

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SALACA LIVONIAN AND COURLAND LIVONIAN DIALECTS¹

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Abstract. The article examines the relationship between the two prominent forms of Livonian: Salaca Livonian, spoken on the territory of historical Livonia, and Courland Livonian. Salaca Livonian is compared to the two main dialects of Courland Livonian – the eastern and western dialects. Based on the Salaca Livonian data, the article focuses on the comparison of phonological and grammatical features, also presenting a brief comparison of core vocabulary. The form of Livonian spoken in the Salaca River region of northern Latvia differed in several respects from Courland Livonian. Some Salaca Livonian phonological features, grammatical forms and vocabulary differ from all Courland Livonian dialects, while other features are shared between Salaca Livonian and one of the Courland Livonian dialects. Despite the greater geographical distance between them, Salaca Livonian shares more features with the western Courland Livonian dialect. The article attempts to explain these similarities. First, Latvian influence was stronger in the Salaca and western Courland Livonian dialect regions. Second, the peripheral location of these regions favored the preservation of archaic features. Third, the eastern dialect of Courland Livonian has been more innovative in several ways.

Keywords: Livonian dialects, Estonian, Latvian, historical linguistics, language contacts

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1. Introduction

At the end of the prehistoric era, the Livonian language was spoken over a large area in the western part of the Central Baltic region, around the Gulf of Riga. However, Livonian language data have been systematically preserved from only two peripheral regions of the former Livonian language area – from the Salaca River region in northern Latvia and from Livonian villages in northern Courland. An

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extensive corpus has remained of Courland Livonian, which was still spoken until quite recently. The eastern dialect of Courland Livonian is the basis for modern written Livonian. Systematic overviews have been done of the distinctive features of Courland Livonian and its dialects (see Viitso 2008a, 2011). For an overview of the early history of Livonian, however, the Courland Livonian material can be supplemented with written samples of Salaca Livonian, dating from the second half of the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century.

Salaca Livonian is the only form of Livonian spoken on the territory of historical Livonia (Latvian *Vidzeme*) of which enough language data has been preserved to allow for a broad examination (see Winkler 1994; SLW). The informants from whom these data (words, sentences, and a few short texts) were collected lived in the old Livonian Metsepole region in northern Latvia, by the rivers Salaca and Svētupe, as well as along the nearby coast of the Gulf of Riga. Salaca Livonian differs in many respects from Courland Livonian both lexically and grammatically, but is nevertheless its closest relative. Compared to other Finnic languages, there is no doubt that Salaca Livonian is indeed a form of Livonian. The Salaca Livonian language informants themselves have identified their nationality and language as Livonian. All Salaca Livonian researchers since Hiärn have regarded it as one of the primary forms of Livonian; Eduard Vääri (1959) and some other scholars refer to it as the Salaca dialect of Livonian.

The first source of Salaca Livonian data is the chronicle of Thomas Hiärn which contains a list, supposedly compiled in 1665, of Salaca Livonian words, greeting phrases and toponyms. According to Hiärn, in addition to the Salaca coast area, there were also some Livonian speakers near Limbaži and elsewhere in northern Latvia, although they were already assimilating into the Latvian population. More Salaca Livonian data was collected in the second half of the 18th century, and the peak period for documentation of the language was the first half of the 19th century (see Winkler 2009). By far the largest Salaca Livonian corpus was collected by Anders Johan Sjögren, who visited the Livonians in the Salaca region in the year 1846, staying at the Svētupe manor. Sjögren collected data from 22 Salaca Livonian speakers (16 men and 6 women) and systematically recorded words, grammatical forms, and even small texts, among them a fragment from the Gospel of Luke. After Sjögren's death, his Salaca and Courland Livonian material was brought to print by Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann (SjW 1, SjW 2).

Both Courland and Salaca Livonian are located at the southern edge of the Finnic language area, but they differ in their contacts with

other Finnic dialects. The closest northern neighbor of Courland is Saaremaa, and there are numerous similarities in the development of Courland Livonian and the Saaremaa dialect of Estonian (Ariste 1954). On the eastern shore of the Gulf of Riga, north of the Salaca Livonian language area, one encounters the Häädemeeste and Saarde varieties of Estonian, which belong to the southern group of western Estonian dialects. There are significant similarities between these southern Pärnu County dialects and Salaca Livonian. Mutual influence can be seen in both directions: Salaca Livonian has some features characteristic of western Estonian dialects, and the Estonian spoken in southern Pärnu County has clear Livonian features, some of which, in Häädemeeste parish, can be interpreted as a Livonian substrate (Sutrop, Pajusalu 2009). Furthermore, the contact between Salaca Livonian and the western (Mulgi) dialect of South Estonian is evident in all aspects of language (Tanning 1958, Pajusalu 1996: 56–64), and there are striking similarities between Salaca Livonian and the dialect of the South Estonian Leivu language island (Viitso 2009, Pajusalu et al. 2009).

Comparisons of Courland and Salaca Livonian have focused primarily on the distinctive features of Salaca Livonian, although they have also contrasted the features of Courland and Salaca Livonian more generally (see Suhonen 1999, Winkler 2000, 2002, 2011). The general reasons for the historical split of the Livonian language area, as well as the influence of Germanic languages, Estonian, and Latvian on the main forms of Livonian, has been discussed from various perspectives. So far, less attention has been paid to the relationships between the three largest Livonian dialects: Salaca Livonian, eastern Courland Livonian, and western Courland Livonian. The aim of this article is to comparatively analyze the relationship of Salaca Livonian to the two Courland Livonian dialects, in order to further enhance the understanding of the historical development of Livonian. A comparison of all Livonian dialects should also help to explain areal developments both within the Finnic language area as well as in relation to contacts between Baltic and Finnic languages. The analysis that follows draws on Tiit-Rein Viitso's article "Central Livonian" (2008b) and his other studies of the diversity and historical development of Courland Livonian (Viitso 2008a, 2011, LELS), as well as previous investigations of Salaca Livonian by Eberhard Winkler and myself (Winkler 1994, 1999a, 2000, 2002, 2010, 2011, SLW, Pajusalu et al. 2009, Pajusalu 1996, 2009, 2011).

2. Phonological innovations of Salaca and Courland Livonian dialects

Salaca and Courland Livonian dialects share numerous fundamental prosodic and other phonetic features, which suggests that those features were present in Proto-Livonian or in some cases in the even earlier South Finnic. For example, both Salaca Livonian and Courland Livonian dialects exhibit important prosodic innovations of South Finnic, such as the ternary length distinction, foot isochrony, weakening of secondary stress, and the related vowel reduction and elision in non-initial syllables (Pajusalu 2012).

The ternary length distinction finds expression in Livonian dialects in that, in addition to the phonological opposition between short and long consonants and vowels, there is also a distinction between short and long geminates (Lehiste et al. 2008). In the preserved Salaca Livonian material, short geminates are marked with either a single or double consonant, e.g. *katuks* ~ *kattuks*² ‘roof’, *pakan* ~ *pakkan* ‘fast, quickly’, *oppub* ~ *opub* ‘learns’, while long geminates are consistently represented by doubled consonants: *oppī* ‘learner’, *oppen* ‘learned’, *sulli* ‘servant’. This distinction operates in primary stress-bearing feet on the boundary between stressed and unstressed syllables, and is related to foot isochrony. After a single consonant or short geminate, the vowel of the second syllable lengthens; by contrast, long geminates in Salaca Livonian are typically followed by vowel reduction or elision as well as contraction of the second and third syllables, as in the previously mentioned example *oppī* (< **oppiji*).

Courland Livonian has generally preserved second-syllable *a*, but in Salaca Livonian, *a* is typically elided after a long geminate, e.g. *ilm* ~ *īlm* (< **ilma*) ‘weather’, *laud* ~ *loud* ~ *lōd* (< **lauta*) ‘table’, *puog* ~ *puok* ~ *puoga* (< **poika*) ‘son’. After short consonants and short geminates, however, *a* has mostly been preserved, e.g. *ama* ‘all’, *nana* ‘nose’, *sūna* ~ *sūn* ‘word’, *suka* ‘sock’, *tika* ~ *tik* ‘goat’, *vakka* ~ *vaka* ‘bushel’. In Salaca Livonian words with short initial syllables, the length of the vowel in the second syllable is typically not marked, except for some isolated instances such as *agan* ~ *agān* ‘chaff’, *pubād* ‘beans’, *umar* ~ *umār* ‘apple’. It seems that vowels in unstressed syllables of first and second quantity degree words were longer in Courland Livonian, while in Salaca Livonian, similarly to the neighboring

2 Salaca Livonian examples are presented in the historical orthography in which they were recorded (see SLW), while Courland Livonian examples are presented in modern Livonian orthography (see LELS).

Estonian dialects, these vowels were only slightly longer than the vowel of the initial syllable.

The likely appearance of **broken tone** in Salaca Livonian is indicated by the way in which various word forms were written. For instance, words written with a dash or an *h* between vowels can be presumed to have carried broken tone, as in *rā ~ raā ~ ra-a ~ raha* ‘money’ (Cour *rō*). Broken tone may also be indicated by alternating marking of vowel length, as in *pūgum ~ pugum* ‘to blow’, Cour *pū’gõm* (see Winkler 1999b, 2010 for a more detailed treatment). Similarly to Courland Livonian, the historical consonant phoneme *h* has disappeared in all positions in Salaca Livonian, e.g. Sal *abin* ‘beard’ (Est *habe*), Sal *lia* ‘skin’ (Est *liha*), Sal *murt* ‘worry (Part)’ (Võro *murõht*). When Salaca Livonian words are written with *h*, it indicates broken tone or, in older sources, a preceding long vowel. The letters *g* and *k* in word-final position in unstressed syllables more likely indicate a glottal stop, e.g. *jei ~ jeig* ‘ice’, *uta ~ utak* ‘take (Imp2Sg)’; both broken tone and glottal stops are characteristic of the Leivu South Estonian as well (see Teras 2010, Viitso 2009). Word-medial intravocalic *g* in Salaca Livonian sources sometimes corresponds to broken tone in Leivu, as in the word *pagatum* ‘to speak’, cf. Leivu *pa’atõm*.

Weakening of secondary stress in non-initial syllables and the ensuing vowel elision in those syllables appear to have been even more widespread in Salaca Livonian than in Courland Livonian dialects, e.g. Sal *amatst* ‘all (PIEl)’, Cour *amādõst*; Sal *mütsadl* ‘forest (PIAd/Al)’, Cour *mõtsādõn* ‘forest (DatPl)’, Sal *kanatk* ‘chicken (PICom)’, Cour *kanādõks* ‘chicken (PlIns)’. There is also a great deal of variation in suffixes in Salaca Livonian. Tiit-Rein Viitso (2008b: 230) has drawn attention to the differences between eastern and western Courland Livonian in the *nomen agentis* forms, where western Courland Livonian uses the longer suffix *-ji*, while eastern Courland Livonian, due to vowel elision, features the shorter suffix *-j*, e.g. CourW *kazāji* ‘growth’, *salāji* ‘thief’, CourE *kazāj*, *salāj*. Both of those forms are found in Salaca Livonian, i.e. *salāji ~ salai*, *kazej*; forms with the suffix *-ī* are also common, for instance *murtī* ‘worrier’, *opatī* ‘teacher, pastor’, *pagatī* ‘speaker’. It is clear that the *nomen agentis* suffix in Proto-Livonian was *-ji*, which has been preserved in western Courland Livonian and which appears (alongside the shortened forms) in Salaca Livonian as well. Salaca Livonian also shows several morphological restrictions on apocope; for instance, the verbal noun suffix is always *-mi*: *samurtumi* ‘breaking in’, *opatumi* ‘teaching, instruction’, and the vowel is also preserved in case-

inflected forms, e.g. *murtumist* ‘worrying (Part)’, which allows for secondary stress in those forms.

Different developments are observed in Courland Livonian words originally featuring consonant clusters consisting of a stop and an approximant (Viitso 2008b: 229), e.g. CourE *võ'ddõl* ‘wait’, *ka'ggõl* ‘neck’, CourW *vuo'dlõ*, *ka'glõ*. Viitso claims that these forms have developed from earlier shorter forms, such as **võ'dl* and **kagl*, where the syllabic approximant in western Courland Livonian broke down into a sequence consisting of a non-syllabic approximant followed by the vowel *õ*, and in eastern Courland Livonian broke down into a sequence consisting of the preceding vowel and a non-syllabic approximant. In some Salaca Livonian words, the stop in such consonant clusters has become a vowel, e.g. *kāl* ~ *kaol* (< **kakla*) ‘neck’, *kāra* (< **kakra*) ‘oat’, but in cases where the consonant cluster has been preserved, the documented forms do indeed correspond to the short forms postulated by Viitso, e.g. *õdl* ‘wait’, *mütl* ‘think’; *nāgr* ‘turnip’, *odr* ‘barley’. In Courland Livonian, the infinitive form of such verbs typically ends in a vowel, e.g. **võ'dlõ* ‘to wait’ and *mõtlõ* ‘to think’; in Salaca Livonian, however, the infinitive form ends in an approximant, e.g. *õdl*, although a vowel may appear before the approximant: *mütl* ~ *mütuld* ~ *müttuld*. Salaca Livonian words of this type thus exhibit both presumed older forms and newer independent developments.

There are several striking differences in the **vowel systems** of eastern and western Courland Livonian. The following is an overview of which vowels appear in Salaca Livonian in words where the Courland dialects differ from one another.

In word-initial syllables bearing primary stress, all Livonian dialects, similarly to other southern Finnic languages, have featured the **back unrounded vowel** *õ*. This vowel, which has been referred to as a back *e*, has in fact been a high vowel in Livonian, i.e. *i*³ (Lehiste et al. 2008: 84–87). Due to secondary labialization, *õ* in Salaca and western Courland Livonian has developed in the direction of *ü*; in western Courland Livonian this vowel has later become *i*, for cases of both long and short *õ*. Viitso (2008b: 226–227) shows correspondences between CourE (and the so-called central Livonian Īra village) *mõtsā* ‘forest’, *võrõz* ‘stranger’, *õ'dõg* ‘evening’ and CourW *mütsā*, *vürõz*, *i'dõg*. The Salaca Livonian forms correspond to those of western Courland Livonian, although in Salaca Livonian *ü* remained even in the latest sources in the middle of the 19th century. The corresponding words in Salaca Livonian are thus *mütsa*, *vüras* ~ *üras* ~

3 In this article *i* marks a high back unrounded vowel.

ūrūs ~ ūrs ~ ūr, ūdug ~ ūdug. In some instances *ū* is written as *ö* in Salaca Livonian sources, e.g. *mötfä* 'mets' (1839).

The fact that *ō* did not change completely into *ū* in Salaca Livonian is evidenced by various other sound changes. The consonant shifts *k > k̄* and *s > š*, which occurred before historical *ū* and generally caused that vowel to develop into *u*, did not take place before historical *ō* (Posti 1942: 18; Winkler 1994: 399), compare Sal *kūza* 'hatred', Cour *kōzā, kūrda ~ kūrta* 'time', Cour *kōrda*, Sal *sügl ~ sūgl* 'sieve', Cour *sō 'ggōl*, cf. Sal *k'ūlg ~ k'ulg ~ t'ulg* 'side, flank', Cour *kiļg*, Sal *k'um ~ t'um* 'ten', Cour *kim*, Sal *šuda ~ šud* 'heart', Cour *sidām*. Eastern Courland Livonian *ō* sometimes corresponds to *u* in both Salaca and western Courland Livonian, e.g. CourE *jōva*, CourW *juva* 'good', Sal *jua ~ jua*; CourE *vōtāb* 'takes', CourW *vuotāb ~ utab*, Sal *utab*; CourE *tōva* 'deep', CourW *tiva*, Sal *tiva*.

The following table provides an overview of the Salaca and western Courland Livonian vowels corresponding to eastern Courland *ō*, also presenting the probable Proto-Livonian and Pre-Livonian forms.

The examples in Table 1 show that initial-syllable *ō* is far more common in eastern Courland Livonian than in Salaca and western Courland Livonian. The forms found in Salaca and western Courland Livonian are quite similar, but there are some minor differences. The primary sound correspondences across these three dialects are as follows:

(1) Finnic *e* corresponds to CourE *ō* in eastern Courland Livonian in words that display a back vowel in the second syllable, whereas the Salaca and western Courland Livonian equivalents are *ū* and *i* respectively (examples 1–8). In these words, a back-vowel counterpart of *e* most likely appeared as far back as in Proto-Livonian. However, word-initial *e* became *je* and has either retained that form or been lowered to *jā*, in both back- and front-vowel words (9 and 10), while in eastern Courland Livonian both back- and front-vowel words may also feature the secondary change *je > jō*;

(2) The Salaca Livonian equivalent of Finnic *eu* is the same *eu* (11), although the western Courland Livonian form *i* points to a historical *ō*, which indicates that the Salaca Livonian variant may be a newer development;

(3) The Salaca and western Courland equivalents of eastern Courland *tōva* 'deep' both feature the vowel *i*. In Proto-Finnic this word had an *i* and presumably Proto-Livonian preserved it as well (see Pajusalu 2012: 216), which suggests that Salaca and western Courland Livonian have preserved the original *i*;

Table 1. Equivalents of eastern Courland Livonian first-syllable *õ* in Salaca and western Courland Livonian

Salaca	CourEast	CourWest	Proto-Livonian	Pre-Livonian	
1. <i>mütsa</i>	<i>mõtsā</i>	<i>mitsā</i>	* <i>mõtsa</i> (Q2)	* <i>metsa</i>	‘forest’
2. <i>tüla</i>	<i>tõla</i> , P. <i>tõllõ</i>	<i>tīla</i>	* <i>tõlva</i>	* <i>telva</i>	‘club’
3. <i>ül̥g ~ vül̥g ~ vül̥ga</i>	<i>võlga</i>	<i>vīlga</i>	* <i>võlga</i>	* <i>velka</i>	‘debt’
4. <i>kürd ~ kūrta</i>	<i>kõrda</i>	<i>kīrda</i>	* <i>kõrda</i>	* <i>kerta</i>	‘time’
5. <i>pür̥m</i>	<i>põrm</i>	<i>pīrm</i>	* <i>põrm</i> , - <i>õ</i>	* <i>permo</i>	‘dust’
6. <i>tümb</i>	<i>tõmbõ</i>	<i>tīmbõ</i>	* <i>tõmbõ</i> -	* <i>tempa</i> -	‘to pull’
7. <i>rüsk</i>	<i>rõskõ</i>	<i>rīskõ</i>	* <i>rõskõ</i>	* <i>rēska</i>	‘fresh’
8. <i>ür̥ ~ ürs ~ ürus ~ üras ~ vūras</i>	<i>võrõz</i>	<i>vīraz</i>	* <i>võraz</i>	* <i>vēras</i>	‘stranger’
9. <i>jäga</i>	<i>jõgā ~ jegā</i>	<i>jegā</i>	* <i>jega</i>	* <i>eka</i>	‘every(one)’
10. <i>jära ~ jera</i>	<i>jõrā ~ jarā ~ järā</i>	<i>jarā</i>	* <i>jera</i>	* <i>erā</i>	‘away’
11. <i>neu</i>	<i>nõ’v</i>	<i>ni’u(v)</i>	* <i>nõ’uv</i>	* <i>neuvo</i>	‘advice’
12. <i>tiva</i>	<i>tõvā</i>	<i>tivā</i>	* <i>tivā</i>	* <i>tiva</i>	‘deep’
13. <i>jūg</i>	<i>jõugõ</i> (+ <i>Ii.</i>)	<i>jūkt’</i>	* <i>iugõ</i>	* <i>hivuke</i>	‘sand’
14. <i>jūt</i>	<i>jõ’v̥võ ~ jõ’uvvõ</i>	<i>i’uvvõ ~ ji’uvvõ</i>	* <i>i’u(v)-</i>	* <i>iho-</i>	‘to whet, sharpen’
15. <i>jua ~ juo juosti</i>	<i>jõvā jõvīst</i>	<i>juvā juvīst</i>	* <i>iuva iuvasti</i>	* <i>hüvā hüvästi</i>	‘good’ ‘well’
16. <i>šül, -ub</i>	<i>sõ’vlõ</i>	<i>si’uvlõ</i>	* <i>süwele-</i>	* <i>sükele-</i>	‘to itch’
17. <i>mürz, -ub</i>	<i>mõ’r̥žõ, -b</i>	<i>SjW mü’r̥ž</i>	* <i>mürsõ</i>	* <i>mürise-</i>	‘to rumble’
18. <i>süzar ~ süsār ~ fīfar</i> (1774)	<i>sõzār</i>	<i>sizār</i>	* <i>sizar</i>	* <i>sisar</i>	‘sister’
19. <i>süna</i>	<i>sõnā</i>	<i>sinā</i>	* <i>sina</i>	* <i>sina</i>	‘word’
20. <i>sūr</i>	<i>sõir ~ sõira</i> Ir. <i>sõira</i>	<i>sīra</i> Pz. <i>süir</i>	* <i>siira</i>	* <i>siira</i>	‘cheese’
21. <i>übi ~ übbi</i>	<i>õ’bbi</i>	<i>i’bbi</i>	* <i>õ’bbin</i>	* <i>hopeinen</i>	‘horse’
22. <i>übd̥i</i>	<i>õ’bdõ</i>	<i>i’bdõ</i>	* <i>õbdõ</i>	* <i>hopeta</i>	‘silver’
23. <i>küvas</i>	<i>kõvīst</i> ⁴ ~* <i>kõvaz</i>	<i>kivīst</i>	* <i>kõvasi</i>	* <i>kovasin</i>	‘whetstone’
24. <i>üva ~ üvv</i>	<i>õvā</i>	<i>ivā</i>	* <i>õva</i>	* <i>uha</i>	‘current, flow’
25. – <i>ju ~ jo ~ je</i>	<i>jõbā ~ jõvā jõ</i>	<i>jubā</i> (Lž) ~ <i>jub</i> <i>ju</i> (Lž.) ‘juba’	* <i>juba ju ~ *jo</i>	* <i>jopa jo</i>	‘already’ ‘after all’

4 The forms *kõvīst* and *kivīst* were derived from the verb *kõvīstõ*.

Salaca	CourEast	CourWest	Proto-Livonian	Pre-Livonian	
26. <i>küur</i>	<i>kõ'urõ</i>	<i>ki'urõ</i>	* <i>kõ'urõ</i>	* <i>kovera</i>	‘crooked’
27. <i>süu</i>	<i>sõ'u(v)</i> ~ <i>sõ'uvvõ</i>	<i>si'u(v)</i>	* <i>sõ'uvõ</i>	* <i>suvi</i>	‘summer’
28. <i>küu, -vud</i>	<i>kõuvõ, -d</i> ~ <i>kõvaz</i>	<i>kiu(v), -õd</i>	* <i>kõuvõ</i>	* <i>koivu</i>	‘birch’
29. <i>süud, -ub</i>	<i>sõudõ, sõdab</i> ~ <i>sõid/õ, sõidab</i>	<i>siudõ, sīdab</i>	* <i>sõudõ-</i> (* <i>sõida-</i>)	* <i>souta-</i>	‘to row’
30. <i>pūda</i>	<i>põda, P. põudõ</i>	* <i>pūda</i>	* <i>pōuda</i>	* <i>pouta</i>	‘drought’
31. <i>lūnug</i>	<i>lõnag</i> ~ <i>lõinag</i>	<i>līnag</i>	* <i>lōunak (Q2)</i> (* <i>lōinak (Q2)</i>)	* <i>lounak</i>	‘south’
32. <i>tūt, -ub</i>	<i>tõit/õ, -ab</i>	<i>tīt/õ, -ab</i>	* <i>tōvottõ-</i>	* <i>toivotta-</i> (* <i>tōitta-</i>)	‘to promise’
33. <i>eigus</i>	<i>õigiz</i>	<i>īgiz</i>	* <i>õigdus</i> ~ * <i>õigõz</i>	* <i>oiketus</i>	‘right, justice’
<i>eit</i>	<i>õigi</i>	<i>īgi</i>	* <i>õigdõ</i> ~ * <i>õigõ</i>	* <i>oiketa</i>	‘right, correct’
34. <i>vui ~ ui</i>	<i>võidag</i> Ii. <i>võidug</i>	<i>vuidug ~ uidug</i>	* <i>vui-</i>	* <i>voi</i>	‘butter’
35. <i>vuij ~ uij</i>	<i>võidõ</i>	<i>vuidõ</i>	* <i>vui(j)-</i>	* <i>voi-</i>	‘to be able to’
36. <i>vai ~ voi ~ vei</i>	<i>või ~ võ ~ vôi ~ võ</i>	<i>vuoi ~ vui ~ vu</i>	* <i>vai ~ *voi</i>	* <i>vai</i>	‘or’
37. <i>muitiši ~ muijiši</i>	<i>mõitõz</i>	<i>muitiz</i>	* <i>muitisi</i>	* <i>muitoisin</i>	‘otherwise’
38. <i>utt, utab ~ utte ~ vutt</i>	<i>võttõ, võtāb</i>	<i>uttõ, utāb ~ vuotõ, vuotāb</i>	* <i>vutta-</i>	* <i>votta-</i>	‘to take’
39. <i>udim ~ utim ~ utīm</i>	<i>võtīm</i>	<i>utim ~ vuotīm</i>	* <i>vuttim (Q2)</i>	* <i>vottim</i>	‘key’
40. <i>ruoi ~ ruoj</i>	<i>rõ'v</i>	<i>ri'u</i>	? * <i>ro'uwõ</i>	* <i>rõho</i>	‘grass’
41. <i>šüöd</i>	<i>siedõ</i> SjW <i>sõöd</i>	<i>siedõ</i>	* <i>sõ-</i>	* <i>seü-</i>	‘to eat’
42. <i>šüöt, -ub</i>	<i>sietõ, -b</i> SjW <i>sõöt</i>	<i>sietõ, -ub</i>	* <i>sõitta-</i>	* <i>seüttä-</i>	‘to feed’
43. <i>brūv ~ bruv</i>	<i>brõuvõ</i>	–	Lat <i>brūvēt</i> , Ger <i>brauen</i>		‘to brew’
–	<i>skrõuv</i>	<i>skriuv</i>	Lat <i>skrūve</i> , Ger <i>schrauben</i>		‘to screw’
44. <i>Joan</i>	<i>Jõvān</i> ~ <i>Jõvānõz</i>	<i>Jõņ</i>	Ger <i>Johann</i>		
45. <i>Kristus</i>	<i>Krõstõz</i>	<i>Kristõz</i>	Ger <i>Christus</i>		

(4) Word-initial *iu* has become *jõ* in eastern Courland Livonian (13–15), *ju* in Salaca and western Courland Livonian;

(5) In eastern Courland Livonian, original *ü* has occasionally become *õ* before or after a labial consonant (16, 17), while this *ü* has been preserved in Salaca and western Courland Livonian;

(6) In words that originally featured the high illabial back vowel *ɪ* (which has been preserved in eastern South Estonian dialects; 18, 19) in souther Finnic, eastern Courland *õ* corresponds to Salaca *ü* and western Courland *i*, which suggests the presence of a high back vowel in these words in Proto-Livonian. There is one early Salaca Livonian source which shows the *i*-based form *fifar* in place of the *ü*-based *süzar* ‘sister’.

(7) The equivalents of the diphthong *iu* in the Slavic loanword **siira* (20) are Salaca *ü* and western Courland *ī*. However, the form *sõra* has been recorded in the eastern Courland village of Ire, and the form *süir* (preserving the older diphthong *üi*) is attested in the western Courland village of Piza;

(8) Finnic *o* became *õ* in Proto-Livonian before labial consonants (21–24), as all of the main Livonian dialects show vowels corresponding to a historical *õ* in such words;

(9) The sequence **jo-* in the word **jopa* (25) is exceptional; the form *juba*, which has been preserved in western Courland Livonian, may date back even to Proto-Livonian; the eastern Courland equivalent of the monosyllabic stem **jo* is *jõ* (25), while in Salaca Livonian, in addition to *ju* and *jo*, there is also the form *je*, which may have developed from *jõ*;

(10) The words **kovera* (26) and **suvi* (27) feature the diphthong *õ'u*, which evidently appeared in Proto-Livonian, since the first-syllable vowels in these words in all three dialects correspond to this diphthong – eastern Courland *õ'u*, *õ'v*, Salaca *üu*, western Courland *i'u*; the diphthong **õu*, without broken tone, is found in CourE *kõuvõ* ~ *kõvaz* ‘birch’ (28), Salaca *küu*, CourW *kiu(v)*, obtained through a characteristic Livonian process of metathesis from the form **koivu* (> **kouvi* > **kõuvõ*);

(11) The equivalents of Finnic **ou* in all Livonian dialects can be traced back to the diphthong *õu* (29–31). The diphthong *õu* has been preserved in the strong grade of words featuring gradation, e.g. eastern Courland *sõudõ* ‘to row’, compare to Salaca *süud*, western Courland *siudõ*, but has undergone assimilation to *õ* in the weak grade, e.g. eastern Courland *sõdab* ‘he/she rows’, western Courland *sīdab*. The diphthong in the Proto-Livonian words **põuda* and **lõunak* has undergone monophthongization in all dialects, and in Salaca Livonian has shortened before the secondary geminate *nn*: *lünmug* ‘south’;

(12) In eastern Courland Livonian, the diphthong *ōi* appears as an alternative to *ōu* (32, also 29 and 31). In words which evidently featured **ōu* in Proto-Livonian, the Salaca and western Courland Livonian equivalents of eastern Courland Livonian *ōi* are *ū* and *ī*; in eastern Courland Livonian, *ōi* appears variably with *ōu* and *ō̄*, e.g. *sōudō̄ ~ sōidō̄*, *lō̄nag ~ lō̄inag*, where *ōi* is the secondary form;

(13) In Proto-Livonian, *ōi* presumably appeared as the equivalent of Finnic word-initial **oi* (33), e.g. **ōigdō̄* ‘right, correct’. Salaca and western Courland Livonian feature the secondary alternatives *ei* and *ī* respectively;

(14) In Eastern Courland Livonian, following a word-initial labial consonant, Proto-Livonian *oi*, *ui* and *ai* have become *ōi* (34–37), while *ui* has been preserved in Salaca and western Courland Livonian. Salaca *vei* apparently comes from the earlier form *vōi*, which in its turn comes from **vai ~ *voi*; western Courland *vuo* comes from the form **voi*;

(15) Eastern Courland Livonian exhibits the sound change **voC > *vōC* (38, 39), while in Salaca Livonian, **vo* in such cases has usually become *u*, occasionally *vu*, and in western Courland Livonian two patterns of change are observed, **vo > u* and **vo > *vuo*;

(16) Presumably due to the development of *uw* after *o* in Proto-Livonian, the word *rō̄v* ‘grass’ (40) features *ō̄* in the eastern Courland dialect. The western Courland form *ri’u* also indicates an earlier *ō̄*; however, the Salaca Livonian forms are *ō̄*-less, *ruoi ~ ruoj*;

(17) SjW shows the diphthong *ōō* in the eastern Courland Livonian words *sōōd* ‘to eat’ and *sōōt* ‘to feed’ (41, 42); these forms may have developed from earlier forms with *ō̄*. However, the typical forms of these words feature *ie* (< **üō̄*) in Courland Livonian and *üō̄* in Salaca Livonian;

(18) In the eastern Courland dialect, *ō̄* appears even in newer Latvian and German loans, where *ōu* may have developed from *ū* (43), from *o* before *v* (44), or from *i* in back-vowel words (45). Salaca and western Courland Livonian do not show any such developments. The appearance of *ō̄* in loanwords in eastern Courland Livonian often corresponds quite well to the conditions in which *ō̄* appeared in earlier periods of Livonian.

To summarize, first-syllable *ō̄* in eastern Courland Livonian corresponds to the presumed Proto-Livonian forms for certain words, but there are also words featuring a secondary *ō̄*. While first-syllable *ō̄* in western Courland Livonian has historically turned into *ū* and then been replaced by *i*, in Salaca Livonian it has also been replaced in some cases by *e*; for example, the sound change *ōi > ei* has con-

sistently taken place, and *e* appears sporadically in place of *ō* in some other word types as well.

In addition to the high back vowel *ō* [ɪ], eastern Courland Livonian features the development of *o* into the **mid-high back vowel** *ō* following labial consonants, e.g. *pōdub* ‘he/she is ill (with)’, *vōlda* ‘to be’, *vōi* ‘or, either’ (see Lehiste et al. 2008: 84–87; Viitso 2008b: 227–228). In western Courland Livonian, *o* in these words has developed into the diphthong *uo*: *puodub*, *vuoi*, and *ō* has developed into *ūo*: *vūolda*; Salaca Livonian has preserved the original *o*: *podub*, *oll* ~ *olla* ~ *old* ~ *olda*, *voi*. In eastern Courland Livonian, the diphthong *oi* has become *ōi* after labial consonants, e.g. *pōis*, while the western Courland dialect has seen the emergence of the triphthong *uoi*: *puois*; in Salaca Livonian, *oi* has either been preserved or developed into *ui*: *pois* ~ *poiz* ~ *puiz*. Generally, Salaca Livonian has been the most conservative with respect to *o*, while different innovations can be seen in the eastern and western Courland dialects.

The vowel *ō* in non-initial syllables appears consistently in both eastern and western Courland Livonian, while Salaca Livonian data typically shows the vowel *e* in this position, e.g. Sal *kūldeds* ‘heard’, *sāltest* ‘from there’, compare to Cour *kūldōd*, *sā’ldōst*; in isolated instances, however, *ō* appears in Salaca Livonian as well, for example *nāetōb* ‘he/she shows’, Cour *nāktōb* (SjW 1, 328). In Courland Livonian, unstressed *ō* in non-initial syllables differs phonetically from stressed-syllable *ō*; in non-initial syllables, the vowel is reduced (Lehiste et al. 2008: 87–91), which can be assumed to have taken place in Salaca Livonian as well.

In eastern Courland Livonian, non-initial syllables can also feature a secondary *ō*, which has replaced *u* or *i*: *kāndōd* ‘stumps’, *kīskōb* ‘he/she tears’, *pūošōd* ‘boys’; in western Courland Livonian, *u* or *i* appears: *kāndud*, *kīskub*, *pūošid* (Viitso 2008b: 230; Viitso regards western Courland Livonian *i* as secondary). The vowel *u* in non-initial syllables has typically been preserved in Salaca Livonian as well: *linnud* ~ *linud* ‘birds’, *kīskub* ~ *ķīskub* ~ *ķīsub* ‘he/she tears’, while *i* has been lost: *poist* ‘boys’.

Similarly to western Courland Livonian, Salaca Livonian exhibits a tendency to replace the stem vowel *e* with *u*. In the eastern Courland dialect, the stem vowel *e* has generally become *ō*: *tā’dōd* ‘stars’, *tūndōb* ‘he/she feels’, *mōtlōb* ‘he/she thinks’, while in the western dialect the secondary change *ō* > *u* is observed: *tā’dud*, *tūndub*, *mitlub* (Viitso 2008b: 230). Salaca Livonian features the change *e* > *u*, e.g. *tūndub* ~ *tundub*, *mütlub*, but also *e* > *a*, e.g. *tundab* ~ *tunab*, and in some cases these originally *e*-based stems have forms containing the stem vowel *e* in the second syllable: Sal *panub* ‘he/she puts’ ~ *paneb*,

tulab ‘he/she comes’ ~ *tulub* ~ *tulleb* (1839). In the eastern Courland dialect, *a*-stem inflection is attested, e.g. *panāb*, *tulāb*, while in the western dialect the stem vowel *u* is found: *panūb*, *tulūb*. Therefore, Salaca Livonian has equivalents of both the eastern and western Courland Livonian formations. Replacement of the stem vowel *e* with *u* is also seen in the western dialect of South Estonian (Pajusalu 1996: 63).

The equivalents of **first-syllable long \bar{a}** are different in all three main Livonian dialects. In western Courland Livonian, \bar{a} has been preserved: *mā* ‘ground, earth’, *kāndud* ‘covers’ (Viitso 2008b: 229), while the vowel has been raised in eastern Courland Livonian: *mō*, *kōndōd*. In Salaca Livonian, either long \bar{a} has been preserved or only its second component has been raised: *mā* ~ *māo* ‘ground, earth’, *kāns* ~ *kāons* ~ *kaānz* ‘cover’; similar patterns are also observed in the case of secondary lengthening of *a*: *kān* ~ *kaānn* ~ *kaon* ‘stump’ (SLW: 74; see also SjW 1: 7).

Long \bar{a} has typically been preserved in eastern Courland Livonian: *pā* ‘head’, *pāl* ‘on’, while it has been slightly raised in western Courland Livonian. In Salaca Livonian, both long \bar{a} and diphthongized variants indicating the raising of the second component have been recorded: *pāl* ~ *pāel* (SLW: 159), *jāed* ‘to stay’, *sār* ~ *sāer* ‘shin’ (Winkler 1994: 400). In eastern Courland Livonian, long \bar{a} also appears in some words where Salaca and western Courland Livonian have preserved the older *ā*: CourE *kā’dō* ‘to go’, CourW *kā’udō*, Sal *k’āu* ~ *kāu* ~ *kāv* (SLW: 102).

Consonantal palatalization appears in all Livonian dialects. One of the forms of palatalization characteristic of Livonian is **prepalatalization** (see Pajusalu, Teras 2012), e.g. Cour *tuo’iž* ~ *tuo’ž* ‘true’ (< **tosī*), Sal *tois* ~ *toiz*, Cour, Sal *aig* ‘pike’ (< **hauki*). In addition, Livonian also features **prevelarization**, which is more common in Salaca and eastern Courland Livonian, e.g. CourE *jo’ug* ‘river’, *so’ugdō* ‘blind’, Sal *joug* ~ *jouk* ~ *jōk*, *noug* ~ *nouk* ‘hollow, depression’, compare to CourW *jo’g*, *so’gdō*, Īra *jo’ig* ‘jōgi’. However, Sjögren-Wiedemann presents *nouk* ‘hollow, depression’ as a western Courland Livonian form as well (SjW 2: 69), which implies that both prepalatalization and prevelarization can be traced back to Proto-Livonian. The phenomenon can also be seen in Latvian dialects in Vidzeme and Courland: Vidzeme Liepupe *māet* ‘mother’ (< **māte*), Kurzeme Puze *zā.il* ‘grass’ (< **zāle*) (Rudzīte 1993: 320).

In addition to prepalatalization, Livonian dialects also exhibit **progressive palatalization**, in which the vowel *i* in the first syllable of weak-grade forms has caused the following consonant to be palatalized, *i* itself generally being conflated with that consonant,

wherein $s > \check{s}$. Progressive palatalization is widespread in eastern Courland Livonian, e.g. *lāška* ‘lazy’, *mūoštāb* ‘he/she can/knows how to’, *lāņta* ‘wave (Part)’ vs. western Courland Livonian *lāiska*, *mūoistab*, *lāinta* (Viitso 2008b: 230). In the Salaca Livonian material, in addition to older *i*-based forms such as *laisk* and *moistab*, there also appear variants in which *i* has disappeared. In these words, the consonants \check{s} and \check{z} , developed through palatalization, are marked only sporadically: *lāsk* ~ *lāška*, *mōstab* ~ *mōštad* ‘you understand’, *tōžum pāāva* ‘Tuesday’. In some cases, a similar alternation can be observed in words featuring a diphthong which emerged through prepalatalization, e.g. Sal *vaisk* (< **vasikka*) ‘calf’ ~ *vāšk* ~ *vask*; *rūsk*’ (< **rusikka*) ‘fist’, compare to CourE *vā’ški* ~ *va’š’ki*, *rūška*, CourW *va’iški*, *ru’isk*.

The comparison of Salaca and Courland Livonian phonological features shows that Salaca Livonian shares innovations with both primary Courland Livonian dialects, but more so with the western dialect, which is more conservative in comparison with the eastern dialect. It is worth noting, however, that the Salaca Livonian data, although generally meager, exhibits substantial phonetic variation, and in some cases Salaca Livonian equivalents can be found to the forms of both Courland Livonian dialects.

3. Salaca and Courland Livonian inflectional morphology

The inflectional morphology of eastern and western Courland Livonian is quite uniform. Viitso 2008, for instance, does not mention a single difference between eastern and western Courland Livonian **nominal morphology**. However, there are substantial differences between Courland and Salaca Livonian. For instance, the dative and instrumental cases, distinctive features of Courland Livonian which are unusual in Finnic languages as a whole, are not found in Salaca Livonian (Winkler 1994: 425–428).

The historical genitive ending *-n* occurs in both Salaca and Courland Livonian in certain compound words, e.g. Sal *mārn aģ* and Cour *mie’rn aigā* (< **meren akja*) ‘edge of the sea, seashore’. However, the case ending *-n* is used in the **dative** meaning only in Courland Livonian. In Salaca Livonian, the dative is expressed by adessive-allative forms, which are formed from strikingly similar stems, e.g. Cour *minnōn* ‘at me, to me’, Sal *minnel* ~ *minel* ~ *minnūl* ~ *minnūl* ~ *minnol* ~ *mil* ~ *mill*, Cour *mā’dđōn* ‘at us, to us’, Sal *māddel* ~ *mādl* ~ *māādł* ~ *medł*, CourE *jo’ugōn* ‘on the river, to the river’, CourW *jō’gōn*, Sal *jōgel*, Cour *i’dōn* ‘at one, to one’, Sal *ūdel*, Cour *mī’en* ‘at a man, to a man’, Sal *miel* etc. The inflectional stems are

often the same in both Salaca and Courland Livonian, although Salaca Livonian shows more variation. While in Courland Livonian the dative is predominantly based on the genitive stem, e.g. *jāлга* ‘foot (Gen)’ and *jāлган* ‘foot (Dat)’, in Salaca Livonian the adessive-allative stem may differ from that of the genitive, corresponding instead to the lexicalized adessive-allative form in Courland Livonian, e.g. Sal *jalgel* ‘on a foot, to a foot’ and CourE *jalgōl* ‘on feet, to feet’. In the case of pronouns, certain genitive and short dative forms are identical in Courland Livonian, such as *kīen* ‘whose, to whom (Gen, Ad/Al)’ ~ *kīngan* ‘to whom (Ad/Al)’, while in Salaca Livonian the genitive and the adessive-allative are consistently distinguished, as in *k’in* ~ *kiņ* ~ *king* ~ *k’inga* ~ *kinga* ~ *k’inge* ‘whose (Gen)’ and *k’ingal* ~ *k’ingel* ~ *kingel* ‘to whom (Ad/Al)’. Here again, more variation in stem formation is found in Salaca Livonian.

In place of the **instrumental**, Salaca Livonian uses two cases – the comitative and the translative. In some inflection classes, the formation of the instrumental in Courland Livonian is similar to that of the translative in Salaca Livonian, e.g. Cour *āigastōks* ‘year (Ins)’ vs. Sal *ād’isteks* ~ *āgisteks* (Tra), Cour *igāks* ‘lifetime (Ins)’ vs. Sal *igaks* ‘forever’, Cour *izāndōks* ‘lord (Ins)’ vs. Sal *izandeks*, Cour *lapsōks* ‘child (Ins)’ vs. Sal *lapseks* ~ *lapsuks*, Cour *lupātōks* ‘tatter (Ins)’ vs. Sal *lupateks*. In the inflection types where the Courland Livonian instrumental marker is *-kōks*, the basic form often corresponds to the Salaca Livonian comitative form, to which the ending *-ōks* has been added, e.g. Sal *aimk* ‘family (Com)’, Cour *aimkōks*, Sal *joutk* ‘force (Com)’, Cour *joutkōks*, Sal *mādk* ‘we (Com)’, Cour *mādkōks*, Sal *mielk* ‘mind (Com)’, Cour *mielkōks*, Sal *pāāk* ‘head (Com)’, Cour *pāākōks*. Most likely, these Courland Livonian forms have been arrived at in precisely the way described above, i.e. by adding the translative ending to the historical comitative form. Such forms demonstrate that Salaca Livonian morphological formation is sometimes more conservative than that of Courland Livonian.

The **comparative** is formed in Salaca Livonian with the suffix *-im*, e.g. *alvim* ‘worse’, *karvim* ‘more bitter’, *parim* ‘better’, sometimes also *-em*, e.g. *parem*. In western Courland Livonian, however, the form *parām* ‘better’ is used. This form may also appear (alongside the form *paṛīm*) in eastern Courland Livonian, and is known in western Estonian dialects as well. The comparative adverb *parimist* ~ *paremist* in Salaca Livonian is formed similarly to the western Courland Livonian equivalent *parāmist*, while the eastern Courland form *paṛīmstōz* ~ *parāmstōz* differs from the others.

Verb morphology is to a large extent quite similar in Salaca and Courland Livonian. The verbal categories and their markers are

similar even in the case of newer forms. The oblique mood, for instance, used to mark indirectly reported information, both Salaca and Courland Livonian have employed forms ending in *-ji*, similar to the *nomen agentis* forms, e.g. Sal and Cour *ta tēji* ‘he/she does (reported evidentiality)’ (see Kehayov et al. 2012). Oblique mood forms resembling the *nomen agentis* forms are also found in the Häädemeeste variety of Estonian, geographically a close neighbor of Salaca Livonian. However, more significant differences can be seen in negative forms, in which Salaca Livonian employs the same negation particles throughout the entire verbal paradigm: in the present indicative *ab: ab uo* ‘am/are/is not’, *ab uoti* ‘you (Pl) are not’; in the past indicative *iz: iz uo* ‘was/were not’; in the imperative *ala: ala jāe* ‘don’t stay (Sg)’, *ala jāegi* ‘don’t stay (Pl)’ (see Metslang et al. 2014).

One of the distinctive innovations of Livonian verb morphology is the spread of the third person singular present tense form to the first person singular, e.g. Cour *ma tī’eb* ‘I do’, Sal *ma tieb ~ tiāb*, compare to *ta tī’eb* ‘he/she does’, Sal *ta tieb ~ tiāb*. In Salaca Livonian, the use of third person singular forms has spread even further, often being used in the third person plural as well, as in Sal *ta om* ‘he/she is’ and *nāmad om* ‘they are’, CourE *ta u’ m* ‘he/she is’ and *nāmād attō* ‘they are’; Sal *ta ajab* ‘he/she drives’ and *nāmad ajab* ‘they drive’, Cour *ta ajab* ‘he/she drives’ and *nāmād ajabōd* ‘they drive’. Less frequently, forms ending in *-b* are used in Salaca Livonian for the first person plural, e.g. Sal *me kanab* ‘we carry’, *me panub* ‘we put’. The *b*-final form of the future-marking verb *līd* ‘to be (in the future), become’ has also been used in the second-person plural: *te līb ~ līti* ‘you (Pl) shall’.

A characteristic difference between eastern and western Courland Livonian is that the eastern dialect features the first person singular form *ma u’ m* ‘I am’, while in the western dialect the corresponding form is *ma ūo*, in Īra village also *ma ūob* (Viitso 2008b: 228). The typical form in Salaca Livonian is *ma om*, which corresponds to the eastern Courland Livonian form, although on two occasions the form *ma ō* (< **olen*) has been recorded, an older form similar to that found in the western Courland dialect.

The Courland Livonian dialects feature different endings for first and second person plural. In eastern Courland Livonian, these are typically *-mō* and *-tō*, e.g. *saimō* ‘we received’, *tu’lmō* ‘we came’, *saitō* ‘you (Pl) received’, *tu’ltō* ‘you (Pl) came’, *āndizmō* ‘we gave’, *āndistō* ‘you (Pl) gave’, in western Courland Livonian *-mi* and *-ti*, e.g. *saimi*, *tu’lmi*, *saiti*, *tu’lti*, or with longer stems *-(ō)m* and *-(ō)t*, e.g. *āndizōm*, *āndizōt*. Examples have also been recorded in eastern Courland Livonian of weak-grade forms, such as *lekšmā* ‘we went’, *lekštā* ‘you (Pl) went’; Viitso regards these as historically primary

forms (Viitso 2008b: 229–231). In Salaca Livonian, the typical first and second person plural personal endings are *-mi* and *-ti*: *saimi*, *saiti*, although isolated instances have also been recorded of vowel-less endings, e.g. *läemi* ~ *läem* ‘we go’, *iktuti* ~ *iktut* ‘you (Pl) cry’, in one case also *-me*: *lähme* (1839). Here too, the similarity of the phonological development of Salaca and Courland Livonian is evident. In Salaca Livonian, only originally monosyllabic verb stems receive personal endings in the preterite; otherwise, person and number is indicated by a personal pronoun, e.g. *me tul’* (< **tuli*) ‘we came’, *te tul’* ‘you (Pl) came’, *me leks* ~ *lekš* ~ *läks* (< **läksi*) ‘we went’, *te leks* ~ *lekš* ~ *läks* ‘you (Pl) went’.

The preceding overview demonstrates that Salaca and Courland Livonian share very few morphological innovations. This is important to consider when interpreting phonological similarities. Historically, it is clear that Salaca Livonian split from Courland Livonian earlier than eastern and western Courland Livonian split from one another. Therefore, features common to Salaca Livonian and one of the Courland Livonian dialects should be seen as either preserved Proto-Livonian features or independent parallel developments in the given dialects.

4. A comparison of the lexicon of Salaca Livonian and Courland Livonian dialects

Systematic studies have been done of the relationship between the Salaca Livonian lexicon and that of Estonian dialects (Pajusalu et al. 2009) as well as loanword strata in Salaca and Courland Livonian (see Winkler 2011 and Winkler, this volume), but there is no comprehensive overview of the relationship between the lexicon of Salaca Livonian and Courland Livonian dialects. The following is only an initial look at the topic.

Salaca Livonian contains roughly a hundred Finnic or southern Finnic word stems which are not known in either main dialect of Courland Livonian. These include such common words as *imi* ‘person’ (Est *inimene*, Cour *rištīng*), *var* ‘thief’ (Est *varas*, Cour *salāj*), *jānds* ~ *jānts* ‘hare’ (Fin *jānis* (compare to Sal *kalds* < **kallis*), Cour *kōps*), *oin* ~ *oen* ‘ram’ (Est *oinas*, Cour *jōsō*), *sonn* ‘ram’ (compare to Fin *sonni* ‘bull’), *vediks* ~ *vedikš* ~ *ved(i)s* ~ *veits* ‘bovine’ (Est *veis*, Cour *sūrjelāj*), *pāld* ~ *pāold* ‘mountain, ridge’ (Fin *palle*, Cour *mā’g*); adjectives *tīn* ‘pregnant (of animals)’ (Est *tiine*, Cour *läälam*), *vīmi* ‘final, last’ (Fin *viimeinen*, Cour *pe’rri*), *ūl* ~ *ūles* ‘malicious’ (Est *ōel*, Cour *ti’g*), verbs *k’änn* ~ *k’enn* ~ *kienn* ~ *kiänn* ‘to bend, turn’ (Est *kääna-*, Cour *kīerō*), *nuok* ‘to nod’ (Fin *nuokkua*, Cour

danktõ), *sall* ‘to bite’ (Fin *salvaa*, Cour *jamstõ*). These Finnic words generally have a phonetic form typical of Salaca Livonian and they can be considered to belong to the old basic lexicon. Their equivalents in Courland Livonian are semantically adjacent Finnic words, local innovations, or loanwords.

Salaca Livonian also features words which are unknown in Courland Livonian but have equivalents in northern Estonian dialects, for example *loug* ‘eyelid’ (EstN *laug*), *tāņ* ‘dough’ (EstN *tainas*, Cour *tāigandõks*), *lān* ‘meek’ (EstW *lään*, Cour *lībzi*), *līt* ‘to fatten’ (EstI *lihutada*, Cour *ba’rtõ*). More numerous are Salaca Livonian words which are absent from Courland Livonian and have Estonian equivalents only in southern dialects, e.g. *alu* ‘bad’ (EstS *halv*, Cour *sliktõ*), *nakk* ‘to start’ (EstS *nakata*, Cour *akkõ*), *pālg* ‘to fear’ (EstS *pelga*, Cour *kartõ*), *tsilt* ‘drop’ (EstS *tsilk*, Cour *tīlka*), *ku* ‘who (relative pronoun)’ (Fin *ku(ka)*, EstS *kua*, Cour *kis*). In addition, of course, Salaca Livonian contains words found in only neighboring Estonian dialects, such as *jārk* ~ *jārg* ‘thick’ (Hää *jārk*, Cour *ja’mdõ*, *jurg*), *rād’i* ‘abraded’ (Krk *rahkine*, Cour *tūorõz*), *vāst* ‘to hurry, speed up’ (Hää *vasida*, Cour *ruoikõ*).

Some Courland Livonian words may for phonological reasons be considered loans from Salaca Livonian, for instance *kuṛē* ‘devil’ (LW: 167). In Salaca Livonian, the word can be seen as having developed in accordance with phonological rules from the word **kurja*, compare to Sal *are* ‘brush’ (< **harja*), *kare* ‘herd’ (< **karja*), whereas this sort of development is not expected in Courland Livonian, compare *ōṛa* ‘hari’, *kōṛa* ‘kari’.

Native Salaca Livonian words do not feature word-initial voiced stops, although these may appear in Courland Livonian, compare Sal *kulmad* ‘eyebrows’, Cour *gūlmad*, Sal *tagl* ‘tinder’, Cour *da’ggõl*, Sal *kadagi* ‘juniper’, Cour *gadāg*. In some cases, eastern Courland Livonian features word-initial unvoiced stops (similarly to Salaca Livonian), while the western Courland Livonian equivalents begin with voiced stops, e.g. Sal and CourE *kābā* ‘cone’, CourW *gābā*; CourE *gadāg* ~ *kadāg*. Secondary voicing of word-initial stops has thus taken place to the greatest degree in western Courland Livonian.

In cases where a Salaca Livonian word is common in only one of the Courland dialects, the most typical situation is that a new word has been adopted in eastern Courland Livonian, while Salaca and western Courland Livonian have preserved a common Finnic root, e.g. Sal *jānn* ~ *jānne* ‘a lot, much’, CourW *jennõ*; CourE *pāgiņ* ~ *je’nnõ*; Sal *om* ~ *oma* ‘own’, CourW *u’m*, CourE *eņtš*; Sal *emel’ki* ‘spider’, CourW *emriki*, CourE *ēbriks*; Sal *uomd* ~ *uomde* ‘tomorrow’, CourW *ūomdõ*, CourE *mūpõ*; Sal *aim jāma* ‘hostess, lady of the house’,

CourW *aim-jemā*, CourE *perīnai* ~ *aimjemā*; Sal *vikat*, CourW *vikāt* ‘scythe’, CourE *vikart*. There are some cases where the Salaca and eastern Courland Livonian words are similar and the western Courland Livonian form is distinct, e.g. Sal *pidis* ~ *piddis* ‘along (something)’, CourE *pi'ddiz* ~ *pi'ddōz* ~ *pi'ds*, CourW *mīedō*; Sal *nutt* ‘to shout, cry’, CourE *nuttō* ~ *uttō*, CourW *uttō*; Sal *āgg* ‘harrow’, CourE *ā'ggōz*, CourW *e'kš* ~ *e'gž*. As a general rule, Salaca Livonian differs from the Courland dialect in which a word new to Proto-Livonian has come into use.

5. Conclusion

The comparison of Salaca Livonian and Courland Livonian dialects indicates that eastern and western Courland Livonian are closer to each other than to Salaca Livonian with respect to all aspects of language, although the difference between Salaca and Courland Livonian is most noticeable in the lexicon and nominal morphology. In the cases where Salaca Livonian differs from only one of the Courland Livonian dialects, the cause is most often an innovation in that dialect. The preceding analysis has shown that the eastern dialect of Courland Livonian is particularly innovative, and the lexical and phonological similarities between Salaca and western Courland Livonian are a result of their being more conservative than eastern Courland Livonian. This rule holds for the similarities between Salaca and eastern Courland Livonian as well. Those shared features that distinguish them from the western dialect generally originate from preserved older forms. In some cases, however, the cause may be more recent direct contact between Salaca and Courland Livonian. For instance, the word *kuṛē* ‘devil’ was borrowed into Courland Livonian. Here it should be assumed that the initial borrowing took place in eastern Courland Livonian, due to its geographical proximity to Salaca Livonian. Nevertheless, it is clear that the influence of Latvian has been stronger in Salaca and western Courland Livonian than in eastern Courland Livonian. This has brought about parallel developments of phonetic simplification, and may also be an indirect cause of the more limited emergence of independent innovations in these dialects than in Courland Livonian.

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Abbreviations

Ad – Adessive, Al – Allative, Com – Comitative, Cour – Courland Livonian, CourE – Eastern Courland Livonian, CourW – Western Courland Livonian, Dat – Dative, El – Elative, Est – Estonian, EstI – Insular Estonian, EstN – North Estonian, EstS – South Estonian, EstW – Western Estonian, Fin – Finnish, Gen – Genitive, Hää – Häädemeeste Estonian, Imp – Imperative, Ins – Instrumental, Krk – Karksi Estonian, Part – Partitive, Pl – Plural, Sal – Salaca Livonian, Sg – Singular, Tra – Translative

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Kokkuvõte. Karl Pajusalu: Salatsi liivi vahekorra-st kuraliivi murretega.

Artiklis vaadeldakse kahe liivi keele põhikuju, ajaloolisel Liivimaal kõneldud Salatsi liivi ja Kuramaa liivi keele vahekorda. Salatsi liivi keelt võrreldakse mõlema Kuramaa liivi keele peamise kujuga – ida- ja läänemurdega. Lähtudes Salatsi liivi ainestikust, keskendutakse iseloomulike häälikuliste ja grammatiliste joonte võrdlusele, mõnevõrra võrreldakse ka põhisõnavara. Põhjaläti Salatsi jõe piirkonnas kõneldud liivi keel on erinenud mitmeti Kuramaa liivi keelest. Ühisjoonte kõrval leidub Salatsi vorme ja sõnu, mis erinevad mõlemast kuraliivi peamurdest, mõnikord aga sarnanevad vaid ühega neist. Seejuures on hoolimata suuremast maa-alalisest kaugusest rohkem ühisjooni Salatsi liivi ja Kuramaa liivi läänemurde vahel. Artiklis püütakse leida ka nende sarnasuste põhjusi. Ilmneb, et ühelt poolt on Salatsi ja Kuramaa läänemurde alal olnud tugevam läti keele mõju, teiselt poolt on perifeerne areng soosinud mitmete arhailiste joonte säilimist. Kuraliivi idamurre on olnud mitmeti uuenduslikum.

Märksõnad: liivi keele mured, eesti keel, läti keel, keeleajalugu, keelekontaktid

Kubbõvõttõks. Karl Pajusalu: Salāts līvõ kīel siđīmōd Kurāmō līvõ

kīelkōks. Kēra vaņļōb kōdtō līvõ kīel pūojvīđō – Salāts līvõ kīeldō ja Kurāmō līvõ kīeldō. Salāts līvõ kīeldō ītlōb mōlmōd Kurāmō līvõ kīel vīđōd – mōgōr- ja vežgōrmūrdōdōks. Kēras um pāazālistōz īdōltōd īlāpierīzi fonētiži ja gramatik tātōkši, rōžki ka pūojsōnāvīļļō. Pūoj-Leņmōļ Salāts joug immōrkouts kōļbatōd līvõ kēļ um setmīņ tuoisti ābku Kurāmō līvõ kēļ. Um ītiži tātōkši, bet um ka formidi ja sōņđi, mis ātō tuoistīz ku Kurāmō līvõ pāmūrdīs agā īdsō pāmūrdīs. Jemīņim um īdvīži tātōkši Salāts līvõ kīel ja Kurāmō līvõ kīel mōgōrmūrd vail ābvaņļōs sīe pālō, ku ne ātō īdtuoizōst kougōn. Kēra vōtšūb pūojđi, mīkš se nei um. Jagīņ um leņkēļ mōj vōnd kangtīmī, jaggōld um aigāli kazāndīmī ābđōn vōidō muinlīzi tātōkši. Kurāmō līvõ kīel vežgōrmurd um vōnd ūdlimī.