why the movement of the eagle had to be observed, that I don't remember. But it was a sort of joke for the children. St.Barbara's Day, that was the sheep's day, women's day. There was no weaving then, and no spinning either. Otherwise the sheep's legs would start to hurt and so they'd become dark. On Barbara's Day, too, they went on a 'Barbara chase'. Then the girls would dress up in different clothes and go from household to household on the 'Barbara chase'. There was such a - there was a 'Catherine's chase' on St.Catherine's Day evening. They'd go on a 'Catherine chase' too. It was St.Catherine's Day, and there was such a proverb. But it isn't only St.Catherine's Day. There's also St.Andrew's Day there, there was St.Andrew's Day, and, er, St.Martin's Day.

Notes

The speaker was an experienced informant with a good education, and a teacher himself. It is Damberg's recorded speech that forms the basis of the material used in the Descriptive Grammar.

line 1: vol'l'e for vol'.

line 1: zökker 'rack'; Kettunen defines this word as "gerüst,

stellige (aus ästigen bäumen)".

line 1: ülze: note the use of the phoneme /ü/. ülze is more normally rendered as i'lze, and though the 'broken tone' is lacking here, this speaker does make moderate use of it; see vo'tlemest in line 2, for example.

line 4: appkamest, presumably for appakkamest 'to be observed' (OG); Kettunen explains app-akke 'bemerken, wahrnehmen, auf etwas kommen' as being formed from the Latv. prefix ap- 'herum, ab' and Liv. akke 'greifen, fassen'.

lines 6/7: note the construction siZ ist vol't't'e ku'dde, ist ka vërbikse 'then there was no weaving, and no spinning either' (for them, a plural referent implied by the form ist vol't't'e).

line 9: bàrban ajam: the reason for the palatalised n' is unclear, perhaps by analogy with katrin' (ajam); the phrase may mean either 'for the Barbara('s day) chase/hunt' or 'to chase/hunt Barbara', ajam being the infinitive of purpose of a'(i)jje.

line 14: the proverb referred to here, quoted by Damberg further on in the passage, and by Kettunen in his Wörterbuch, is: mart mattaB, katrin' kattaB, an'dreks tulab a'rtteB jara 'At Martinmas it snows ('buries'), at St.Catherine's even more ('cover'), (but by) St.Andrew's it's thawed away ('comes dissolves away').

9. Pouliņ Klavina, 63 years, formerly of Koštrõg village,
recorded in Riga, 1981, by Seppo Suhonen

1 emmit. emmit, nei ku Zuonka kōrents jelizde iž un
more. more, so that Zuonka household+IN lived self and
2 mēG nēl'a. aga mūž kōranD - Ūdruotšēl ka
we four. but other(PT PL) household - Ūdruotš+AD also
3 jelizde nēl'a aime. nēl'a aime vel, nu mis ātte
lived four family+PT. four family+PT still, well what are
4 nei sel'l'ist pālkanikaD. un perimiez en'tšēl sāl vol'
so such+PL wage-earners. and landlord self+AD there was
5 kōrenD jēga a - kō' tutkam pāle. nu Folman jūsse
household each [HES.] two(GN) end(GN) on. well F.(GN) at(PO)
6 sāl ka jeliste nā ka nēl'a, vol't't'e Krištin,
there also lived yes also four, were Kr.,
7 Šreitman', ValkiD Pouliņ se min rišt-jema, se ka sāl
Šr., V. P. that my godmother, that also there
8 mēG sel'l'iZ suguD vol'me, ju kougeZ suguD. nu
we such relatives were, more distant relatives. well
9 sel'l'iZ um ValkiD Pouliņ, se min rišt-jema, tās āt
such is V. P. , that my godmother, here are
10 amaD kūolkanikaD, ne ka ātte amaD līvleD. Ūd-
all+PL Kuolka-people, they also are all+PL Livonians. [HES.]
11 sem- Ūdruotš, Ūdruotšen puogaD, amaD līvles ne ātte
[HES.] Ūdr. , Ūdr.+DT boys, all+PL Livonians they are
12 kupsse. neikku se, tās ne bildaD mis ātte, ne
together. so-that it, here those pictures where are, they
13 āt amaD līvles sapandeD. tās tegiž mēG Lielupsse
are all+PL Livonians gathered. here again we Lielupe+IN

14 seda tämme, ku seda, vol't't'e ne ēstlist
 that+PT oak+PT, when it+PT, were those Estonians
 15 at̄-tunneD, un siZ tämme panaB, kis um, ku - ?
 arrived, and then oak+PT puts, who is, that - ?

Translation

[The speaker is reminiscing as she looks through a photograph album showing other Livonians she used to know.]

More. More, so that in the Zuonka household lived myself and four of us. But in other households - at Ūdruotš there also lived four families, four more families, well, what you might call wage-earners. And the landlord himself had a household there, at each - at the two ends of the house. Well, at Folman's there also lived four: there was Krištin, Šreitman', Valkid Pouliņ - that's my god-mother - we also had relatives there, more distant relatives. Well, that's Valkid Pouliņ, that's my god-mother, here they are all Kuolka people, they are all Livonians. Ūdruotš, the Ūdruotš boys, all Livonians they are together. So that - here are the pictures where they are all, all the Livonians gathered. Again, here we are on the Lielupe, that oak, when - the Estonians had arrived, and then he puts the oak - who's that, who?

Notes

Note this speaker's minimal use of broken tone.

line 4: pālkanikaD, not given in Kettunen's dictionary, but evidently 'wage-earners' or 'paid employees' from pālkka 'wage' +-nik.

lines 11 & 13: livles: final -s unexplained; possibly for livedeks 'as Livonians'.

line 13: sapanded: see note to line 8, speaker 6.

line 14: Lielupe: one of the major rivers of Latvia.

line 15: aĥ-tunned: 'arrived', past active participle of aĥ-
tũlda, a calque, noted by Kettunen, based on Latvian at+nākt
'arrive' (Liv. tũlda, Latv. nākt 'come').

10. Oskar Stalte, 85 years, recorded in Riga 1989 by Christopher Moseley

1 un sie tuon'iž kerD ku tānda vjediZ ulze siz ta,
and that last time when him(PT) led(IM) out then he,

2 tässa riġes tsentral sāl vizas-kwodas, kakš ne
here Riga(IN) central there prison(double-IN), two those

3 krievē naist nēd'i, tānden veṭten un pand
Russian woman(PT) them(PT), here taken and put(P AC P)

4 sel'l'iZ, sel'l'iZ ōdeZ, ōdeZ, ōdeZ sel'l'iZ, sel'l'iZ
such(IN), such(IN) narrow, narrow, narrow such(IN), such(IN)

5 komber sizal. un ēd'en pōl'aZ, amaD
chamber(GN) inside. and undressed(P AC P) naked, all(PL)

6 ōrenD um attvutteD jāra. un nei ka um kilde miṅgiZ
clothes is taken(PPP) away. and so also is frozen some

7 kōgeks stun'd'i sāl. seda tikkiž van't'- naist
long+CT hours+PT there. it(PT) everything look - women

8 tuoiž seṭ äB toud' laške vel - se äB, seda äB
true only NG PR dare let yet - it NG PR, it(PT) NG PR

9 toud', seda äB toud' un mi'nne ka, mina ka tōB
dare, it(PT) NG PR dare. and me(DT) also, I also want

10 midage kītte, van't', tā'mmen. ta äB lā', van't'li,
something say, look, him(DT). he NG PR go, look,

11 seda. un sie um iṁl'i aša, ku ta um lānD sie
it(PT). and it is wondrous thing, that he is gone that(GN)

12 rek le'bbe nēl'akīnde krād sāl kīlma, ku tāmmen
way(GN) through 40 degree there cold, when him(DT)

13 äB uo leibe vōnD, aB uo vōnD ōren äB uo vōnD midagi.
NG PR bread+PT been, NG PR been clothing, NG PR been anything.

14 ta kieriz tā'giž. un tāmnen vol', in'e vol' lāpš, piški
 he turned back. and him(DT) was, together was child, small
 15 lāpš.
 child.

Translation

[The speaker refers to an incident in the life of Ūli Būntik-Kīnkamāg, the so-called 'King of the Livonians', who died in prison.]

And that last time when he was taken out, then, here at Riga Central Prison, two Russian women took them and put them in a narrow, narrow, narrow sort, sort of chamber. And stripped him naked, all his clothes were taken away. And he was freezing for several hours there. Everything, look - the women truly didn't dare let him out yet - they didn't dare, they didn't dare to. And I too have, I want to say something too; look - at him. He doesn't go, look - at that. And the wondrous thing is that he went that way through 40 degrees of frost, when he didn't have any bread, didn't have any clothes, didn't have anything. He turned back. And he had with him a child, a little child.

Notes

lines 1/2: riġes tsentral sāl vizas-kwodas, lit. 'in Riga Central there Prison'; the -s in riġes may be either a Livonian inessive or a Latvian genitive case, as the Latvian name of the institution is Rīġas Centrālais Cietums. vizas-kwodas, with both elements in the inessive case, means 'hard-house' (cietums means 'hardness' in Latvian also) and is thus analogous with piva-kwoda 'holy-house' (=church).

line 2: like many other speakers, this speaker uses ne as an

indeclinable article.

line 3: tānden presumably for tāne 'here, hither'.

line 5: komber 'chamber/room' (GN). Kettunen gives the forms kōmar', kōmar, kōmer but notes the derivation from Latv. kammaris/kambaris/Est. kammer/kamber, hence the -b- and the corresponding shortening of the stressed vowel.

line 6: atvutteD 'taken away' (PPP); Kettunen gives the form attutte, utte being a variant of vette 'take'; indeed the u heard in this word is somewhat centralised. The t of the Latv. prefix at- 'away, back' is here lengthened before a vowel. Note also the construction amaD örerD um attvutteD jara lit. 'all clothes is away-taken away', with plural subject and singular verb (echoing the Finnish construction kaikki vaatteet on otettu pois) followed by the emphatic adverb jara.

line 6: kilde: an untraced form, but presumably a variant of kilmden 'frozen' (P AC P) < kilme 'freeze'.

line 7: kōgeks 'long' is an adverb in the form of the comitative case of kōgaZ; kōgeks only has temporal reference, kōgaZ only spatial reference.

lines 7, 10: van't', van't'l'i (interjection) 'look, see'.

line 11: iṁl'i for imil' or i'mlimi (Kettunen) 'wondrous, marvellous'.

line 11: aša for aža 'thing'.

lines 11/12: le'bbe is a preposition referring to nēl'akīmde krāD rather than a postposition after reḱ.

line 12: krāD 'degree'; Kettunen does not record this or any other word for 'degree', but does note gra'dde-glōZ 'thermometer'; cf. Est. kraad, Latv. grāds.

Note also that three tenses are used in this narrative: present, perfect and preterite.

Part Four

Conclusion

It is only in recent decades that the decline and death of individual languages has evolved into a subject for serious study by linguists. And it is only in the last few years that the concept of 'endangered languages' has arisen and been perceived as "part of a much larger process of loss of cultural diversity" (1), thus corresponding to the depletion of 'biodiversity' in the natural world. With the pre-eminence of dominant 'world languages' in more and more spheres of human activity in the late twentieth century, 'endangered' languages are being consigned to oblivion at an ever faster rate (2). It is with a sense of concern, even of partial responsibility, for this present state of affairs, that the present study has been undertaken. Ultimately, a declining language can only be preserved and maintained by the remnants of its native speech community, but the academic linguist can at least quantify and assess what remains of it. In the case of Livonian, we are relatively fortunate in this respect: most of the valuable pioneering work on Livonian (as with certain other Uralic languages) has already been done by previous generations of linguists.

This study of the declining Livonian language has paid more attention to internal features of the language than to external factors in attempting to explain its decay. There are two main reasons for this approach:

(1) The paucity of surviving 'semi-speakers' in comparison to fluent speakers who are available for study arises from the fact that the speech community as such has ceased to function;

speakers can only be recorded in isolation.

(2) Earlier scholars, whose recordings are the only source of material for a study of the decline of the language over time, had also sought out only fluent speakers for their research. They did not pay any attention to the sociolinguistic factors contributing to, or revealed in, the decline of the language. Furthermore, the speech community was already in terminal decline when the systematic recording of Livonian began. For this reason, speakers were almost invariably recorded in isolation, and the material recorded was of a reminiscent, anecdotal nature.

This is not to say that the Livonian speech on record, whether in this study or elsewhere, is archaic or in a restricted register. Not only did any appreciable dialectical differences within Livonian die out at the very earliest stages of its recorded development (3), but no differences in social register are evident, because of the homogeneous nature of the former speech community.

Given these restrictions and the impossibility of making a sociolinguistic study of the language, these concluding observations are confined to structural features of the language. More particularly, special attention is given to the effect on the present-day language of prolonged contact with an unrelated language which exhibits profound structural differences from Livonian. One might reasonably expect far-reaching Latvian influence on the phonology, morphology, grammar and syntax of Livonian, in view of the long-standing bilingualism among Livonian speakers. As Dorian (1989) remarks about Gaelic:

The structure of a language is layered and chambered;

different configurations of features can and do appear within various systems of a single language. If a shrinking language which "has gender" is in intense contact with English, which does not, is a decline in gender-marking sure to be the result of contact with English? (4)

Against what standards are the speakers of Livonian to be measured? On the evidence of the samples presented in the preceding chapter, and considering the advanced age of most of the speakers, Livonian does retain great structural stability and, at most levels, great complexity. In the notes accompanying the texts, reference is consistently made to Kettunen's Wörterbuch as a normative guide. The speakers' adherence to a set of norms, as reflected by Kettunen's Wörterbuch, is generally quite consistent, the exceptions being noteworthy for their rarity. Structurally, then, the language does not exhibit evidence of a decay commensurate with the decline of the speech community, except, perhaps, at one level, the syntactic (of which more below). Even at this level, however, any decay to be noted is not necessarily attributable to the influence of Latvian.

In the case of Livonian, the written language - in the marginal sense in which it may be said to exist at all - is not normative. It has always been based on the speech of individual authors (this is true even of the Bible translation), and its orthography has never had an agreed codification. Until very recently, it may be said to have fallen out of use. There are signs today, however, that it is being revived and that adoption of a standard orthography may be necessary.

Structural changes in Livonian can thus be observed only in the recorded speech of individuals. It would be useful, of course, to have records of the speech of one individual over a long period of time. Such records exist, though on a very limited scale, in the cases of only two speakers, where the time span is some thirty years. On the basis of the scanty evidence available, the usage of these speakers has remained consistent. Nor is it possible to trace trends across generations, as there are no fluent younger speakers.

This situation may be changing, with the introduction of the teaching of Livonian in Riga during the writing of this study, although the new generation of learners does not constitute a speech community with its own norms. The author knows of only one case where the language has been passed on to children in the home environment. The dispersal and relocation of the speakers, coupled with intermarriage, have made it impossible to pass on the language within families.

In order usefully to quantify the command of a dying language by the community of its bilingual speakers, precision in terminology is essential. What characterises the various degrees of bilingualism? A useful set of terms is provided by Hansegård (1968), who distinguishes between interference, transfer, semi-lingualism and bilingualism. (5) Interference can be defined as a deviation from the norms of a language occurring in bi- or multilingual speakers when one of the other languages influences the language being used at any given moment. Interference is partly caused by structural differences between languages and partly by extra-linguistic factors such as the

differential status of the languages. A frequent case of interference in a bilingual community may become a fixed element in the recipient language. Hansegård claims that interference may appear in the form of the phonology of the mother tongue in the second language; in occasional lexical borrowings; in calques; and in constructions unconsciously transferred from another language. Furthermore, Hansegård points out that the restrictive influence that the two languages may exercise on each other in the speech act may also be seen as interference.

The term transfer can be described as the use of previously learned skills in one language in the acquisition of another. Transfer may be positive or negative: negative transfer is called interference, as described above. But when the transfer of rules and structures from the mother tongue to the second language leads to their correct application, it may be called positive transfer. Between linguistically unrelated pairs such as, say, Finnish and Finland-Swedish, or Livonian and Latvian, we can expect to find profound differences in rules and structures, as well as analogous structures (which might once have been perceived as interference phenomena), thus increasing the likelihood of negative and positive transfer in language acquisition.

Semi-lingualism has been defined variously by many linguists: Hansegård views the semi-speaker as one who does not have complete command of a language. He notes that an imperfect command of a language leads to an impoverishment of the emotional life, a poverty of individual meanings and a lack of nuance in emotional expression. This lessens the communicative value of the

language. Spontaneous and abstract ideas which cannot find prompt expression lose their force after attempts at translation and simplification.

Bilingualism, by contrast, can be seen as the opposite of this. In its most developed form it is a state where equally complete, spontaneous command of two languages exists both actively and passively: in listening and speaking, in reading and writing. Of these, the first two skills are paramount, since it is, of course, possible to be both non-literate and bilingual, or to be bilingual in unwritten languages. If there is an imbalance between the passive and active components of these pairs, however, bilingualism must be regarded as less than complete.

The above criteria apply, by and large, to the objective measurement of linguistic competence. Subjective criteria must also be considered. In the Introduction to this study reference is made to a concept common both to the Livonians and to the East Sutherland Gaelic speakers (as studied by Dorian), namely linguistic 'purity'. The sensitivity to the 'purity' of the language among Gaelic speakers is remarked on elsewhere by Seosamh Watson, again providing an illuminating parallel to Livonian:

The English element in modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic speech is itself problematical in a number of ways. While, for instance, there is a tendency for many native speakers to judge the relative strength or "purity" of a dialect by their assessment of its freedom from English borrowings, such loanwords can be shown...to have existed in the

language throughout the last century, and indeed within dialects which are among the most vigorous up to the present day. (6)

The Livonian speech recorded in this study exhibits varying degrees of awareness of linguistic 'purity'. On rare occasions, possibly through lapse of memory, a speaker has substituted a Latvian word - stripped of inappropriate gender or case markers - for a common Livonian one; this feature might be described as interference. But what of the juxtaposition of the Latvian and Baltic-Finnic co-ordinating conjunctions un and ja respectively? Which is the more 'authentic' conjunction? (Both are ultimately of Germanic origin.) And, more interestingly, what of the calques coined by affixing Latvian bound morphemes to Livonian verbs? Both of these phenomena are attested throughout the recorded history of the language, and they present an interesting parallel to the Gaelic situation described above. Such phenomena are, however, notably absent from the speech of the only pedagogue among the sample of speakers, the teacher and writer Pētõr Damberg (speaker H), whose speech provided the corpus of material analysed in Part Two (Descriptive Grammar).

Consideration will now be given to evidence of atrophy and change provided by the texts at four different levels: syntactic, morphological, lexical and phonological.

Syntax

While the stylistic variation in the narratives presented in this study is slight, it is questionable whether this in itself would make the informants 'semi-speakers', as hypothesised by Andersen

(1982):

A [semi-speaker] will use a smaller number of syntactic devices...than a [fully competent speaker] of the same language.

The [semi-speaker] will preserve and overuse syntactic constructions that more transparently reflect the underlying semantic and syntactic relations. Where there is more than one possible surface structure for a given underlying relation..., the [semi-speaker] will tend to collapse the different surface structures into one. (7)

'Semi-speaker' would seem an inappropriate term to apply to the Livonian speakers under review here, solely on the grounds of the simplified syntactic structures they employ. Speakers who use simple structures at the syntactic level display full competence at the lexical, morphological and phonological levels.

As noted in the Introduction, there is strong evidence of a reduction in syntactic variation in dying languages. Coordination at the expense of relativisation is the most salient syntactic simplification. Indeed it must be said that relative clauses are few and far between in the speech of the ten speakers in the corpus of texts. (8) It is interesting to note that main clauses appended to others are often 'reinforced' by emphatic monosyllabic adverbs (for example siZ 'then', nei 'so').

Relativisation in Livonian is not a particularly complex process (see DG, 2.1.2.7), though it does involve case agreement, as in this rare instance of relativisation from the corpus:

un tegiž kien vol' krīt', sien vol' kuolemest.

"And again, whoever had chalk, [(s)he] would have to die."
(speaker 7, p.208)

There is a tendency in the corpus whereby the greater the avoidance of relativisation, the shorter the main-clause sentences will be, and the more likely they are to begin with a conjunction: (8)

aga sāl i'ž ō'i je'tse vol' beŋk. ja beŋk pāl vol' ve'iž-
pañ'. nei, se vottiz se vjed-pañ' ja valiZ iza pāle tu'bbe.
"But just there, in front of the oven, was a bench. And on
the bench was a bucket of water. So he took that bucket of
water and poured it on Father, into the room." (speaker 1,
p.190)

There are hardly any deviations from the syntactic norms of Livonian evident in the corpus, with virtually complete agreement of person and number in verbs and of number in noun phrases. Variation in narrative tenses (speakers 7 and 10) is explicable in stylistic terms, indicating degree of involvement in the story, and sequentiality of events.

As far as the scope for Latvian influence on syntactic structures is concerned, it may be noted that Latvian has fewer noun cases than Livonian (five in the former as opposed to between nine and twelve functional cases in the latter) and thus has more scope for using prepositional structures. Yet the two languages have similar conventions for word order, and similar

degrees of agreement in the noun phrase. There is thus little scope for major differences in syntactic structures between the two languages, and no firm evidence to show that these variations are caused by Latvian interference; nor is the variation in tenses likely to have external causes.

Morphology

At the morphological level, external influence is more evident. The most striking feature is the frequent occurrence of calques among verbs formed from Latvian bound prefixes and Livonian verb stems, the subject of extensive investigation by de Sivers (1971). Most calque verbs of this kind in the corpus are not found in Kettunen's Wörterbuch: pi'eje'llen, aizma'gdeD (speaker 4, p.192), pakitte (speaker 5, p.195), sapanD (speakers 6, p.198, and 9, p.208), for example.

Other evidence of Latvian influence is to be seen in the formation of a comparative of the adjective on the Latvian model: slikte dabaG (speaker 4, p.192) 'more bad-tempered' (for the complex etymology of this calque see the footnote). Compare also the same speaker's phrase amaD slikte 'worst of all', a normal Livonian superlative construction, using the same adjective of Latv. origin, and cognate with the Latv. superlative vis+sliktāk.

It might be reasonable to expect 'case-marker' collapse, such as Maandi (1989) found for Estonian in Sweden, especially given the close identity of nominative and genitive forms on one hand, and the variety of partitive plural forms on the other. The samples, however, indicate an almost universal retention of distinct case markers, both of correct case usage and of

distinctions between different markers of the same case. Nevertheless, there are some occasional deviations in case forms (kērabže for kērabid'i, skoud'eD for skōD') and inconsistent number marking (ežmiZ for ežmist).

Inconsistent case-marking, however, cannot be readily attributed to external influence, and may be evidence of the morphological reduction posited by Andersen (1982) for languages undergoing attrition. Speaker 6 omits case endings for the adjectives piškiZ and sūr in the formulaic incantation for "waking the birds", but also with pronouns later in the same discourse (en'tš ne kuodiden 'to their own homes' with ne undeclined, for example).

Sivers (1971) demonstrated that Livonian lexical and morphological borrowing have sometimes involved Latvian verb prefixes and sometimes not. The situation is analogous to that studied by Gal in Oberwart, Austria. The calques found in the present corpus reinforce the parallel. The evidence in this study suggests a greater degree of morphological adaptation and innovation at the expense of lexical borrowing in the Livonian case. Whereas Livonian innovations attach a Latvian prefix to a native verb stem, the examples given by Gal indicate that in some cases the German verb is borrowed into Hungarian as well as the prefix. Both the German and the Latvian prefixes constitute a narrow and well-defined range, usually indicating direction of movement or action in the verb. The restriction of the borrowing to bound morphemes only may be accounted for by Livonian linguistic 'purism'. The analogy with Hungarian and German cannot be taken too far, however, as Hungarian possesses its own range

of verb prefixes, analogous to the German set; Livonian does not.

Anomalously for a Baltic-Finnic language, Livonian, though lacking a morphological marking for the future tense, does have a special verb to indicate the future tense of 'to be', līde (cf. Finn. lienee), which functions rather like Ger. werden and sollen. It is worth noting that Latvian expresses the future tense by morphological means.

Expression of tense and mood does not seem to be subject to attrition in any other ways.

Vocabulary

The complex history of lexical borrowing into Livonian is covered in section 1.2 of this study. From it we may deduce that the core vocabulary of Baltic-Finnic origin has been extensively overlaid with words of Germanic (Low and Middle High German, Swedish), Latvian and recent Estonian origin (cf. Kettunen's Wörterbuch). Latvian borrowings are the most common, often entering the language in their Tamian dialect form. In view of the huge number of Latvian borrowings in Livonian, it becomes difficult - not to say futile - to attempt to extricate the most recent Latvian borrowings on a purely etymological or phonological basis. One noteworthy phenomenon, however, is the appearance of unassimilated borrowings, generally in undeclined form. A concomitant but less immediately obvious feature is the presence of recent borrowings, as studied by Suhonen (1973), alongside native words of similar or identical meaning.

The relative rarity of these phenomena may be gauged from a simple statistical examination of the etymologies of words used

in a passage of discourse. Speaker C (whose speech exhibits the fewest deviations from the forms given in Kettunen's Wörterbuch) used thirty-seven distinct root-words in his passage of speech. Using Kettunen's etymologies as a guide, we find the following distribution:

Table 1: Etymological distribution of words in a passage of Livonian discourse

<u>Origin</u>	<u>Number of words</u>
Common Baltic-Finnic stock (core vocabulary)	31
Latvian	3
Estonian borrowing	1
Germanic, via Dundaga dialect of Latvian	1
Common to Latvian and Estonian	1
<u>Total</u>	<u>37</u>

This would suggest that ad hoc lexical borrowing is not particularly widespread in Livonian. The use of Latvian conjunctions has already been noted: bet 'but' is almost universally used in the corpus, though aga, its Baltic-Finnic counterpart, is used by the more 'puristically' inclined speakers. The same applies to the un/ja dichotomy: the majority of speakers use un, only two (1, 8) choose ja. These are the same two speakers who use aga for 'but' (for more on the use of coordinators see DG, 1.3.1). There is an additional problem concerning the use of aga, which may also be used as 'perhaps' and 'or'. Most speakers use vej for 'or', which has cognates in both Latvian (vai) and Baltic-Finnic (vai, või), although - as in Latvian - it is used in both the statement and the question (disjunctive and conjunctive) senses of 'or'.

For other parts of speech, evidence from this corpus and elsewhere suggests that an ad hoc borrowing is likely to occur adjacent to an older borrowing: spuože pappiereD 'shiny papers', for example (speaker 6, p.205).

There is a small amount of evidence of semantic calques: that is, the borrowing of a phrase in translated form, or the extension or narrowing of reference of a borrowed word. An example of the former might be leja-vettam "Easter" (speaker 3), a literal translation of Est. lihavõtted, lit. 'flesh-taking' (9). Narrowing of semantic range can also be noted in speaker 2's use of the terms kuolemest and nõve for 'death'.

Sometimes a Livonian term may be partly a semantic borrowing, partly on the model of another native term, as in viza-kwoda 'prison', lit. 'hard-house', which appears to be partly based on Latv. cietums 'prison; hardness' and partly on the model of piva-kwoda, 'church', lit. 'holy-house'.

Phonology

It is in phonology that Livonian shows considerable variation as well as evident Latvian influence. In very general terms, the findings of Campbell and Muntzel, on the reduction and convergence of phonological distinctions in dying languages, coupled with the preservation of those with the greatest functional load (see Introduction, p.6), are borne out in the Livonian corpus. Apart from minor, isolated phonological variations, such as insertion of -h- (kilhasse, speaker 4, p.198), palatalisation (själ for säl, speaker 7, p.208), insertion of -v- (uvud- for üd-, speaker 7) and devoicing (aśa

for aža, speaker 10, p.217), there are two main areas of variability and change: the unstable use of ü and ö, and the degree of use of 'broken tone'. In the ū / ī and ö / e dichotomies, the former phonemes, common to Baltic-Finnic languages generally, are giving way almost universally to the latter (common to Latvian, which has performed the same transformations on borrowings from German). The rounded vowels ö and ū are retained only by speakers 1, 7 and 8. There is thus some correlation between the use of these phonemes and other indications of 'purism', but even 'purists' use the rounded vowels inconsistently.

At this point it may be instructive to compare the Livonian and Latvian phoneme inventories. For ease of comparison they are given below in linear rather than diagrammatic form:

Vowels: Livonian: a e ė [ə] i o ɔ u ä ö ü
 Latvian: a e i o e

(Latvian o is realised in fully assimilated (native) words as [uo]; Latvian ä is written as e.)

In addition, Kettunen lists several more vowels with less functional load or only dialectal occurrence, not indicated in the present corpus: â ȯ ė ė.

Both languages recognise vowel length.

Semivowels and glides: Livonian: j ' (glottal stop)

Latvian: j (h)

[h] is found only in loanwords in Latvian; it tends to be elided even in loanwords in Livonian.

Consonants:

Livonian: b d d' (f) g k l l' m n n' [ŋ] p r s š t t' v z ž

Latvian: b d ģ (f) g k l l̄ m n ņ [ŋ] p r s š t k v z ž

Livonian d' is palatalised in the same way as Latvian ģ: they are identical sounds. The same applies to t' and k. In both languages, [ŋ] only appears before g or k. (f) is found in loanwords. Livonian recognises consonant length, whereas it has very little if any functional load in Latvian.

It can be seen from the above data that there is a very good 'match' in terms of the two languages' phoneme inventories, the only major points of difference being the extended range of vowels in Livonian, the function of the Livonian glottal stop and the presence of consonant length in Livonian. Whatever the historical reasons for this situation, there is little scope for further convergence in the phoneme systems of the two languages in their present forms. Though it occurs only in unstressed syllables, the schwa vowel [ə] (rendered here as e), has been consistently preserved in Livonian, because of its high functional load. This tends to support Hamp's (1989) view, mentioned in the Introduction (p.7), that function-bearing distinctions tend to be retained in dying languages. Historically the schwa in unstressed position is the result of a long process of apocope which appears to have stabilised before the language was first recorded. The loss of the unstable vowels ü and ö, by contrast, which are always in stressed positions, was noted by Kettunen in the speech of several of his informants:

ü > i, ü > î; ö > e, ö > ê. Dies ist kein lautwandel, sondern eine substitution, die die lettische phonetik

verursacht hat. Einige der ältesten leute und zwar fast nur im gebiet des westlivischen, sprechen noch deutlich südam 'herz', süli 'schuldig', rö'pte 'schütteln', die übrigen aber sidam, sili, re'pte. Man darf annehmen, dass manche, die jetzt nicht imstande sind, das ü und ö auszusprechen, es in ihrer jugend getan haben.

Kettunen adds in a footnote:

Die herren Stalte und Stahler...haben das ü und ö konsequent bewahrt, weil sie von jugend auch auf deutsch gesprochen haben, während sogar beinahe hundertjährige greise in denselben ostlivischen dörfern (schon im jahre 1920) statt ü und ö nur ein reines i und e aussprechen konnten. (10)

Livonian speakers appear to perceive the phenomenon of broken tone, though it is a function-bearing distinctive feature, as to some extent dispensable. The ten speakers show the full range of adherence to broken tone, from complete absence (nā̄B for nā'B, īD for ī'D, minnen for mi'n̄nen; speaker 2), through erratic or barely perceptible use (vo'zze, but vanbisten for va'n̄bisten; speaker 5) to full use (tā'dden, speaker 4; ku'b̄be, speaker 7; kā'dde, speaker 8). However, no grammatically incorrect uses of broken tone were noted. The mode of articulation also varies: from a glottal stop (7) to the delayed onset of voicing in an initially unvoiced stop (4, 8). It is possible (even likely, if the small amount of evidence available from the extinct Salis dialect is taken into account) that these variations are attributable to dialect differences within Livonian which were formerly more distinct; contact with Latvian

may play only a small part in the explanation.

The evidence outlined in the foregoing strongly suggests the existence of a Sprachbund of genealogically similar and dissimilar languages located on the southeastern shores of the Baltic Sea. The phonological convergences alone suggest a further development of a process already posited by Posti (1953) as having taken place between Pre-Baltic-Finnic and Late Proto-Finnic through the filters of Germanic and Baltic. The convergence of phonemes suggested by Posti has been further intensified in historic times (that is, at least since the arrival of the German Kulturträger in the Baltic littoral region) through the mediation of these same features. As we have seen, a large number of lexical convergences have occurred as well, among terms borrowed from the dominant German, later Latvian, culture. This Sprachbund is thus more closely knit than that formed on the northern shore of the Baltic by Finnish and its Scandinavian neighbours. Anttila (1972) has already posited the existence in the past of such a Baltic convergence area. (11) The modern Livonian language provides a good deal of evidence of the continuity of this convergence down to the present day, not only on the phonological, but also on the morphological, lexical and grammatical levels.

Present-day linguistic convergences in the Baltic-Finnic area will certainly repay further investigation. One recent study in this field, by Sarhimaa (1992) (12), posits the existence of a Karelian Sprachbund on the evidence of inflectional simplification (involving case-marking and the use of the infinitive) in necessity constructions in North Russian dialects

and Karelian. This mutual interference between living languages she describes by the term adstratum. Though Sarhimaa's evidence involves only one type of construction, the fact that a similar structural convergence has taken place further west in the languages under review here does suggest that adstrata are confined to certain types of construction. Specifically, necessive constructions (or, in the terms of the Descriptive Grammar in this study, 'infinitives of obligation', referred to by Latvian grammarians as the 'debitive mood') are formulated slightly differently in Latvian and Livonian, but with the subject of the obligation expressed in the dative, the object of any transitive verb in the nominative, and a copula (optional in the present tense in Latvian) followed by the partitive form of the fourth infinitive (Livonian) or the prefix jā- + 3rd pres. sing. ending (Latvian); for example:

(Livonian)	nānt	si'n	nen	um	tuomest	
(Latvian)	tie	tev	(ir)	jā+atnes		
	these	you	is	must-bring	(13)	

It would be misleading, however, to conclude that such areal features are discrete phenomena. Related to the above phenomenon as a feature common to both Baltic-Finnic and Baltic languages, for instance, is the use of subjectless 3sg. verbs where a non-specific subject (English one, German/Swedish man) is implied. Lehiste (1988) presents further persuasive evidence for such a Baltic Sprachbund, citing chiefly suprasegmental phonological features, within systems that utilize both quantity and tone contrasts, as evidence for the spread of polytonicity in the region. (14)

The difficulty of objectively defining the parameters of a Sprachbund is captured in Anttila's pertinent observation (12) "that lexicon including grammatical markers is heavily symbolic, whereas grammar is largely iconic and largely universal" [author's emphasis]. Perhaps then we may venture to speak of a 'hierarchy of transferability' within a Sprachbund, proceeding from the most to the least transferable level: (a) phonology, (b) morphology, (c) lexis, (d) syntax.

In sum, its internal and external (or structural and contextual) features categorize Livonian as a dying language with certain specific characteristics:

- (a) it has survived relatively intact despite its prolonged minority status, lack of prestige at any stage of its known history, almost complete lack of institutional support, and transition from homogeneity to demographic dispersal;
- (b) serious efforts have been made to establish norms for the language, though mostly by non-native speakers;
- (c) though bilingualism is universal and Latvian influence is profound, the phenomenon of the 'semi-speaker' has not arisen, as cross-generational transfer of the language has not been seriously attempted because of the dispersal of population;
- (d) it permits innovations within a very narrow range, with bound morphemes being borrowed more readily than whole lexical items.

Notes

1. Ken Hale, 'On endangered languages and the safeguarding of diversity', Language, vol.68, number 1 (1992), p.1 (section on 'Endangered Languages').
2. For further statistics see M.Krauss, 'The world's languages in

crisis', Language, vol. 68, number 1 (1992), p. 4 - 10.

3. By 'appreciable' differences is meant those considerable phonological and lexical differences noted by Sjögren/Wiedemann between the dying Salis Livonian and Courland Livonian, as contrasted with the relatively slight variants between the language of the 'Eastern' and 'Western' villages as noted by Kettunen, Väveri and other scholars.

4. Nancy C.Dorian (ed.), Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death, 1989, p.5.

5. Hansegård, 1968, pp.58, 84.

6. S.Watson, 'Scottish and Irish Gaelic: the giant's bed-fellows', in Dorian (ed.), 1989, pp.56-7.

7. R.W.Andersen, 'Determining the linguistic attributes of language attrition', in R.D.Lambert and B.F.Freed (eds.), The Loss of Language Skills, 1982, p.99.

8. For a useful summary of the literature on this topic see J.H.Hill, 'The social functions of relativization in obsolescent and non-obsolescent languages', in Dorian (ed.), 1989, pp.149-64.

9. Liv. leja refers to human flesh, voza to animal meat; this distinction is lacking in Estonian. Likewise, Liv. tal'š-pivaD is a literal translation of Latv. Ziemsvētki, 'Christmas', lit. 'winter-feasts'.

10. Kettunen, 1938, p.XXIV. 'Herr Stalte' was the father of speaker 10, who also preserves the distinct ö and ü!

11. Lehiste 1988, pp.70-75.

12. Anttila, 1972, pp.172-174.

13. Sarhimaa, 1992, 209-219.

14. Compare the Karelian and North Russian examples cited in

Sarhima 1992, p.214.

A POSTSCRIPT: THE FUTURE?

When work on this study commenced, there was every reason to suppose that the language would be extinct within a generation. On demographic evidence alone, there is still no reason to suppose otherwise. But the accelerating pace of events in the northeast Baltic region in particular and other parts of the former USSR generally in recent years raises the possibility of a resurgence of Livonian national identity with consequent growth of interest in the language among younger generations. If this proves to be so, the language will enter a new phase in its life history. At the time of writing, the Republic of Latvia has been fully independent of the former USSR for over a year. Part of the process leading to Latvia's independence was recognition of its national minorities, including the Livonians. In November 1988, the Livonian Cultural Association (Lībiešu Kultūras Savienība; Līvōd Kultūr Īt) was founded in Riga; by 1989 it had set up branches in Ventspils and Kolka. This organisation is dedicated to the preservation and propagation of the Livonian language and culture. In 1989, at Mazirbe, the site of the former Livonian House, a festival was held, part of which was the re-dedication of the House to the Livonian people. Hundreds of people claiming Livonian ancestry and numerous guests from abroad participated. The first booklet to be published in the language since Soviet occupation, a song-book, was printed for use and sale at this gathering. In 1990, the Association published the first almanac since 1939 (mostly in Latvian, to be sure, but on

Livonian themes). In May 1990, Latvia declared itself independent, and de facto independence was finally achieved in September 1991. Between these dates, early in 1991, the Latvian Government declared a Livonian National Territory (Līvõd Rānda), encompassing fourteen villages - the first such protected area in Eastern Europe. The first Livonian festival in this newly dedicated territory was held at Mazirbe in August 1991. Despite all the earlier indications to the contrary, it may now be possible that Livonian will undergo a revival as a language in regular use in a community with its own concept of Livonian identity. The title of the present study may yet prove a little premature.

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- A&E Arheoloģija un Etnogrāfija (Riga)
 EK Eesti Keel (Tallinn)
 ESA Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat (Tallinn)
 FBR Filologu Biedrības Raksti (Riga)
 FUF Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen (Helsinki)
 K&K Keel ja Kirjandus (Tallinn)
 SFU Sovetskoe Finno-ugrovedenie (Moscow)
 SUST Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran toimitukset (Helsinki)
 V Virittäjä (Helsinki)

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