

LEIVU INFLUENCE IN THE LATVIAN DIALECTS OF NORTHEASTERN VIDZEME

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Abstract. This article examines features of several northeastern Vidzeme Latvian subdialects (spoken in Ilzene, Zeltiņi, Kalniena, Lejasciems, Sinole, etc.), which may have developed due to influence from the Leivu language historically spoken in this area. This influence is found at all levels of language. Finnic borrowings are typical of local vocabulary. The morphology shows characteristic phonetic changes like reduction of final-syllable vowels and diphthongs. Unfortunately, nearly all of these features have been lost in the 21st century and the only evidence of the Leivus' presence exists in place names. Most Finnic-origin place names are found in the names of villages and homes; however, they are also found in the names of hills, swamps, and other objects. The most ancient examples are found among hydronyms. Even just based on the place names still existing in the 20th century, it can be safely said that Estonians, i.e., Leivus, settled in northeastern Vidzeme before 1600.

Keywords: language contacts, place names, northeastern Latvia, Vidzeme subdialects, Finnic influence, Leivu

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1. Introduction

Historically, there have been several islands or peninsulas of Finno-Ugric speakers located within the territory of Latvia. One of these islands is the territory historically inhabited by the Leivus in northeastern Vidzeme.

The most widespread view is that the Leivus remained as the final island of South Estonian speakers in northeastern Vidzeme, whose range once extended to this area. The Leivus have had long-term contacts with the Estonians of southern Estonia, which is evidenced by the presence of features in Leivu characteristic of more recent developments in Estonian. Leivu was spoken longest in Ilzene parish (Latvian: *pagasts*)

and it most resembles the Hargla subdialect of Võro. It has been noted that until the 1950s–1980s, older residents of Beļava, Lejasciems, Sinole, and Stameriene spoke of the “Black End” (Latvian: *Melnais gals*), which had historically been inhabited by Estonians as well as Latvians. With this they meant the area near Ilzene, Kalncempji¹, and Zeltiņi where some residents wore darker clothing, had a darker facial complexion, and also darker hair than the Latvian inhabitants of the four parishes mentioned above. Some families still spoke Estonian there at the beginning of the 20th century (Markus & Cimermanis 2013: 364).

2. History of Research

Already in 1782, in his work *Topographische Nachrichten von Lief- und Ehistland*, August Wilhelm Hupel wrote that “in this area [Alūksne church parish], there is a line of Estonian settlements right through the middle of the Latvians, from Kalnamuiža between Zeltiņi and Alūksne over Trapene and Adzele to Valka, which have a few thousand inhabitants, all true Estonians, who stick together unmixed. Their women cut their hair as soon as they are married, just like those by Lake Peipsi. When they moved and settled there, is unknown to me.” (Hupel 1782: 212–213) In 1892, more than 100 years later, August Bielenstein confirmed this information in his published study “Die Grenzen des Lettischen Volksstammes und der lettischen Sprache in der Gegenwart und im 13. Jahrhundert”. He pointed out that in three areas – Ilzene, Kalnamuiža, and Lejasciems – there were a number of Estonians living among Latvians and that during the previous 20 years they had become significantly Latvianised, though they continued to speak Estonian in their families (Bielenstein 1892: 19–20).

Prior to August Bielenstein, the most specific information on the Kalnamuiža Estonians was provided in 1815 by Alūksne parish pastor Otto Friedrich Paul von Prühl. He pointed out that in Kalnamuiža there were communities inhabited only by pure Estonians who, it seemed, were forced to come there during wartime; they now understand Latvian, but speak it poorly (LVVA² 6810. f., 1. apr., 17. l., pg. 292).

1 Also, Kalniena or Kalnamuiža (located within Kalncempji parish at various times).

2 LVVA = Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs = Latvian State Historical Archive

According to the information provided by O. Prühl (LVVA 6810. f., 1. apr., 17. l., pgs. 291, 292, 297), these Kalnamuiža Estonian farmsteads were: *Sprihwul* (*Spriewul³*), *Rebben* (*Rebben* – uninhabited), *Melderpulk* (*Melderpulk*), *Leela Palscha* (*Leelpald*), *Mezza Palscha* or *Masa Palscha* (?), *Onta* (*Ontte* – uninhabited), *Kalze* (? *Kolze et ziddul* – uninhabited), *Zeddul* (? *Kolze et ziddul* – uninhabited), *Gottlob* (*Gottlieb*), *Wiscekok* (*Wisfekock* – uninhabited), *Kelle* (*Kelle*), *Zemps* (*Zempe*), *Jehkusch* (*Jehkusch*), *Nahsups* (*Nasfup*), *Lukkusch* (*Lukusch*), *Puttriņ* (*Putring*), *Klawiņ* (*Klawing*), *Behrsusemneeks* (? *Berfe*), *Jerlain* (*Gerlain*), *Kuhriz* (*Kurritz*), *Laukis* (*Lauke*), *Zihrul* (*Zierul*), *Pulka* (? *Leelpulk* – uninhabited), *Puhsup* (? *Pusfupe et Perken*), *Pehrkons* (? *Pusfupe et Perken*), *Ohkan* (*Ohkan*), *Puksche* (*Puksch*), *Mallaz* (*Mallatz*), *Urnakasch* (*Urranasch*), *Drelle* (*Drelle*), *Palschinta* (*Palsch-Intt*), *Woldup* (*Woldup*), *Lunke* (*Lunke*), *Ermiks* (*Ermick*).

German pastors only referred to Estonian-inhabited areas and the language spoken there, but did not provide or discuss any specific facts about that language. Far more significant information about the language spoken in Leivu-inhabited places can be learned from the materials from the expeditions of Finno-Ugric language researchers to these territories. One of the first was Anders Johan Sjögren who published concrete facts about the language of Lejasciems and Ilzene, and compared Leivu with South Estonian and Salaca Livonian (Sjögren 1850). The next was Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann who visited Alüksne church parish and met with Leivu speakers in 1866. He provided an extensive description of Leivu and also added language examples and descriptions of certain traditions. Wiedemann noted the presence of individual Latvian words in Leivu, for example, *gul'be* ‘swan (Latvian: *gulbis*)’, *gult* ‘bed (*gulta*)’, *draudze* ‘church parish (*draudze*)’, as well as some Germanisms most likely borrowed by way of Latvian (Wiedemann 1869: 500–501). Wiedemann’s most significant observation was that the Alüksne and Gulbene parish Estonians were difficult or even partially impossible to understand for other Estonians not because they were Livonians, but due to the presence of differing forms, pronunciation, and the use of Latvian words, which always provided more of an obstacle to comprehension for a person not educated in languages

3 The names of these farmsteads as they appear in the 1811 Governorate of Livonia Revision Lists are given in parentheses (LVVA 199. f., 1. apr., 175. l.)

than one who was (Wiedemann 1869: 499–500). To support his view, Wiedemann cited a string of words differing in Livonian and Estonian and concluded that the language spoken in the Leivu region was more similar to Estonian.

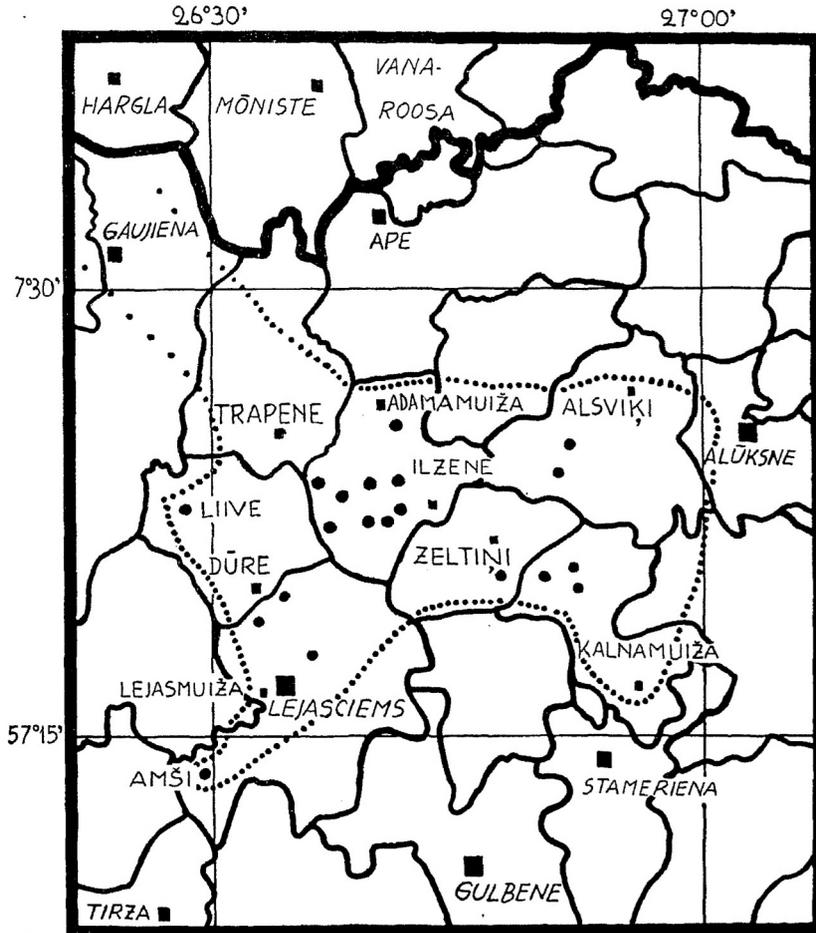


Figure 1. The Leivu-inhabited region delineated with a dotted line (according to Niilus 1935: 369).

A number of Finnish and Estonian researchers have been interested in the Leivus and their language. These include Heikki Ojansuu, Paulpriit Voolaine, Paul Ariste, Valter Niilus, Lembit Vaba, Karl Pajusalu, Marjo Mela, and others who have published their findings in scientific

articles and books (Voolaine 1927, Ariste 1931, Niilus 1935, Niilus 1936, Niilus 1937, Niilus 1941, Vaba 1997, Mela 2001, Pajusalu 2014).

The first sparse information in Latvian about the Leivus appeared in the 19th century press (Ontes skola 1864, Briedis 1878, Bērziņš 1875). A number of other articles with similar content are found in the 20th century press. The most extensive of these is the piece written by Eduards Brencis (Brencis 1912), but the most numerous are the short articles by Lejasciems regional studies expert Jānis Kučers in the local press of Alūksne and Gulbene Districts (Latvian: *rajons*).

Currently, the only extensive study of the Leivus from a Latvian linguistic perspective is *Valodas liecības par Lejasciema novadu* (Language testimony about the Lejasciems region) by Daina Zemzare (Zemzare 1940, Zemzare 2011: 30–173). Some facts about Leivu are also found scattered through various studies of Finnic influences (Zeps 1962, Raģe 1986, Kagaine 2004).

3. About the name of the Leivus

In discussing the ethnically Finno-Ugric residents of Ilzene, Kalnamuiža, and Lejasciems, it is important to distinguish the names they used for themselves and those given to them by others (researchers). Starting with Hupel's information, they are most often referred to as Estonians (Hupel 1782: 212–213), in some articles also as Livonians. Valter Niilus provided extensive information (Niilus 1935: 374–375), pointing out that, for example, Heinrich von Brackel called them “a strange remnant of a Finnic tribe”, but that it was unknown whether they were Estonians or Livonians; A. J. Sjögren, F. J. Wiedemann, and Heikki Ojansuu called them Estonians. Paulopriit Voolaine and Paul Ariste referred to them as the Gauja country folk (*Koiva maarahvas*). Niilus also points out that the Latvians called these Finno-Ugric people either Estonians or Livonians.

The residents of Ilzene, Kalnamuiža, Lejasciems, and Zeltiņi called themselves *maa-meēs*, *maa-rahvas*, and *eestlane* ‘Estonians’ (Wiedemann 1869: 499), while Niilus noted that they called themselves *maainemin*, *leivuinemin* (i.e., Livonian person, Estonian: *liivi inimene*), *maaravas*, *leivuravas* (Livonian people, Estonian: *liivi rahvas*), sometimes also *lätlan* ‘a Latvian’.

As their self-designation as well as those used by others to refer to them often included the word “Livonian”, Niilus pointed out in his article “Leivu rahvas” (The Leivu people) (Niilus 1935: 375) that he will use the designation *leivu* (< *liivu*) for the people as well as the language.

It should be noted that in the Latvian spoken in Lejasciems, Kalncempji, Zeltiņi, and Ilzene, which belongs to the subdialects of the High Latvian dialect, the *ī* of standard Latvian is pronounced as *ei*, for example, *cīrulis* – *cèirùls* ‘lark’, *pīle* – *pèile* ‘duck’. Ariste observed a similar phenomenon in Leivu. Referring to Wiedemann, Sjögren, and Voolaine, he notes that instead of the long vowel *ī*, the diphthong *ei* is characteristic of Leivu, for example, *weiž* ‘five (cf. *viis*)’, *eir* ‘mouse (cf. *hiir*)’, *nei* ‘so (cf. *nii*)’, though Voolaine’s materials show a difference between Zeltiņi and Ilzene, where these changes are regular, and Lejasciems, where the long vowel is often preserved (for more see Ariste 1931: 175–176).

Valter Niilus also used the term *leivu* in his other articles and afterwards other researchers also began to use it. Nowadays this is practically the only term used to refer to the Estonians of northeastern Vidzeme.

4. The linguistic affiliation of Leivu

The ethnicity and language of the Finno-Ugric people of northeastern Vidzeme has received the least discussion. In 1869, F. J. Wiedemann noted: “These people are not Livonians as they are called in this region, but Estonians. Sjögren also had no doubts about this and as much as can be confirmed by their language, no other view is possible” (Wiedemann 1869: 499). This is confirmed and elaborated on by more recent studies by Estonian linguists. Karl Pajusalu points out that historically speakers of South Estonian and North Estonian dialects have inhabited different parts of Latvia. Estonians lived near Ainaži in northwestern Vidzeme and spoke a subdialect from the southern group of the western dialect of North Estonian similar to the neighbouring Salaca Livonian language. This is the only variety of North Estonian that historically extended into Latvia. Further inland to the east along the Estonian-Latvian border, there have only been South Estonian subdialect “peninsulas”, though a different South Estonian subdialect was spoken in each of these. The

Leivu and Lutsi language islands also existed in addition to these. South Estonian is the only other Finnic language aside from Livonian that is indigenous to Latvia (Pajusalu 2014: 38). Further on, Pajusalu notes that Leivu is most similar in terms of its structure to the subdialect spoken in eastern Hargla, which is a member of the western group of the Võro dialect, and that Leivu has considerably more in common with Salaca Livonian than other Estonian subdialects (Pajusalu 2014: 40–41). Likewise, it is important to note, as Paul Ariste did already in 1931 (Ariste 1931), that Leivu was not uniform.

5. The Origin of the Leivus

Least understood is the origin of the Leivus and how they reached the territories they inhabit in northeastern Vidzeme.

One of the theories propagated in the second half of the 20th century is that the Leivus are indigenous to their territory and survived as an island within this territory.

As is known, the gradual push of the Latgalian north into Estonian-inhabited lands in Vidzeme, i.e., historical Livonia, was of significance. This movement occurred over a long period of time, though it is unknown when it first reached the boundary of the Estonian territories (Ancītis & Jansons 1963: 44). Writing about the Leivus, Harri Moora observed: “There is no doubt that in the 11th and 12th centuries there were many more islands of Finnic inhabitants like this in northern Latvia. One hopes that not only linguists, but also archaeologists and historians will carefully investigate these islands and help gain a historically accurate image of northern Latgalian ethnogenesis” (Moora 1952: 162). Most likely, information about the Leivus’ arrival in northeastern Vidzeme is not recorded in written sources, therefore, an answer might be found in archaeological excavations; however, this is problematic, because, first of all, other Finnic nations, such as the Livonians, may also have lived in these regions; second, very few archaeological excavations have been carried out in the Alūksne and Gulbene area. As noted in the most recent study of the archaeological monuments in Alūksne and Ape municipalities (Latvian: *novads*), which include the Leivu-inhabited territories of Ilzene, Kalncempji, and Zeltiņi parishes, excavations were carried out on only one-sixth of all objects (Doniņa

et al. 2014: 13). There is no overview study like this about Gulbene municipality at all.

Another opinion is that the Leivus are Livonians who arrived in northeastern Vidzeme “in time immemorial”. This view was mainly promoted in the 19th century and its echoes also could be heard in the 21st century (for more see Kučers 1984, Priedīte 2009, Bērzkalne 1928).

The third hypothesis is that the Leivus travelled or were sent to northeastern Vidzeme. Daina Zemzare observes that “judging by place names, Latvians have lived mixed with Estonians in the villages of Lejas muiža since the second half of the 16th century (or earlier; this must be determined with archaeological excavations)” (Zemzare 1956).

6. Language materials

The historically Leivu-inhabited areas in northeastern Vidzeme belong to the deep Latgalian subdialect region of the High Latvian dialect.

There are very few Latvian linguistic studies about Estonian influence on the Latvian spoken by those living in the Leivu territories. Currently, the only study that exists is Daina Zemzare’s 1940 monograph *Valodas liecības par Lejasciema novadu* (Language testimony about the Lejasciems region) (Zemzare 1940), though a broad range of language material has been collected. Prior to Zemzare, several dialect descriptions were published, for example, Anna Ābele’s “Par lejasciemiešu izloksni” (On the Lejasciems subdialect) in the *Filologu biedrības raksti* in 1924 (Ābele 1924). Publication since the 1980s, include a description of the subdialect bordering Lejasciems *Sinoles izloksnes apraksts* (A Description of the Sinole subdialect) (Putniņa 1983), *Kalnecmpju pagasta Kalnamuižas daļas izloksnes apraksts* (A Description of the subdialect of the Kalnamuiža area of Kalnecmpji parish) (Balode 2000), *Sinoles grāmata* (The Sinole Book) (Putniņa 2009), *Kalnienas grāmata* (The Kalniena Book) (Balode 2008), *Sinoles izloksnes salīdzinājumu vārdnīca* (A Comparative Dictionary of the Sinole subdialect) (Putniņa & Timuška 2001), *Kalnienas izloksnes vārdnīca* (A Dictionary of the Kalniena subdialect) in 2 volumes (Balode & Jansone 2017).

Unpublished Latvian subdialect materials from the Leivu-inhabited territory useful for studying Finnic influences are stored at the

University of Latvia Latvian Language Institute. In 1969, specifically for the purpose of studying borrowings, Silvija Raģe created the 4th Dialect Word Survey *Aizgūvumi no Baltijas somu valodām* (Borrowings from the Finnic languages) (Raģe 1969) and included every borrowing that earlier researchers had recognised as being of Finnic origin. Unfortunately, the region that interests us is fairly underrepresented. Not counting Sinole, where materials were collected by teacher and linguist Maiga Putniņa, only Lejasciems was represented, where the survey was completed by J. Kučers in 1970, and Kalncempji, where materials were collected in 1974 by teacher and linguist Ella Lāce. The surveys were not completed in Zeltiņi and Ilzene. The collected materials do not yield the expected result. For example, the following are recorded for the letters *a-d* in Lejasciems: *aniks* ‘goose’, *ašķi* ‘horsehairs’, *burā* ‘sail’, *burka* ‘a strong, healthy person’, *cemme* ‘staple’, *cepure* ‘hat’, *cicis* ‘nipple’, *cimds* ‘glove’, *cīrulis* ‘lark’, *čirkstēt* ‘to crunch’, *čukna* ‘a slovenly person’, *dvinga* ‘carbon monoxide’. The following were recorded in Kalncempji: *allažiņ* ‘very’, *āmītiēs* ‘to fool around’, *ane!* ‘an interjection used to call geese’, *aniss* ‘goose’, *apķepēt* ‘to become dirty’, *aši* ‘horsehairs’, *atpestīt* ‘to free’, *avuts* ‘spring’, *beķa* ‘boletus mushroom’, *biļļāt* ‘to cry’, *būznis* ‘a sullen person’, *cēmme* ‘an iron loop’, *cepure* ‘hat’, *ciba* ‘hen’, *cimds* ‘glove’, *cīrulis* ‘lark’, *čirkstēt* ‘to crunch’, *čukna* ‘a close-minded, uneducated person’. These examples show that most of the recorded Finnic or potential Finnic loanwords are used in standard Latvian or borrowings found in colloquial speech and across a wider region. The meaning of only a few potential Finnic loanwords is of interest. These include *allažiņ* recorded in Kalncempji with the meaning ‘very’, though it is usually understood as meaning ‘always’ as well as *burka* recorded in Lejasciems with the figurative meaning ‘a strong, healthy person’.

Any researcher of borrowings will also be interested in the materials collected as part of the “Latviešu valodas dialektu atlanta materiālu vākšanas programma” (Latvian dialect atlas materials collection programme) (LVDA Pr. 1954), which included the entire Leivu-inhabited territory, though the number of realia is fairly limited – only the names of 100 common plants, animals, foods, natural phenomena, and household objects are mapped. As noted by Brigita Bušmane, “approximately 1.5% of these reflect the results of contact between Latvian and the Finnic languages” (Bušmane 2000: 201). With respect to Finnic

borrowings, only a few of the maps and comments regarding vocabulary found in the *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants* (Latvian Dialect Atlas; (Latvian Dialect Atlas; Laumane et al. 1999) are of interest. The most widespread Finnic borrowing is *virca* and its variants, which are recorded in Dūre and Lejasciems. Livonian *vīrtsa* ‘slurry’ or Estonian *virtis* ‘slurry’ are at the base of this term (Laumane et al. 1999: 127; Map 54). The term *aķis* ‘jackdaw’ is recorded only in Zemzare’s collection in Lejasciems and borrowed from Estonian *hakk* ‘jackdaw’ (Laumane et al. 1999: 98; Map 37). Variants of the word *ņiras* were recorded in Ilzene, Kalncempji, and Zeltiņi, which was borrowed from Estonian *nired* ‘leftover rendered fat’ (Laumane et al. 1999: 168; Map 73).

Maiga Putniņa, who collected materials from Sinole, which borders Lejasciems, noted an interesting example in 1942: “There are words that are for me hard nuts to crack. I could not stop wondering why is leftover rendered fat – *čīpstalas* – called *rozīnes*. What does fat have in common with sweet foreign berries? The explanation came when I heard *čīpstalas* also referred to as *rozēs* (*razes*, in standard language, from Estonian *razu* – fat) and *rozīņas*.” (Putniņa 1942) The terms for leftover rendered fat or cracklings are also mapped in the *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants* (Laumane et al. 1999: 168; Map 73), which notes that the borrowings *razas*, *razīnas* is probably borrowed from Estonian *rasv* ‘fat’. Unfortunately, this term, as expected, is mentioned in Sinole and in a few central Vidzeme subdialects, but not in the Leivu-inhabited territory.

It may be that since the first half of the 20th century, when the majority of this subdialect material was collected, the amount of Finno-Ugric borrowings decreased in the Leivu-inhabited territory. However, in 1956, Zemzare observes that “there are very few words of Estonian origin in the Gulbene area; there are also not many of them in the Lejasciems area where Latvians have long lived together with Estonians, who, judging by linguistic evidence, belong to the South Estonian branch. In Gulbene District, borrowings include *kugra* from Estonian *koger* with the meaning ‘crucian carp’, *suldziņa* from Estonian *sulg* with the meaning ‘small brook’, *piziks* from Estonian *pisike* with the meaning ‘trivial’, *aķis* from Estonian *hakk* with the meaning ‘jackdaw’, *lugu* (time, occasion) from Estonian *lugu*, and a few others” (Zemzare 1956: 157).

The fact that not all of the borrowings found in the Latvian spoken in the Leivu-inhabited territories have been identified is shown by the Finno-Ugricisms mentioned in Lembit Vaba's review of the *Kalnienas izloksnes vārdnīca* (Dictionary of the Kalniena subdialect). Vaba writes: "Finnic, primarily Livonian and also Estonian, including especially South Estonian, influence on Latvian manifests in many ways on all levels of the language, but especially in its vocabulary. Examining the Kalniena dictionary for the first time, possible Estonian borrowings (or substrate words), which have not been recorded or identified as borrowings in Latvian lexicographic sources include, for example, *cekecs* 'S-shaped tool for chopping up leaves', cf. South Estonian *tsagiraud* 'chisel', *tsagama* 'to chop up finely'; *čogas* pl. 'berry leftovers after pressing them for juice; flax seed leftovers after oil has been extracted', cf. Estonian *soga* 'mud, muck', *sagu* 'remainders at the bottom of a pot, dregs in some kind of a liquid at the bottom of a pot'; *ičiks* 'chicken (or other bird) gizzard', cf. South Estonian (*h*)*ōdsik* id.; *kirdavacka* 'flat round bread made without yeast (Latvian: *karaša*)', cf. South Estonian *kōrd*: *kōrdleib* 'a bread with filling' + *vatsk* 'wheat, barley, or rye flat cake (which often contained potato or groat porridge, split hemp seeds, etc.)'; *lâpât* 'to crawl', cf. ig. *lâäpama*, *laapama* 'to walk dragging one's feet or limping'; *mâga* 'human stomach; bird gizzard', cf. Estonian *magu*; *iêst sobiņas* 'said if someone eats something that is better than what others are eating', cf. Estonian *sobi* 'fraud, deception'" (Vaba 2018: 427).

Possible Estonian influence is also visible at other levels of language. Brencis's observation about tones in Ilzene is interesting: "In Ilzene, what stands out first is the difference in the tone of long vowels. Elsewhere, among the residents of Zeltiņi (just as among the residents of Alūksne and Opekālns), falling and broken length is encountered, while among the residents of Ilzene, the falling [tone] remains, but in stressed syllables the broken [tone] is replaced by a stretched [tone] or, as among the residents of Cesvaine, Ļaudona, Bērzaune, and elsewhere, rising [tone] (the difference between these two types of length is, I think, very small). In terms of length, there is complete confusion in unstressed syllables. The same person will use two different lengths in the same word at different times, often a short vowel is encountered in its place" (Brencis 1912). The Phonetics section of the *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants* (Latvian Dialect Atlas) (Sarkanis 2013: 32; Map IV) notes that

the broken and falling tones are used in Dūre, Ilzene, Kalncempji, Lejasciems, and Zeltiņi, just as in other Latgalian subdialects of High Latvian. However, a difference is observed in Lejasciems where the falling tone becomes a broken or pushed tone in the diphthongs *ei*, *ai*, *au*, *ou* < *ū*, *ui* before the consonants *c*, *t*, *p*, *k*.

The “Latviešu valodas dialektu atlanta materiālu vākšanas programma” (Latvian dialect atlas materials collection programme) (LVDA Pr. 1954) was created so that phonetic and morphological phenomena often converge. These are discussed here noting the section in which they occur. Ilzene (only Ilzene!) stands out on the maps showing the quality of sounds occurring at the end of words or in the final syllable. For example, Map 7 “Infinitīva izskaņas *-ināt* zilbes intonācija vārdos *dedzināt*, *ēdināt*” (The syllable tone of the infinitive ending *-ināt* in the words *dedzināt* ‘to burn’, *ēdināt* ‘to feed’) shows that in Ilzene there is a short or reduced vowel just as in the Livonian dialect of Latvian (Sarkanis 2013: 35; Map 7); also Map 8 “Infinitīva izskaņas *-ēt* zilbes intonācija vārdos *tecēt*, *redzēt*, *sēdēt*” (The syllable tone of the infinitive ending *-ēt* in the words *tecēt* ‘to flow’, *redzēt* ‘to see’, *sēdēt* ‘to see’) (Sarkanis 2013: 35; Map 8) and Map 9 “Infinitīva izskaņas *-uot* zilbes intonācija vārdā *mēluot*” (Sarkanis 2013: 35; Map 9) (The syllable tone of the infinitive ending *-uot* in the word *mēluot* ‘to lie’) show the vowel or diphthong reduced or lost and, as a result, syllable tone not being characteristic. Similarly, Map 67 “Patskanis *ī* piedēklī *-īb-* vārdos *barība*, *labība*” (The vowel *ī* in the suffix *-īb-* in the words *barība* ‘food’, *labība* ‘grain, crop’) (Sarkanis 2013: 93; Map 67) shows that the vowel *ī* has been shortened in Ilzene. Also, Map 79 “Patskanis *ā* infinitīva izskaņā *-āt*” (The vowel *ā* in the infinitive ending *-āt*) (Sarkanis 2013: 104; Map 79), Map 80 “Patskanis *ā* infinitīva izskaņā *-ināt*” (The vowel *ā* in the infinitive ending *-ināt*), Map 81 “Patskanis *ē* refleksīvo infinitīvu izskaņā *-ēt*” (The vowel *ē* in the reflexive infinitive ending *-ēt*) show the same shortening of long vowels as in the subdialects of the Livonian dialect of Latvian. Map 82 “Divskanis *uo* infinitīva izskaņā *-uot*” (The diphthong *uo* in the infinitive ending *-uot*) (Sarkanis 2013: 107; Map 82) shows that *uo* has changed to *ā* accompanied by a shortening of subsequent vowels in Ilzene just as in a string of subdialects of the Livonian dialect of Latvian.

The manuscript of the Morphology section of the *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants* (Latvian Dialect Atlas) shows that forms characteristic

of the Livonian dialect of Latvian – where a short vowel is found in the final syllable of nominals instead of a long vowel as would be the case in standard Latvian – are found in Dūre, Ilzene, Lejasciems, and Zeltiņi.

This can be seen most often in nouns. Map 7 “*o*-celma lietvārdu vienskaitļa lokatīva galotne: *kuokā, kalnā*” (The singular locative ending of *o*-stem nouns: *kuokā* ‘in (a/the) tree’, *kalnā* ‘on (a/the) hill’) records standard Latvian *-ā* shortened to *-a* in Ilzene and Kalncempji similarly to the Livonian dialect of Latvian and sporadically in the subdialects of Latvian spoken along the Daugava near Aizkraukle; Map 14 “*(i)o*-celma lietvārdu lokatīva galotne: *vējā*” (The locative ending of *(i)o*-stem nouns: *vējā* ‘in (a/the) wind’) shows standard Latvian *-ā* shortened to *-a* in Ilzene similarly to the Livonian subdialects of Latvian in Vidzeme, sporadically in the Livonian subdialects of Latvian in Kurzeme as well as in the subdialects of Latvian spoken along the Daugava near Aizkraukle; Map 17 “*ijō*-celma lietvārdu vienskaitļa lokatīva galotne: *brālī*” (The singular locative ending of *ijō*-stem nouns: *brālī* ‘in (a/the) brother’) notes that instead of the standard Latvian ending *-ī*, the ending *-i* is used in Ilzene similarly to the Livonian subdialects of Latvian in Vidzeme and in the subdialects of Latvian spoken along the Daugava near Aizkraukle; Map 23 “*ā*-celma lietvārdu vienskaitļa lokatīva galotne un tās intonācija: *sievā, lapā, ruokā*” (The singular locative ending of *ā*-stem nouns and its tone: *sievā* ‘in (a/the) wife), *lapā* ‘in/on (a/the) leaf’, *ruokā* ‘in (a/the) hand’) shows the shortening of standard Latvian *-ā* to *-a* similarly to the Livonian dialect of Latvian and sporadically in the subdialects of Latvian spoken along the Daugava near Aizkraukle; Map 30 “*ē*-celma lietvārdu lokatīva galotne un tās intonācija: *mātē, priedē, upē*” (The singular locative ending of *ē*-stem nouns and its tone: *mātē* ‘in (a/the) mother’, *priedē* ‘in (a/the) pine tree’, *upē* ‘in (a/the) river’) records the shortening of standard Latvian *-ē* to *-e* in Dūre and Ilzene similarly to the Livonian dialect of Latvian and also sporadically elsewhere in Latvia; Map 36 “*i*-celma lietvārdu vienskaitļa lokatīva galotne un tās intonācija: *sirdī, naktī*” (The singular locative ending of *i*-stem nouns and its tone: *sirdī* ‘in (a/the) heart’, *naktī* ‘in (a/the) night’) records the shortening of standard Latvian *-ī* to *-i* in Ilzene similarly to the Livonian dialect of Latvian and also sporadically elsewhere in Latvia; Map 43 “*u*-celma lietvārdu vienskaitļa lokatīva galotne: *ledū, medū, tirgū*” (The singular locative ending of *u*-stem nouns: *ledū* ‘in (the) ice’, *medū* ‘in (the) honey’, *tirgū* ‘in (a/the) market’) shows the

the shortening of standard Latvian *-ū* to *-u* (similarly to its sporadic occurrence in the Livonian subdialects of Latvian in Kurzeme and the Central Latvian dialect of Vidzeme) as well as the use of the *o*-stem in Ilzene where the ending *-ā* has shortened to *-a* similarly to the Vidzeme Livonian subdialects of Latvian.

A similar phenomenon is seen in noun cases where a long vowel is followed by a consonant in standard Latvian. Map 25 “*ā*-celma lietvārdu daudzskaitļa datīva un instrumentāļa galotne un tās intonācija: (*ar*) *sievām*, (*ar*) *lapām*, (*ar*) *ruokām*” (The plural dative and instrumental ending of *ā*-stem nouns and its tone: (*ar*) *sievām* ‘(with) wives’, (*ar*) *lapām* ‘(with) leaves’, (*ar*) *ruokām* ‘(with) hands’) shows standard Latvian *-ām* replaced by *-am* in Ilzene and Lejasciems similarly to the Livonian dialect of Latvian and sporadically in the Selonian subdialects of Zemgale, etc.; Map 26 “*ā*-celma lietvārdu daudzskaitļa lokatīva galotne un tās intonācija: *mājās*, *lapās*, *ruokās*” (The plural locative ending of *ā*-stem nouns and its tone: *mājās* ‘in houses’, *lapās* ‘in/on leaves’, *ruokās* ‘in hands’) shows standard Latvian *-ās* replaced by *-as* in Ilzene similarly to the Vidzeme Livonian subdialects of Latvian, the western portion of the Kurzeme Livonian subdialects of Latvian, and sporadically also elsewhere; Map 31 “*ē*-celma lietvārdu daudzskaitļa datīva galotne: *mātēm*” (The plural dative ending of *ē*-stem nouns: *mātēm* ‘to/for mothers’) shows standard Latvian *-ēm* replaced by *-em* in Ilzene and Lejasciems, this change is also broadly present in the Livonian and High Latvian dialects; Map 32 “*ē*-celma lietvārdu daudzskaitļa lokatīva galotne un tās intonācija: *mātēs*, *priedēs*, *upēs*” (The plural locative ending of *ē*-stem nouns and its tone: *mātēs* ‘in mothers’, *priedēs* ‘in pines’, *upēs* ‘in rivers’) shows standard Latvian *-ēs* replaced by *-es* in Ilzene and Zeltiņi similarly to the Livonian dialect of Latvian sporadically also elsewhere; Map 39 “*i*-celma lietvārdu daudzskaitļa datīva galotne: *sirdīm*, *naktīm*” (The plural dative ending in *i*-stem nouns: *sirdīm* ‘to/for hearts’, *naktīm* ‘to/for nights’) shows standard Latvian *-īm* replaced by *-im* in Dūre, Ilzene, and Lejasciems similarly to Vidzeme Livonian subdialects of Latvian and broadly also elsewhere in Latgale, Vidzeme, and northern Kurzeme; Map 40 “*i*-celma lietvārdu daudzskaitļa lokatīva galotne: *sirdīs*, *naktīs*” (The plural locative ending of *i*-stem nouns: *sirdīs* ‘in hearts’, *naktīs* ‘in/at nights’) shows standard Latvian *-īs* replaced by *-is* in Ilzene similarly to the Vidzeme Livonian

subdialects of Latvian and sporadically in the Kurzeme Livonian subdialects of Latvian.

Changes have also affected diphthongs in noun endings. Map 20 “*ījo*-celma lietvārdu daudzskaitļa lokatīva galotne: *brāļuos*” (The plural locative ending in *ījo*-stem nouns: *brāļuos* ‘in brothers’) records a string of changes in Ilzene: first, the diphthong *-uo-* of the High Latvian deep Latgalian subdialects became a long *-ū-*, which later shortened to *-u-*. A similar change is also encountered in certain subdialects along the Daugava near Aizkraukle. Map 28 “*ē*-celma lietvārdu vienskaitļa datīva galotne un tās intonācija: *mātei, priedei, upei*” (The singular dative ending in *ē*-stem nouns and its tone: *mātei* ‘to/for (a/the) mother’, *priedei* ‘to/for (a/the) pine tree’, *upei* ‘to/for (a/the) river’) notes a difficult to explain change in Dūre where the diphthong *-ei* in the standard Latvian dative ending is replaced by the long vowel *-ē*. J. Endzelīns also notes the presence of this change only in Skrunda (Endzelīns 1951: 421, 263§). For now, it has not been possible to determine whether the change *-ei* > *-ē* is linked with influence from a Finno-Ugric (either Livonian or Estonian) language.

The forms characteristic of the Livonian dialect of Latvian, where a short vowel is used in place of the final syllable diphthong of standard Latvian in nominals, are also characteristic of adjectives: Map 53 “Noteiktā īpašības vārda sieviešu dzimtes vienskaitļa nominatīva galotne: *labā, baltā, siltā*” (The feminine singular nominative ending of the definite adjective: *labā* ‘the good (one)’, *baltā* ‘the white (one)’, *siltā* ‘the warm (one)’) shows standard Latvian *-ā* replaced by *-a* in Dūre and Ilzene similarly to the Vidzeme Livonian subdialects of Latvian and sporadically also elsewhere in Latvia; Map 59 “Noteiktā īpašības vārda sieviešu dzimtes daudzskaitļa nominatīva galotne: *labās, baltās, siltās*” (The feminine plural nominative ending of the definite adjective: *labās* ‘the good (ones)’, *baltās* ‘the white (ones)’, *siltās* ‘the warm (ones)’) shows standard Latvian *-ās* replaced by *-as* in Ilzene the same as in the Vidzeme Livonian subdialects of Latvian and sporadically also elsewhere, except in Latgale. Changes have also affected final syllable diphthongs: Map 56 “Noteiktā īpašības vārda vienskaitļa akuzatīva galotne: *labuo, baltuo, siltuo*” (The singular accusative ending of the definite adjective: *labuo* ‘the good (one)’, *baltuo* ‘the white (one)’, *siltuo* ‘the warm (one)’) shows that in Ilzene the standard Latvian final syllable diphthong *-uo* first became the long vowel *-ū*, which is

characteristic of the Latgalian subdialects of High Latvian, and subsequently long *-ū* became *-u*; Map 58 “Noteiktā īpašības vārda vīriešu dzimtes daudzskaitļa nominatīva galotne: *labie, baltie, siltie*” (The masculine plural nominative ending of the definite adjective: *labie* ‘the good (ones)’, *baltie* ‘the white (ones)’, *siltie* ‘the warm (ones)’) shows that in Ilzene and Lejasciems the standard Latvian final syllable diphthong *-ie* became the long vowel *-ī*, which then became the short vowel *-i*. As a short vowel in place of the diphthong occurs sporadically across all of Latvia, it may be that in certain dialects the indefinite ending is used instead of the definite ending.

The pronominal declension system also shows similar changes: Map 73 “Personu vietniekvārdu 1. un 2. personas vienskaitļa lokatīva galotne: *manī, tevī*” (The 1st and 2nd person singular locative ending of personal pronouns: *manī* ‘in me’, *tevī* ‘in you’) shows the standard Latvian long vowel *-ī* replaced by the short vowel *-i* in Ilzene the same as in the Vidzeme Livonian subdialects of Latvian.

In 1912, Eduards Brencis also noted non-traditional declined forms, which it has not been possible to find again in the present day: “Certain interesting, non-Latvian forms can also be heard, for example, in the following subdialect examples, which I present written in standard spelling:

“Ļaudis miega neguleja, Manu bēdu bēdadama; Guļat, ļaudis, savu miegu, Dievs bēdāja manu bēdu” vai “Rīgas putni gašam skrēja, Čīkstedama, vaidedama”.	“The people did not sleep, worrying about my worry; People, sleep your sleep, God is worrying about my worry” or “The birds of Rīga rushed by, Moaning, groaning.”
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The forms *bēdadama*, *čīkstedama*, *vaidedama* sound unusual, which according to Latvian language rules should be *bēdadami*, *čīkstedami*, *vaidedami*. Such forms are also used in the Pskov Governorate by the so-called *setuki* [Setos] who are counted among the Estonians and who ride around the Vidzeme borderlands selling various dishes, etc.” (Brencis 1912).

As Lembit Vāba observed, abstract nouns as well as nouns with differing semantics – which can appear as singular forms following the Estonian model rather than as expected plural forms – can be grouped

with other substrate phenomena, for example, *bāda* ‘worry, trouble’ (Standard Latvian pl. *bēdas*); *brīsmā* ‘very large, terrible’, (Standard Latvian pl. *briesmas* ‘danger, horror’); *šāusma* ‘very large, terrible’, (Standard Latvian pl. *šausmas* ‘horror’) (Vaba 2018).

7. Place names

The centuries of proximity to Estonians is reflected in the place names – especially lake and river names – of the Leivu-inhabited area. There is an entire string of place names whose etymology can be explained using Estonian. In the early 17th century plough audit, 34 villages in the Lejasciems region have names of Latvian origin, but eight are probably borrowings from Finnic languages: *Ķēriki*, *Ķilpāni*, *Lembji*, *Līves*, *Majāni*, *Salaki*, *Suži*, *Umari*. Some of these villages are described as devastated lands at the beginning of the 17th century, which gives reason to conclude that these village names also already existed in the 16th century (Zemzare 1956: 158).

An Estonian or other Finnic origin has been established for the following village or homestead names: *Aļi* village in Lejasciems can be connected with Estonian *haljas* ‘green’ (Zemzare 2011: 36, Kučers 1960); *Čonkas* homestead in Ilzene < quarrel; *Ķēriki* village and homestead in Lejasciems, which can be connected with Lejasciems Estonian *ķerigu* ‘church’, Ilzene Estonian *ķērik jēzand* ‘priest’, Estonian *kerik* ~ *kirik* ‘church’ (Zemzare 1956: 158, Zemzare 2011: 41–42, Kučers 1960); *Ķibas* homestead in Lejasciems, which can be connected with Estonian *kibu* ‘small dish’ (Zemzare 2011: 42); *Ķikas(t)eri* homestead in Lejasciems, which can be connected with Lejasciems Estonian *ķikas* ‘rooster’ and *teri* ‘threshing barn’ (Zemzare 2011: 45); *Ķilpāni*, also *Ķilpani* village and homestead in Lejasciems, which is based on Estonian *kilp* ‘shield’ (Zemzare 1956: 158, Zemzare 2011: 42); *Latereji* homestead in Lejasciems, which is connected with Lejasciems Estonian *latimēs* ‘Latvian’ (Zemzare 2011: 51); *Lembji* village and homestead in Lejasciems, which is based on Estonian *lemb* ‘love’ (Zemzare 1956: 158, Zemzare 2011: 44); *Līves* (dial. *leives*) village and homestead in Dūre, earlier – in Lejasciems, which is connected with *liiv* ‘sand’ or Estonian *līw* ‘handheld fishing net’, (Zemzare 1956: 158, Zemzare 2011: 43); *Majāni*, also *Majani* village in Lejasciems, which is based on

maja ‘house’ (Zemzare 1956: 158, Zemzare 2011: 46); *M^eēteri* homestead in Lejasciems, which came from Estonian *māgi*, gen. *māe* ‘hill’ and Estonian *teri* ‘threshing barn’ (Zemzare 2011: 45); *Micaži* village in Lejasciems, which is based on Lejasciems Estonian *mic, mec* ‘forest’ (Zemzare 2011: 43); *Onti* homestead in Ilzene < red clay; *Paiķeni* homestead in Ilzene < patches; *Pisitava*, also *Pišinava* a small home in Ilzene, which may have been borrowed from Estonian *pisitasa* ‘little by little’? (LVV IV 87; Balode 2007: 15); *Pokani* village in Dūre, which could be compared with Estonian *pakan* ‘pagan’ or also Estonian *pakane* ‘cold’ (LVV IV 325; Balode 2007: 15–16); *Salaki* (dial. *Solaki*) village in Lejasciems, which is based on Estonian *salakas* ‘smelt’ or Livonian *salāk* ‘smelt’, or Lejasciems Estonian *salag* ‘envious’ (Zemzare 1956: 158, Zemzare 2011: 49); *Sarapi* homestead in Lejasciems, which is connected with *sara-pū* ‘hazel(nut) tree’ (Zemzare 2011: 45); *Siveci* homestead in Ilzene < horns; *Suži* village and homestead in Lejasciems, which is based on South Estonian *susi* ‘wolf’, Lejasciems Estonian *suži* ‘wolf’, Livonian *suiž, suž* ‘wolf’ (Zemzare 2011: 50, Zemzare 1956: 158, Kučers 1960); *Testerī* homestead in Lejasciems, which came from Lejasciems Estonian *teri* ‘threshing barn’, Estonian *teine* ‘second, other’ (Zemzare 2011: 44); *Tūteri* homestead in Lejasciems, which is borrowed from Estonian *tootare*, Estonian *too* ‘that’ (Zemzare 2011: 45); *Umari* village and homestead in Lejasciems, which can be connected with Livonian *umār* ‘apple’ (Zemzare 1956: 158, Zemzare 2011: 51, Kučers 1960); *Ūrateri*, also *Ūrareji* homestead in Lejasciems, which is based on Lejasciems Estonian *ūrā* ‘river’ and Estonian *teri* ‘threshing barn’ (Zemzare 2011: 44); *Vaciteri* homestead in Lejasciems, which came from South Estonian *vastne* ‘new’ and Estonian *teri* ‘threshing barn’ (Zemzare 2011: 45); *Vanateri* homestead in Lejasciems, which came from Estonian *vana* ‘old’ and Estonian *teri* ‘threshing barn’ (Zemzare 2011: 45); *Viešķeles* homestead in Dūre, which is based on Estonian *vesi* ‘water’ and *kūla* ‘village’ (Kučers 1974); *Vilupe* a small home in Lejasciems, which came from Estonian *vili* ‘fruit’ (Zemzare 2011: 44).

Of the homestead and village names given above, the following were found in the 1638 Vidzeme revision lists: *Anti* (Antene) Ilzene parish (Dunsdorfs 1941, CCCXC), *Čankas* (Zanckies) Ilzene parish (Dunsdorfs 1941, CCCXCI), *Paiķēni* (Baikene) Ilzene parish (Dunsdorfs 1941, CCCXCIV), *Aļi* (Halle) Lejasciems parish (Dunsdorfs 1941, CCCXCVIII), *Ķēriki* (Matte) Lejasciems parish, *Lembji* (Balse)

Lejasciems parish, *Līves* (Jerrole) Dūre parish, *Majani* (Maian) Lejasciems parish, *Salaki* (Sallack) Lejasciems parish (Dunsdorfs 1941, CCCXCIX), *Suži* (Sutze) Lejasciems parish, *Umari* (Nickel) Lejasciems parish (Dunsdorfs 1941, CD). According to Dunsdorfs' comparative analysis, in the locations of Kēriķi, Lembji, and Umari homesteads there had been homesteads with different names.

In his analysis of the toponyms of Gulbene District, Aleksandrs Jansons notes that the following homestead names are of Finno-Ugric origin: *Ermīki*, *Jerlāni*, *Puzupi*, *Uranaži* (for more see Jansons 1962: 201).

8. Hydronyms

The most ancient evidence is preserved in hydronyms. For example, the name of Lake *Lisa* can be compared to the Estonian place name *Lissi* and the common noun *lisa* 'addition, supplement'. The first part of the name *Umbezers* is Estonian *umb-* 'cut off'; the latter meaning overlaps with the lake's Latvian name – *Aklais ezeriņš* (lit. blind lake (dim.)), which corresponds to the actual conditions, as the lake has no outlet. The river name *Mudaža* comes from Estonian *muda* 'sludge, slime' and *mudane* (gen. *mudase*) 'sludgy, slimy'. The name of the little river *Ķiurga* means little stone brook. It flows through a rocky area and its name comes from Estonian *kivi* 'stone', Lejasciems Estonian *urg* and Livonian *ūrg* 'brook'. (Zemzare 1956: 159). Kučers also connects the *Ķiurga* River in Dūre with Estonian *kivi* 'stone' (Kučers 1974). Other hydronyms containing the component *urga* may also be of Finno-Ugric origin: *Pīlik-urga*, also *Pilik-urga*, *Pilik-upe* – a ditch by the Gauja River in Lejasciems connected with the Estonian, i.e., Leivu word *piļika* 'rowan tree', cf. Estonian *pihlakas* (Zemzare 1940: 61, 78, Rudzīte 1968: 189, Balode 2007: 10, LVV IV 42); The *Musturga* River in Dūre is connected with *must* 'black' (Kučers 1974); the *Kūžurga* River in Dūre is connected with Estonian *kūs(k)* 'spruce' (Kučers 1974).

Finno-Ugric origin can also be found in the names of various other objects, for example, the names of hills: *Emā kalns* in Dūre, which is based on Estonian *ema* 'mother' (Kučers 1974); *Kaņikalns* hill in Līves, which came from Estonian *kana* 'hen' (Kučers 1981); *arinda kalns* (E I 74, LVV 42) (Jansons 1962: 201), "illeces" *kalns* (E I 75; LVV 359) (Jansons 1962, 201); *Jelgavas kalns* (LVV 393), "pīra" *kalns* (E I 75; Estonian *piir*, -i "border") (Jansons 1962: 201).

Since the 1821 records of the Domain Administration (Latvian: *Domēnu valde*), *Ainasa purvs* has been recorded among Lejasciems forest and swamp names. The first word can be explained with South Estonian *hain*, Lejasciems Estonian *aina* ‘hay’ (Zemzare 1956: 159). Apparently, also *Pirenīca* meadow in Lejasciems is connected with Estonian *piir* ‘border’ (Zemzare 1940, 61, Balode 2007, 16, LVV IV 123). The name of *Piterma* meadow in Lejasciems should probably also be connected with Estonian. There is a type of grass, but here perhaps it is linked to the pronunciation of the name “Peter” in Lejasciems – *Pīters* – and Estonian *maa* ‘land’ (Zemzare 1940: 62, Balode 2007: 16, LVV IV 131). *Ķivistene* – a meadow, forest, pasture – may be connected with Estonian *kivi* ‘stone’ (Jansons 1962: 201). Jansons points out a few other Finnic borrowings in Gulbene District, though without specifying their location or their specific source in Estonian: *eras pļava* (LVV IV: 275) (Jansons 1962: 201), *kaldenīca* (E I 75) (Jansons 1962: 201), “paniste” (E I 75) (Jansons 1962: 201).

9. Conclusion

Information about the Leivus can primarily be found in studies conducted prior to the Second World War by cultural historians of German origin as well as by Estonian and Finnish linguists. It may be that there would exist many more studies had the prolific researcher of the Leivus and their language, Valter Niilus, not emigrated. The number of studies conducted by Latvian linguists has been insufficient. Daina Zemzare mainly analysed toponyms and anthroponyms in Lejasciems; after the Second World War, extensive documentation of vocabulary was carried out in the Kalniena area of Kalncempji parish and Sinole, though these materials still await serious linguistic analysis from a Finnic perspective. Unfortunately, significant lexical material, which would permit tracking Estonian influence on all levels of language, has not been collected in Dūre, Ilzene, and Zeltiņi. Place names have been collected in all Leivu-inhabited areas; however, here too many Finnic borrowings have not yet been identified, which could provide new insights for studies of ethnic history. However, with the identification of those homestead names which existed in the 20th century and are also found in the 1638 Vidzeme plough audit, one can safely say already now that Estonians,

i.e., Leivus, settled in northeastern Vidzeme prior to 1600. It may be that identification of the oldest place names may permit a more precise estimate of the time period when Finnic peoples arrived in northeastern Vidzeme.

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Kokkuvõte. Ilga Jansone: Leivu mõju Kirde-Vidzeme läti murretes.

Artikkel käsitleb läti keele Kirde-Vidzeme murrakute (mida on räägitud Ilzene, Zeltiņi, Kalniena, Lejasciems, Sinole jms piirkonnas) keelejooni, mis on võinud seal kujuneda ajalooliselt leivu keele mõjul. Läänemeresoome laenud on tüüpilised kohalike läti murrakute sõnavarale. Sõnavormides tuleb esile ka iseloomulikke foneetilisi muutusi, nagu sõnalõpuliste vokaalide ja diftongide

reduktsioon. Kahjuks peaaegu kõik need jooned on 21. sajandil kadunud ja ainult kohanimedes püsib leivu keelepärand. Enamik läänemeresoome päritolu kohanimesid on küla- ja talunimed, siiski on leida ka kõrgendike, soode ja teiste loodusobjektide nimesid. Kõige vanemaid näiteid on hüdronüümidega. Isegi arvesse võttes ainult 20. sajandil kasutusel olnud kohanimesid, võib kindlalt väita, et eestlased, st leivud elasid Kirde-Vidzemes juba enne 1600. aastat.

Märksõnad: keelekontaktid, kohanimed, Kirde-Läti, Vidzeme murrakud, läänemeresoome mõju, Leivu